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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
STATE OF MAINE;
FROM
ITS FIRST DISCOVERY, A. D. 1602,
TO
THE SEPARATION, A. D. 1820, INCLUSIVE.

By **WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.**

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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1832.

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PREFACE.

AN authentic History of this State has been long and much desired. Maine is a corner-pillar in the American Republic. Its territory equals one half of New-England,—its natural resources are great and various—its climate is good—its population now considerably exceeds 400,000,—and only two individual States have a greater extent of seaboard or more shipping. Several settlements have existed within its limits, more than two centuries; through which period, as plantations have spread and multiplied, it has been the destiny of successive generations to struggle with wars and difficulties reiterated and uncommon, and to wade through sufferings deep and indescribable. The last age, however, particularly since the American Revolution, has been a period of remarkable prosperity, apparent in the improvements, wealth and numbers of the people.

To present, in a general historic view of such a State, the circumstantial details of facts and events, so as to meet with universal acceptance, cannot be anticipated. Approbation, or censure, often springs from the motive of perusal; nay, what affords entertainment to one, may be more than toil to another. All are never equally pleased with the same repast, for men as often differ in taste and opinion, as in feature and character.—As to parts and arrangement, it is presumed the Introductory Sections need no apology for their length, as they give a history of nature, little less entertaining than that of culture and society. Should any one raise objections to the long Narratives of Indian Wars interspersed, it is believed, he must, on reflection and review, be fully convinced, that any considerable abridgement of them would occasion an unsatisfying void;—so much have the fortune and fate of the country, depended upon the amity or hostilities of the natives. Nor by any means could the early history of this State possess the attribute of perspicuity, without frequent allusions to the annals of Nova Scotia; as the political affairs and current events in that Province, and in the eastern parts of Sagadahock, were for a century, blended too entirely and perpetually, to be kept separate and distinct. The topographical notes upon Towns contain facts which could not with propriety be incorporated with the text, and yet were thought too valuable to

be lost; for descriptions of these municipalities are not only interesting to their respective inhabitants,—they are collectively the local chronicles of the State itself.

This production, though it has cost the Compiler many years' unremitting labor, is presented to an enlightened community, with great diffidence: For he is sufficiently aware, that the arrangement, the style and the correctness, are to pass in review before many invidious bystanders, disposed to censure rather than to commend; while the more alloyed parts are to be severely tested in the crucible of the critic. Nor perhaps ought any one in the present age to expect a better destiny, who relates facts for the public eye,—designed for the perusal of all classes, under the responsibility of his name. The Historian, in short, is the devoted recorder of truth; authentic annals are his stories; and facts monumental as marble are the only materials allowed in his employment. It is a departure from duty and an imposition upon his readers, to give reins to his imagination and freedom to his pen—permitting them to play with figures, flowers and phantoms in the fields of fancy.

The Compiler's research for materials has been thorough, in the Libraries of the Capitol at Washington, the Boston Athenæum, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Massachusetts' Historical Society. He has also made extracts from more than twenty volumes of the Massachusetts' Public Records, and from letters of 150 correspondents, residing in different parts of the State. The works of the oldest and best Authors have been carefully consulted;—a list of whose names will be submitted.—Availing himself of all these and some other sources of information, he has written, with great care and assiduity, a General History of the State: and the Public will determine, whether any expression appears, inconsistent with what is chaste and correct in religion, sentiment or fact,—or whether such an amount and variety of matter, distributed through a period of 200 years, could have been judiciously compressed within a narrower compass. The plan chosen may not have been the best; for like surveyors and settlers in all new Countries, he has been obliged to traverse an unexplored region, where the footsteps of no predecessor to any considerable extent could be traced. Should the work possess the humble merit of being a *useful* compilation, he will not have labored in vain; for man subserves the purposes of his moral existence, when he does what is a real benefit to his Country.

Bangor, March 1832.

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INTRODUCTION.

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF MAINE.

IN perusing the History of a country, it is desirable to have a previous acquaintance with its geography and natural productions. A view, therefore, is now to be taken of this State under the following arrangement of particulars :—

SEC. I. The situation, extent and boundaries of Maine.

II. The face of the country, seacoast, rivers, mountains and soils.

III. The air, climate and seasons.

IV. The natural growths—trees, shrubs, plants, roots and vines.

V. The native animals—beasts, birds, fishes, vermes, reptiles, and insects.

VI. Minerals.

Our remarks upon these several subjects are intended to relate exclusively to this State ; and in exploring such difficult and untrodden grounds, facts and fidelity, without perfect descriptions, are all which ought reasonably to be expected.

SECTION I.

Situation, extent and boundaries.

The state of Maine is situated between $43^{\circ} 4'$ and $48^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude ; and $66^{\circ} 50'$ and $70^{\circ} 53'$ west longitude from London ; or between $6^{\circ} 15'$, and $10^{\circ} 18'$, east longitude from the capitol at Washington.*

* Maine was called *Mavashen* or *Mavooshen*, by ancient voyagers and writers. In Purchas' Pilgrims, Mr. Hakluyt describes it to be "a country lying to the north and east of Virginia, between the degrees of 43 and 45. It is 40 leagues broad and 50 in length, lying in breadth east and west and in length north and south. It is bordered on the east side with a country, the people whereof they call Tarrantines ; on the west with Ephistoma ; on the north with a great wood, called Senaglecouna ; and on the south with the main ocean, sea, and many islands. In Mavooshen it seemeth there are nine rivers—the westernmost of which is Shawacotoc [Saco].

Extent. The southwesterly extremity of the State is Kittery point, on the eastern bank of Piscataqua river at its mouth, in latitude $43^{\circ} 4'$ and in longitude $78^{\circ} 34'$ west from London. Its western line from that point, which separates it from New-Hampshire, is 148 miles in length; its northern line, which divides it from Canada, is about 290 miles long, in a direct course; its eastern line, beginning at West-Quoddy-head, the southeastwardly corner of the State, in latitude $44^{\circ} 43'$ north, and in longitude $66^{\circ} 50'$ east from London, and extending thence to the northeast corner of the State, is about 234 miles long, and divides Maine from New-Brunswick. Its southerly line from Kittery point to West-Quoddy-head, in a direction of N. E. by E. and in a straight course, is about 220 miles.

Area. Its area has been variously estimated: Some have supposed it embraced a territory equal to 200 miles square, and consequently to contain a surface of 40,000 square miles, or 25,600,000 acres in land and water; but by investigation, the State includes a terraqueous surface of about 35,000 square miles.* Of this it has been said one sixth part may be deducted, being covered with water.

Boundaries. But in giving an exact description of the extent and boundaries of Maine, it is necessary to go into particulars.

Western line or bounds. As we find its western line laid down in Gorges' charter, A. D. 1639, and in that of William and Mary, A. D. 1691, it runs, "from the entrance of Piscataqua harbour up through the same into the river Newichawannock and through the same into the farthest head thereof, and from thence northwestwards, till one hundred and twenty miles be finished."

Massachusetts and New-Hampshire had a long controversy about this line;—to settle which, a commission was issued, April 9, 1737, under the great seal of England, to twenty colony councilors, selected from New-York, New-Jersey, Rhode-Island and

At the head of this river—to the northwest, there is a small province which they call Crokemago, wherein is one town"—probably the Indian Pegwaket. 10 *Purchas' Pil. chap. 1. A Description of the Country of Mavooshen, discovered by the English in the years 1602, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.*

* Geographers have estimated the residue of New-England at 32,232 square miles, thus, Vermont 10,237; New-Hampshire 9,491; Massachusetts 6,250; Rhode-Island 1,580, and Connecticut 4,674 square miles. *Mr. Greenleaf, in his survey, states the contents of Maine to be 33,223 square miles, or 21,263,000 acres, as estimated "under the head of grants and sales of lands."*

Nova-Scotia; of whom any five were to constitute a quorum “for settling, adjusting and determining the respective boundaries ^{Westerly} of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire in dispute.” _{line.}

Seven of them after holding a session in Hampton, New-Hampshire, and hearing the parties, made their determination, September 2, 1737,—“that the dividing line shall pass up through the mouth of Piscataqua harbour and up the middle of the river into the river Newichawannock, part of which is now called Salmon Falls, and through the middle of the farthest head thereof, and from thence north 2° westerly, until 120 miles be finished from the mouth of Piscataqua harbour aforesaid, or until it meets with his Majesty’s other governments; that the same dividing line shall part the Isles of Shoals and run through the middle of the harbour between the Islands, to the sea on the southerly side; and that the southwesterly part of the said Islands shall lie in and be accounted part of the Province of New-Hampshire and the northeasterly part belong to Maine.” But the parties, not being satisfied, had a hearing before the king in council; and on the 5th of March, 1740, he settled and established the line, “north 2° west, true course, or north 8° east by the needle.”*

Still the contending Colonies could not agree on a surveyor to run and mark the line; and therefore New-Hampshire in 1741, *ex parte*, employed Walter Bryant to perform that service. ^{A survey.} Accordingly, he began in that year at the mouth of the harbour, and run up the river in a north-northwest course through the river Newichawannock and Salmon Fall river, to its most northerly head, which is a pond partly in New-Hampshire and partly in Maine, about forty miles as the river runs, from the mouth of Piscataqua harbour. It is now called Lovell’s pond, and is fed by two streams, *viz.* the easterly and westerly branches; “the former of which was found to be the largest and to vent the most water.”

Bryant thence proceeded north, 2° west, in conformity to the royal determination, 30 miles, and marked the line as he surveyed it; but it being in March, and the snows melting, he was obliged to stop there, leaving 50 miles of the line unsurveyed.

Massachusetts objected, that Bryant had taken the wrong

* See table of variation of the compass at Boston, Portland, and Penobscot, from A. D. 1672 to 1800, by Professor John Winthrop. 16 *Silliman’s travels.* p. 63.

branch ; and in 1767, applied to New-Hampshire upon the subject. But it had no effect, for the latter, regardless of the objection, appointed one Isaac Rindge, the next year, to complete the survey.—He began where Bryant left off, and ran and marked a line on the same course, by the compass, 35 miles farther, to a point about sixteen miles northward of Androscoggin river, and six below lake Umbagog. But, because the needle then in fact traversed westerly less than it did when Bryant surveyed, Rindge's line had a westerly inclination, still more than that of his predecessor.

Westerly
line.

The next survey was undertaken after the definitive treaty of 1783, by Messrs. Cramm and Eames, whom New-Hampshire, in 1789, appointed surveyors, to complete the line. They pursued the same course by the needle as Bryant and Rindge had done, without regard to its perpetual traverse eastwardly, and thus gave their line a still further inclination westerly. They made their report in January, 1790. It seems they began below where Rindge left the line, at a point 16 miles and 240 rods south of Umbagog lake ; thence to it and across a branch of it 54 rods wide ; thence a mile and 3-4ths on the east side of the lake ; thence 4 miles and 3-4ths, over the lake to its northerly edge ; thence 2 miles and 226 rods to Magalloway river, ten rods wide, a branch of Androscoggin ; and thence to the high lands, 54 miles from the N. E. corner of Shelburne, where they began ; that is, 37 miles and 1-4th north of the southerly edge of Umbagog lake, and 148 from the mouth of Piscataqua harbour.

At that place they marked a large *birch tree*, which stands on those highlands, thus, “ N. E. 54 m. New-Hampshire, 1789 ;” and consequently this is reputed to be the northwest corner of Maine. Its west line is thus 28 miles longer than that expressed in the charters either to Gorges or to the Massachusetts Province.

Northwest
corner.

From this monument the northerly line of Maine is nearly a N. E. general course, passing along the highlands (where are found the sources of the streams which run northwardly into the Chaudiere and southwardly into the Kennebec) 50 miles to a noted monument called “ MILE TREE,” on the height of land. It is a large birch marked with marking irons ; and 20 other trees thereabouts are marked in a similar way, with the names of persons, or with the initials of their names. This conspicuous place, in lat. 45° 48', is on the road from Kennebec to Canada, distant about 44

miles from the crotch, or mouth of Dead River, as the road runs. South of east from *Mile Tree* is Bald mountain, a lofty height near a league in length.

The residue of the northerly line of Maine being unsettled, and in controversy, it is proper to consider the other boundaries which are established, before we proceed with this.

The southerly boundary of the State begins at a point in a line Southerly line. S. S. E. from "the entrance into Piscataqua harbour," 60 miles distant, and thence extends northeastwardly along the Atlantic waters of the coast, enclosing all the Islands within *twenty* leagues of the main land, to Passamaquoddy bay.*

All the country east of the State, till the year 1785 was called Easterly line. *Nova-Scotia* : and the partition or boundary line which divides it from Maine or New-England has been the subject of repeated controversy. The English and French long contended about it ; nor did the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, by which the latter ceded *the country* to the former, settle the dispute. Commissioners, of whom Gov. Shirley was one, attempted in 1751 to settle it, but in vain :—it only ended in the conquest of Canada, to be revived by the English and Americans after the treaty of 1783.

By the Charter to Sir William Alexander, Sept. 10, 1621, Nova-Scotia extended westward "to the river St. Croix, and to "the farthest source or spring which first comes from the west to "mingle its waters with those of that river ; from thence by a "straight imaginary line crossing the lands or running towards "the north as far as the first bay, river, or spring which runs into "the great river of Canada, and from thence continuing eastward "to the sea, along the shores of the river of Canada, to the river, "bay, or latitude of Gaspé.†

On the 7th of Oct. 1763, the new Province of Quebec, was erected, and its southern boundary was a line "passing along the

* Gorges' Charter says "within *five* leagues ;"—and the Charter of William and Mary says within *ten* leagues, directly opposite to the main land ; but in the Treaty of Sept. 3, 1783 "all Islands within *twenty* leagues of any part of the shores" are embraced. Art. II.

† In the Commissions of Montague Wilmot, dated October, 1763, and Francis Legge, dated 1766, the Governors of Nova-Scotia, we find that Colony and their jurisdiction to be limited, and—"bounded on the west-ward by a line drawn from Cape Sable, across the entrance of the bay of "Fundy, to the mouth of the river St. Croix ; by the said river to its source, "and by a line drawn due north ; from thence to the southern Boundary "of our Province [Colony] of Quebec."

“highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the “river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea :”—And the Act of Parliament, Oct. 7, 1774, for governing that Province, draws the line “from the bay of Chaleur, along the high-“lands which divide the rivers that empty into the St. Lawrence, “from those that fall into the sea, to a point in 45° of N. latitude.” With these data and Mellish’s map before the American and British Commissioners, who negociated the treaty of peace, signed Sept. 3, 1783, they in the 2d article, described the boundary to be “from the northwest angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle “which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of “St. Croix river to the highlands ; along the said highlands which “divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Law-“rence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the “northwesternmost head of Connecticut river.”

Afterwards doubts arose what was the river intended by the name “*St. Croix*,” mentioned ; and hence, pursuant to the 5th article of the treaty, signed Nov. 19, 1794, Commissioners were appointed, by each government, to determine that question. They first met at Halifax, and ultimately made their report Oct. 25, 1798, by which it was settled, that the intended river, “*St. Croix*,” had its source in the head of a stream called Cheputnetecook, [*Schoodic*,] at a stake near a certain yellow birch tree, about 5 miles and 3-4ths of a mile north of the point where that stream empties into the Schoodic lake ; and there they established a *Monument*, in lat 45° 48, which is a yellow birch tree, hooped with iron and marked “S. T. and I. H. 1797, called the “**EASTERN MONUMENT.**”*

Yet, there were three islands in the Passamaquoddy bay, at the mouth of the Schoodic, near the western shore, viz. *Moose Island, Dudley Island and Frederic Island*, which being occupied and claimed by the Americans, were seised upon in the late war by the British, and not surrendered till John Holmes and Thomas Barclay, Commissioners appointed under the 4th article of the treaty of Ghent, decided, Nov. 24, 1817, that they belonged to the

* *Samuel Titcomb* and *John Harris* were the surveyors.—*Thomas Barclay*, *David Howell*, and *Egbert Benson*, were the Commissioners.—In 1817 the surveyors under the treaty of Ghent erected a new monument, a few feet north of the former, consisting of a large cedar post with large rocks about it, marked July 31, 1817. *Jos. Bouchette* and *John Johnson*, surveyors.—*Greenleaf*.

Eastern
line.

St. Croix.

Eastern
monument.

3 Islands,
Moose,
Dudley,
Frederic.

United States; and that all other Islands in Passamaquoddy bay, including Grand-Manan, belong to his Britanic Majesty, according to "the true intent of article 2d in the treaty of 1783."

The eastern boundary line therefore of Maine, which divides it from New-Brunswick, passes from West-Quoddy-head, up the channel on the east side of these Islands, through the middle of Schoodic river, and Schoodic lake, to the mouth of Cheputnetecook stream, and thence to its source at the *Eastern Monument*; which is distant from West-Quoddy-head, in a direct northwesterly course, about 90 miles. The line however if followed as the lakes lie and river runs, would considerably exceed 100 miles in length.

Eastern line.

But neither the boundary divisional line running north from that monument and separating Maine from New-Brunswick; nor the north line of the State extending northeastwardly from "*Mile Tree*" along the highlands, dividing Canada from Maine, and intersecting or crossing the other at the northeast corner of the State, has as yet been fully established.

Northerly and eastwardly line.

Under the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent, 1814, Thomas Barclay and Cornelius Van Ness were appointed Commissioners by the British and American governments to survey and determine these lines and boundaries. The Commissioners and Agents had no less than eleven meetings; the first was at St. Andrews on the 23d of Sept. 1816, and the last at New-York, April 13, 1822.

Commissioners, Barclay, & Van Ness, appointed.

They caused two surveying parties to be appointed, one American and the other English, and gave them instructions to begin at the Eastern Monument and run a line due north to some stream that empties into the St. Lawrence. Each party was to mark all elevations and rivers, compare notes and reconcile variations every morning; and on an agreed boundary to cut away the trees eight feet on each side of the line, and to mark every mile. Also they appointed an exploring party to survey the highlands towards the head of Connecticut river; to examine the sources of the streams, which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence and into the Atlantic; and to return a plan of 80 chains to an inch.

Survey ordered.

In 1817 and 1818, the line running north of the eastern Monument was surveyed; and afterwards, plans of the surveys were reported. Also an exploring view was taken of the highlands, northerly and southerly of the St. John river to its sources, and to those of Penobscot; and the American surveyor made a general

Eastern
line.

plan ; but the Commissioners could not agree, where to establish the boundary lines.

144 mile
corner.

N. E. corner
of Maine.

Mr. Van Ness insisted that the line on the east side of the State ought to be thus established :—to begin at the *Eastern Monument* and run due north across Bull's branch to Meduxnekeag south branch 19 miles, to the north branch 22 and $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to Presque Isle 35, to Goosequill 43, to Des Chutes 45, to Aroostic 59, to Limestone 63, and to the main St. John 77, the others emptying into the latter ; thence continuing due north, across the Restigouche 101 miles, the Mempticook 114, and the Memkeeswee or Katwamkisway, in all 131 miles from the Monument, also over a branch of the Metepediac, a tributary to the Restigouche which falls into the Bay Chaleur, reaching the highlands 144 miles* north of the Monument, these highlands being found to divide the waters last mentioned from those of Beaver Stream and the Metis, which fall into the St. Lawrence ; the end of the line to be the angle or “ the 144 *Mile Corner* ;” and by estimation 234 miles from West-Quoddy-head.

Tuladi
river.

Northern
line.

The same Commissioner drew the northern boundary line, which divides Maine from Canada, thus :—To commence at the 144 *Mile Corner*, † viz. at the northwest angle of Nova-Scotia, and thence passing the sources of Memkeeswee or grand Fourche and second fork of the lakes, emptying into the St. John, to the head or spring of Tuladi river, ‡ which empties into Temiscouata lake, 50 miles from the corner ; thence by the head waters of that lake to the source of the eastern branch of the St. *Francois*, around the sources of the *Grand* and *Petit du Trois Pistoles*, which *latter two* empty into the St. Lawrence, to the source of the main St. *Francois* ; thence between the western source of the St. *Francois* and of Green River, which run into the St. Lawrence, to the source of the Petit St. John, about 80 miles, W. S. W. direct course,§ from “ the 144 *Mile Corner* ;” thence passing the head of Black river, and the sources of the northwest and west branches of the St. John nearest the waters of the river La

* Lat. 48° 8 .

† The Charter to the Plymouth Council, Nov. 3, 1620, extended to the 48th deg. north latitude. *Vide post. Chap. III.*

‡ Tuladi mouth is in lat. 47deg. 40' and lon. 68deg. 48' ; and 15 miles above its mouth it receives the waters of Squattack lake.

§ But the distance, as the line runs, is about 120 miles.

Famine, and the source of the Penobscot, nearest to Metgarmette, ^{Northern line.} which empties into the river du Loup about 160 miles, direct course S. S. W to "Mile Tree;"—about 240 miles, from the "144 Mile Corner." Proceeding from Mile Tree it runs south-westerly between the sources of du Loup and Moose rivers, and ^{its length.} by the sources of Dead and Magalloway rivers to Sunday mountain; and thence to the northwest corner of Maine, where it angles on New-Hampshire, as before described, 50 miles from Mile Tree, making the northern line 290 miles in length. *

The Government of Canada has caused nearly all the country between the St. Lawrence and the northern line of Maine from the Chaudiere, toward the river Pistoles, to be surveyed into townships, and in many places these surveys have run over the true divisional boundary.†

In several places the streams run from their sources in opposite directions northerly and southerly, and of course render the line zigzag and illshapen, and multiply the difficulties of establishing it with satisfactory correctness and precision.

The American Commissioner and Agent, in proving the eastern ^{N. and E. line.} lines just described to be the true divisional bounds intended by the treaty of 1783, say, 1, that the phraseology, in the Charter ^{The dispute.} to Sir William Alexander—in the royal order for erecting Canada into a Province—in the Parliamentary Act for governing it, and especially in the treaty itself, forms a connected argument in favour of the position. 2. The Geography of the country gives it great strength; for the rivers Chaudiere, Ouelle, Hamourasky, du Loup, Verte, Trois Pistoles, Rimousky and Metis or Beaver river, are the only rivers opposite Maine which empty themselves into the St. Lawrence on its southerly side; all which have been visited by the surveyors. On the other hand, the rivers running into the Atlantic are the Restigouche, the Meramichi, the St. John, the St. Croix, the Penobscot, the Kennebec and their tributaries; and these with the exceptions of Meramichi and St. Croix, have their sources near to the sources of the streams which run into the St. Lawrence. The lands between the Restigouche and Metis, about the 144 Mile Corner, are so elevated, that they may be called the heights of land. 3. There is proof also in the

* The above descriptive lines are drawn from the papers of the Commissioners and Surveyor, in the secretary of State's office, Washington.

† Greenleaf.

N. and E.
line.
The dispute.

case, not only by what was done in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1760, and by Governors Shirley, Pownal, and Bernard, at other times relating to the boundaries in this quarter : but in what has been attested by the Plenipotentiaries of 1783, as appears by Doct. Franklin's letter, 1790, and the affidavits of Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay, Aug. 1797 and May 1798, who say that they had Mellish's Map before them, and marked the eastern boundary of Massachusetts Province, [Maine,] as expressed in her *second charter*, that being the intended boundary of the United States.

4. In the commission appointed to determine what was the true St. Croix, the British made it a matter of great interest to have the river Cheputnetecook adopted, because their Plenipotentiary said "it would give a greater extent of navigation *on* the St. John to his Majesty's subjects :"—Yet how, if the line was in no wise to cross the St. John?—is the question.

But the British Commissioner and Agent, insisted that the divisional or boundary line ought to commence at *Mars Hill*,* 40 miles north of the Eastern Monument, and extend thence southwardly, over and along the highlands between the waters of the St. John and of the Penobscot, to *Mile Tree*. They argue that these are the highest lands between the Atlantic and the St. Lawrence : that in this direction, 60 miles distant from Mars Hill, are Spencer Mountains, which have a chain of high hills to the northward ; and to the southward is the great Katahdin ; and not far from "Mile Tree" is Bald mountain, and between the two latter, northward, are many miles of connected, high and broken ridges interspersed with ponds and streams : that the lands between the heads of Beaver stream, the Metapediac and Grand Fourche,† about the pretended "144 *Mile Corner*," have only one high point ; and then, especially at the north, there is a wide spread meadow, occasioned by a Beaver dam ; and farther west is a swamp, and then a valley from which low grounds the water merely moves northerly or southerly from sources only 20 rods apart : that the Plenipotentiaries could not in the treaty of peace ever have intended to go over the mountains and high lands above mentioned, to these meadows, vallies, and swamps, to fix or find a national boundary : that they moreover must have intended to

* In Lat. 46deg. 30. It is 1500 feet higher than the tide waters in the St. Lawrence.

† The Grand Fourche is 131 miles above the monument.

secure to their governments respectively the whole of those rivers which emptied themselves in their own territories, else would they have made provision for the mutual navigation of them : that according to Gov. Pownal's topographical description, published in 1776, "all the heads of Kennebec, Penobscot and *Passamaquoddy* rivers, are on the heights of land running east-northeast"—answering to the highlands from Mars Hill westward ; and Mr. Sullivan under the commission of 1798, described the line as running "from the source of St. Croix to the highlands"—Mars Hill being the highest land between the Monument and the St. Lawrence : that by the "Secret Journal of Congress," the American Ministers were instructed to negotiate a boundary line "drawn along the middle of St. John river from its source to its mouth in the bay of Fundy"—otherwise to have it "adjusted by Commissioners, according to such line as should be by them settled ;" evidently having in mind only the highlands southerly of the St. John : and that, in fine, all the waters mentioned fall either into the Atlantic or the St. Lawrence, except the Restigouche and the St. John, which fall into bays spacious and well known by name and *not* into the "Atlantic" in contemplation of those who framed the treaty.

Each Commissioner made to his own government a long and elaborate report of facts and arguments, of which the preceding is a very concise synopsis.* The territory in dispute is about 10,705 square miles, viz. south of St. John river 5,592, and north of that river 5,113, being nearly a third part of the whole State of Maine.†

* These proceedings, including, the surveys, journals, arguments and reports—are very voluminous, and in manuscript,—now in the office of Sec'y of State, at Washington, covering near a thousand pages.

Moses Greenleaf, Esq. in his "Survey of Maine"—pp. 70—85—has given many correct and interesting particulars relative to the northern waters, rivers, and streams of this State; which the compiler of this History believes it inexpedient to repeat.

† To settle the controversy, agreeably to the 5th article of the treaty of Ghent, the subject was referred, January 12, 1829, to William, king of the Netherlands, who gave it as his opinion, Jan'y 10, 1831, that the boundary line be drawn due north from the source of the river St. Croix to the point where it intersects the channel of the river St. John ; thence ascending the same channel to the point where the river St. Francois empties itself into that of the St. John ; thence ascending the channel of the St. Francois to the source of its southwesternmost branch ; thence, a line

The greatest width of the State, on the parallel of latitude from Quoddy-head to New-Hampshire, is about 198 miles ; from the Eastern Monument, directly west across the State to Canada line, a little north of *Mile Tree*, is about 130 miles only ; while the greatest length of Maine, transversely through it from Kittery point to its northeast *angle*, or 144 *Mile Corner*,” is estimated to be no less than 360 miles.

NOTE.—*Madawaska* settlement is composed of ancient French Neutrals and others who endeavoured to escape from the English government of Nova-Scotia—*being* joined from time to time by their own countrymen. In A. D. 1820, it contained 1,114 souls. A British military post was formerly established at the Grand falls—3 miles below where the line crosses the St. John : and the American military post, was first established at Houlton, in the summer of 1828.

SECTION II.

Face of the Country, Seacoast, Islands, Rivers, Mountains, and Soils.

Face of the Country.

THE face of the country through this extensive State exhibits the varieties of nature. Upon the Atlantic coast, it has several deep bays ; a great number of harbors, promontories, and islands ; and several salt marshes. The northern interior embraces the sources and tributaries of the river St. John ; and imbosoms four other considerable rivers, which are borne through the territories of the State to the ocean. Skirting these waters and the streams that enlarge them, are innumerable vallies, swells, and ridges ; some hills and rugged heights ; and a few mountains. The country however is rather elevated than mountainous ;—free of miry bogs, barren heaths and sandy deserts ; and favored with a diffusion of waters convenient for all the purposes of life.

A view of the water and land.

But a knowledge of particulars can only be acquired by a descriptive view of the shores, the waters, the islands, and the highlands of the State, which are now to be considered. We shall begin on the western borders and proceed eastward, and intersperse collateral facts as they occur. The whole Seaboard may be divided into four parts,—1st, The *Western Coast*, between

drawn due west to the point where it unites with the line, claimed by the United States, “ delineated on the map A. ; thence said line to the point at which, according to said map, it coincides with that claimed by Great Britain ; [probably mile tree] and thence the line traced on the map by the two powers, to the northwesternmost source of Connecticut river.”

Piscataqua and Portland; 2d, *Casco Bay*; 3d, The *Middle* A fourfold division of the coast. *Coast*, from Cape Small Point to Penobscot; and thence, 4th, The *Eastern Coast*, to Passamaquoddy. There are, it is said, 365 Islands on the coast and in the bays of this State; about 300 of which are mentioned in the following pages; the others are very small, or mere rocks.

THE WESTERN COAST.

The *Piscataqua** river in its whole length, forms a part of the Western Coast. western boundary of Maine. Its head is a pond, the body of which is in Wakefield, on the New-Hampshire side, and the Piscataqua river. end in Shapleigh. It is fed by two other ponds; and the three are called Salmon Fall pond, the Northeast pond, and Lovell's pond. The river runs a S. S. E. course about 40 miles to the sea. From the ponds to *Quampeagan falls*, near the mouth of Great-works river, at the head of the tide, the distance Quampeagan falls. is 26 miles; and that part of the river, being only a large mill stream, is called *Salmon Fall* river, from the abundance of Salmon fall river. salmon formerly taken from its waters. It is said, fishermen anciently, when standing on the rocks, could spear them in great numbers, though not one has been seen there for an age past. Within the space of ten miles above Quampeagan are three waterfalls; the upper are about the point where Berwick and Lebanon angle on the river, and are called the *Stair falls*. Four miles below are the *Great falls*, where mills are worked with great profit and convenience. Not far from these two falls, are the mouths of two inconsiderable streams, *Little river* and *Worcester's river*, both in Berwick.†

Near the angle, (at the river,) between Old and South-Berwick, are *Salmon falls*, a mile and a half above Quampeagan, well covered with useful mills, and affording eligible places for machinery. Hereabouts are caught frost-fish and smelts in great plenty, and also some alewives.

Quampeagan falls are ripples or descents of a mile long, washed by the tide nearly to their head; and the river is navigable from the foot of them, 14 miles to its mouth. Against these, on the east side, empties the river *Great-works* or *Chadbourn's river*, Great-works river.

* Piscataqua is of Indian origin, and means "right angles."

† MS. Letter from Berwick.

Doughty's
Falls.

which issues from Bonnebeag pond, a mile long and half a mile wide, in the northeast part of old Berwick, 30 miles from its mouth. In this river are *Doughty's falls*, 5 miles from the pond, and others still greater a mile above its mouth. Here [in South-Berwick] were the celebrated mills of ancient days, erected by one Ledgors, who is said to have had 18 saws moved by one wheel; which, however, required too much head of water to work them with advantage. Here also Mr. Chadbourn, a first settler, purchased lands of the natives in 1643, and formed a noted stand and frontier.

Great land-
ing.

At Quampeagan, so called by the natives, (because fish were taken here with nets,) is the great landing place, whence immense quantities of lumber have been rafted or shipped to market; and where are now many mills of different kinds.

Newichawannock
river.

From Quampeagan to the junction of Cocheco, Oyster, Exeter and New-Market rivers, on the New-Hampshire side, a run of four miles, the river is called *Newichawannock*, and is sufficiently large to bear vessels of an hundred tons burthen near to the falls. Thence to the sea, 8 or 9 miles, the course is from S.

Piscataqua.

to S. E. and the river itself has the name of *Piscataqua*, commodious for navigation and too salt and too rapid to freeze.

Sturgeon
creek.
Spruce
creek.

Where the river changes its name from Newichawannock to Piscataqua, on the eastern side, is *Sturgeon creek*. Lower down on the same side, is *Spruce creek*, which makes up into Kittery, northeasterly around the point, three miles or more; and here, in water two or three fathoms deep, is the harbour. On the N. and E. side of the channel, in proceeding to the sea, are *Rising Castle*, *Furnal's* or *Navy*, *Seavey's*, *Bager's*, *Trefethin's*, and *Clark's Islands*, all which are small except Seavey's, which lies opposite Spruce creek and may be 3-4ths of a mile across either way; and Furnal's, or NAVY ISLAND of 58 acres, which has been purchased by the United States, at the cost of \$5,500, for a ship-yard, in which several war ships have been already built.

6 Islands.

Navy
Island.

Gerrish's
and Cutts'
Islands.

Southeastwardly of Kittery point are *Gerrish's* and *Cutts' Islands*,* which are separated from the main by a very small strait only boatable, and which two together may contain an area equal to a league square; poor and uninhabited, belonging to the town of Kittery. West of the former and north of Great Island is the *Pool*.

* "Brave boat harbour," is N. E. of these Islands, next to the main.

The celebrated *Isles of Shoals*, which are often mentioned and partially described in the succeeding History, lie nine miles south-^{The Isles of Shoals.}erly from the mouth of Piscataqua harbour, and are seven in number,—three (besides Anderson's rock,) on the west and four on the east side of the line; the former belonging to New-Hampshire and the latter to Maine. Here is a good naval road with moorings; where ships sometimes take shelter in bad weather. Formerly the inhabitants were engaged in the cod-fishery to great advantage; and on one of the Islands, saltworks have been erected, which yielded salt of a most excellent quality for curing fish.

The most conspicuous of them is *Star Island*, which forms^{Star Island.} the town of Gosport, and is on the New-Hampshire side of the line. It is 3-4ths of a mile long from N. W. to S. E. and half a mile wide; and has a meeting-house fronting the west, painted white, with 12 feet walls and a steeple in the middle, about 30 feet in height. It may be seen 25 miles distant in almost any direction. It bears from the western Agamenticus south 1-2 east; —the buildings are on the north end of the Island.

*White Island** is a mass of rocks 3-4ths of a mile in length^{White Island.} from N. W. to S. E. and is the southwesternmost one of the cluster. It is one mile and 3-4ths from Star Island meeting-house. In the tower of the lighthouse is a bell of 300lbs. tolled by machinery.

The northernmost of all on the N. H. side is *Londoner's* or^{Londoner's Island.} *Lounging Island*, which has rugged rocks projecting in every direction; about half way between which and Star Island lies a rock, bare at low water. This Island is 5-8ths of a mile in length, and one third of a mile from Star Island, and lies southwest of Hog Island.

On the *Maine* side of the line are *Duck Island*, *Hog Island*, *Smuttynose Island*, and *Cedar Island*.

Duck Island, which is north of all the others, is an ill-shapen,^{Duck Island} low, rocky Island, the most dangerous one of the whole seven, as the rocks project on all sides, and from the N. W. part, a ledge runs off half a mile. It is 7-8ths of a mile in length from N. W. to S. E. and a league from Star Island meeting-house.

Hog Island, at its east end, bears from the meeting-house N. ^{Hog Island.}

* The Lighthouse is 67 feet in height above highwater mark, containing 15 patent lamps with reflectors, on a revolving triangle.

N. E., 7-8ths of a mile distant, and is about one mile in length from E. to W.; and 5-8ths of a mile across. It is much the largest one of the seven.

Smuttynose
or Hayley's
Island.

South of Hog Island is *Smuttynose* or *Hayley's Island*, which has an artificial dock, constructed with great labour and expense by Mr. Hayley, for the accommodation of fishing vessels. It is a mile long from E. to W. and nearly half a mile wide. It has a windmill on its northerly part, and Hayley's cove at the west end, where 15 or 20 small vessels may lie safely from all winds, and where the buildings are situated. The east end of this Island bears E. N. E. 5-8ths of a mile distant from the meeting-house.

Cedar Island.

Cedar Island, one third of a mile in length from E. to W., small in territory, is situate between Star and Smuttynose Islands; its east end bears E. 1-4th N. 3-8ths of a mile distant from the meeting-house. Between this and the latter Island, the channel is crooked, and a rock lies off the S. E. end.* Sometimes vessels passing between Casco bay and Boston, run within side of these Islands.†

York river.

Over land from Spruce creek to *Agamenticus* or *York river*, the distance is only four miles; whereas it is nearly as many leagues around by water to the mouth of that river, where it forms a good harbour. The river itself receives no considerable supply from its short fresh water stream above the head of the tide, and therefore is indebted to the ocean for its existence. Its length of flood-tide is seven miles; its harbour, which is narrow and crooked at its entrance, can receive vessels of 200 tons burthen.‡

Cape Neddock.

Along the coast, four miles distant, a part of which is a most beautiful beach of white sand, empties *Cape Neddock river*, which is a stream flowing from the foot of Mount Agamenticus. It receives its waters from the sea; has a bar of sand at its mouth, and is so small of itself as to be fordable at half tide

* MS. Let. Hon. M. Dennet.

† It was on these Islands that the *dun fish* was cured in so celebrated a manner as to be known in Spain and other places in the Mediterranean. In 1745, a quintal of it would sell for a guinea, when other articles of food were low. The fish is caught in the summer season, cured on the rocks by drying them slowly and very carefully without much salt. It was an art thought to be peculiar to the Isle of Shoals, but is now known elsewhere.

‡ Hon. D. Sewall.

It is never navigable more than a mile from the ocean at high water. On the southwest of the river, and at the upper end of Long-sands-bay, is the *Nubble*, which is nothing more than a Nubble. small hillock.

This Nubble is the nearest main land to *Boon Island*,* which is 1-4th of a mile in length and six or seven miles distant, in a S. E. direction. It is an Island of rocks, and one league east from it, is *Boon Island ledge*, very dangerous. It is so low and Boon Island. small an Island, that sometimes in gales and storms, the waters drive the resident family to the second story of the Lighthouse.†

Between Cape Neddock and the river Mousom, there are no Islands except a few which are mere appendages of the main; but here we find the extensive salt marshes of Wells, the river *Negunket*, anciently *Oguntiquit*, the first boundary between York and Wells; and a few miles east of it the harbour of Wells, tol-

* Upon this Island is a dwellinghouse and a Lighthouse. It is 5 or 6 leagues S. E. from Agamenticus.

† On the 11th of Dec. 1710, the Nottingham Galley, of 120 tons burthen, with ten guns and 14 men, under John Deane, master, bound to Boston from London, was driven by a tremendous gale, accompanied with rain, hail and snow, upon Boon Island. It was in total darkness when their sufferings commenced there:—They being wet, cold, fatigued, and hungry—without shelter, light or food. In so dreadful a night, some soon died. The next day they could make no signal to be noticed from the shore, and after a few days, two of them attempted to get to York on a raft, but they were drowned. The best and only food of these forlorn sufferers, were shreds of a raw hide, a few muscles and rockweed. For several days they prayed frequently to God for relief, and treated each other with condolence and kindness.

But through extreme famine, and distress, they thought upon the duty of preserving their lives, if possible, by eating some flesh of a wretched man whose body lay lifeless before their eyes. They deliberated, sighed, and chose at last, this, as a less evil than death; yet, having no fire, they were obliged to swallow it, loathsome as it was, raw. Their dispositions immediately underwent a total change; quarrels and profanity ensued; they viewed themselves forgotten of their Maker, and prayed to him no more. Such were these unhappy mariners, the most wretched objects of despair, when they were discovered and taken off, the 3d of January, 1711, emaciated to mere skeletons and unable to walk.

In 1811, a Lighthouse was built there of stone, which cost the United States \$2,590, and the next year the Island was ceded to that government, which pays the keeper \$450 annually. Here he takes abundance of sea-fowl which furnishes him with food and feathers.

erable for small vessels, where they were oftentimes attacked in the Indian wars.

Mousom.

The *Mousom*, formerly called *Cape Porpoise* river, or Maguncook, which issues from ponds of that name in Shapleigh, 20 miles remote, turns several mills, but has no good harbour by nature. It is only two miles and a half from that of Wells':* And, because the entrances into the harbours of this section were obstructed by sand bars,† a corporation under a Legislative act, passed June 29, 1792, stopped the natural course of the Mousom, by a dam across it; and thence opened a canal through a salt boggy marsh and a narrow beach to a cove of the sea. It is through this canal, twenty feet wide, seven deep and two hundred rods in length, the waters of the river now find their outlet.

Kennebunk river.

Two miles further east, and still west of Cape Porpoise, at the mouth of *Kennebunk river*, which is smaller than the Mousom, is a good harbour for small vessels; the river is the dividing line between Kennebunk and Kennebunk-port, [lately Arundel,] and turns mills which have cut great quantities of lumber. The village of Kennebunk is 3 or 4 miles from the sea, on the the river Mousom.

Cape Porpoise.

Cape Porpoise, which is seven leagues N. E. of Cape Neddock, is a difficult and narrow harbour, though safe from winds; the entrance into which, an hundred yards from the sea, is between five Islands, three on the right and two on the left. There a vessel which draws ten feet will be aground at low water and can hardly turn on the flood. At the mouth of Kennebunk river harbour are two piers, one on the eastern and the other on the western side of the channel.

Wood Island.

Three leagues N. E. of Cape Porpoise is *Wood Island*, at the mouth of Saco river, 70 or 80 rods from the main land. The entrance into the harbour is on both sides of the Island; at the westward however, there is a long bar of 1-4th of a mile and some rocks; and on the eastern side the water over the bar is only fourteen feet in depth at high tides. The celebrated place, called *Winter Harbour*,‡ which is above Wood Island, is six

Winter harbour.

* Hon. N. Wells' description.

† Depth of water on the bar, at low water, is only 2 or 3 feet: tides 8 or 9 feet. The "*fishing Rocks*" lie off this harbour.

‡ So called after an ancient inhabitant there by the name of *Winter*.

miles below Saco bridge, and the head of the tide; the place of anchorage is near Stage Island, on the Biddeford side. In the "*Pool*," vessels lie safely from all winds. This is without the bar, on the west side of Saco river, and is formed by a peninsula called Fletcher's neck and the main land. A short canal across would connect the Saco with the Pool. There is no channel between Wood and *Negro* Islands.

Wood Island, of 10 or 12 acres, is high even land, and covered with trees. The United States erected a Lighthouse there Lighthouse. with a repeating light, in 1808, at the cost of \$4,898 80, and has since paid the keeper of it \$300 by the year; his is the only family on the Island.

Saco River† in its course is about 140 miles in length, rapid and Saco river. clear; and at the lower falls it is an hundred yards in width. Its head is in the White Mountains of New-Hampshire, at the western pass called the *Notch*; and Ellis River, another branch of it, rises at the eastern pass. Near the former is a source of Connecticut river; and within ten feet of the latter, Peabody river rises, which is a branch of the Androscoggin.

The river Saco, after running in a southeasterly direction between 30 and 40 miles and receiving several small tributaries, enters Maine across the dividing line of Conway and Fryeburg. It then meanders north 15 miles, quite to the north line of the latter town; there, after receiving Cold river and the waters of a small pond at the north, and forming a bow, runs south and separates Denmark from Brownfield. The serpentine windings of this river, thirty-six miles in length, within the single town of Fryeburg, forming fine intervalles and progressing only 4 miles, is a natural curiosity. But to avoid this circuitry in part, a canal more than three miles long, was in 1817—18, cut across about four miles below the extreme curve of the bend, through Bear and Bog ponds, and this laid the bed of the bow above entirely dry. Three miles below the canal, between Fryeburg Academy and the Saco, is the celebrated Lovell's pond, half a league in length, though less than a mile in width at any place. It was

† Anciently "*Sawocotuck*," "*Sawahquatook*," Prin. An. 55, 63. Smith's Hist. 214. "*Sockhigones*," Gorges. *Folsom's Hist. of Saco and Biddeford*, 13, 14.

Saco river. through this, the natives used to pass in their excursions up and down the river.

Pegwacket. This beautiful section of country was anciently called *Pegwacket**, one of the principal and most favourite lodgements of the Sokokis tribe; and also the theatre of a desperate battle, with the Indians. Here are curious mounds of earth, one is 60 feet in circumference, artificially raised by them, either as receptacles of the dead or fortifications of the living; of which no tradition nor conjecture can give any satisfactory account.†

Great falls. From this place the river runs sixty miles S. S. E. before it gives its waters to the Atlantic. In Brownfield it forms a fine intervale; and at Hiram it exhibits the *Great falls*, where the water plunges down a ledge of ragged rocks seventy-two feet.

Great and Little Ossipee. Thirty-five miles from its mouth it is joined by the *Great Ossipee* from the west, which issues out of *Great Ossipee pond*, in New-Hampshire, about eighteen miles distant, and separates Porter and Hiram from Parsonsfield and Cornish, and also forms the dividing line between the counties of York and Oxford. This river though a short one, contributes to the Saco a third part of its waters.

Steep falls. Salmon falls. Above the mouth of the Little Ossipee, at Limington, are the *Steep falls*, of twenty feet; and below, at Buxton, ten miles above Saco falls, are *Salmon falls*, of thirty feet, giving views variously to engage the eye of the curious observer, and affording conveniences to the ingenious machinist.‡

Little Ossipee springs from Balch pond, of 1000 acres, lying each side of the line dividing the two States; and after separating Newfield from Shapleigh, empties itself into the Saco, between Limington and Hollis. It is a fine mill stream, but is not one fourth so large as the Great Ossipee.§

Saco falls. The Main river, having received many other streams, descends to the head of the lower or *Saco falls*, where it is divided by *Indian Island*, containing 30 acres, and on each side tumbles over a precipice of rocks, forty-two feet, and mixes with the tide. From the east side of that Island, which is fertile and pleasant, the appearance of these falls is majestic.||

* "Peckwacket," *Sullivan* 25; or Peguawett,—Gov. *Lincoln*. [Sandy Land.]

† MS. Letter of A. J. Cook, Esq. and a plan.

‡ MS. Letters of Rufus McIntire, Esq. and James Ayer, jr. Esq.

§ MS. Letter of John Neal, Esq. || Rev. Jona. Cogswell, of Saco.

The river is easily affected by freshets. In a common one the *Saco river*. water rises ten feet, and sometimes it has risen 25 feet; when in many places it overflows its banks and makes great destruction. This was particularly the case in the great flood of October, 1775, when a large stream, called *New river*, broke out of *New river*. the White Mountains, and bore down every thing in its way, till it found a discharge in Ellis' river. The Saco, being swelled enormously by this accession to its waters, swept away mills, bridges, domestic animals, and great quantities of lumber. The burst of New river from the mountains was a great phenomenon; and as its water was of a reddish brown, or *bloody* colour, the people considered it an ill omen in those times of revolution.*

After passing the ancient plantations of Kittery, York, Wells, and Saco, we come to *Scarborough*, which has never changed its *Scarboro'*. name since its first incorporation. It extends towards the east, six miles in width on the coast, to the mouth of *Spurwink river*, *Spurwink*. which seems to cut off as it bounds the eastwardly corner of the town. This part is called *Black point*; and between the mouth *Black point*. of Spurwink and those of *Libby's*, *Nonesuch*, and *Dunston* rivers, which discharge their waters in confluence, is *Prout's Neck*, *Prout's neck*. projecting into the sea and forming a semi-globular mound, of some height, joined to the main land by a narrow isthmus. The Nonesuch enters the town from Saco on the south side, crossing *Nonesuch*. the line five miles from the sea, runs round Scottow's hill in the form of a circle, nearly to the east line of the town, and joins Dunston river near its mouth. Between this and Little river, on Saco line, in the southwest quarter of Scarborough, is *Blue point* *Blue point*. and the highlands. Dunston and Nonesuch are both small; the latter has nine bridges over it; the former, being westward of the other, is the shorter and larger of the two and forms a difficult harbour for vessels of a small size. Outside of the bar are *Steten* and *Bluff* Islands, south of the neck.†

* At the mouth of the Saco are Gooseberry Island, Stage Island and Monument, Basket Island, Ram and Eagle Islands.

† *Rev. Nathan Tilton's MS. description of Scarborough and a plan.* The early grant to Henry Josselyn was confirmed in 1684, to Joshua Scottow and others, by President Danforth. But Josselyn married the widow Commock, and thus acquired a large estate at Black point, which, either by the above confirmation or otherwise, became Scottow's. The "*Milleken claim*," arose from an Indian purchase by the Algers.

Falmouth. The ancient *Falmouth** the next plantation to Scarborough, eastward, was originally eight miles wide, in a straight line on the seaboard of Casco bay, and embraced the present towns of Cape Elizabeth, Westbrook, Portland and what is now Falmouth. We propose to describe *first the Coast, and second the Bay.*

Upon the Coast, the town of *Cape-Elizabeth*, from the mouth of Spurwink south, to the utmost extreme of *Purpooduck* north, is eight miles, as the shore runs, and from two to three miles wide. On its easterly side are two noted projections of land; one is *Cape Elizabeth*, at the southwesterly limit and site of Casco bay, four miles from the mouth of Spurwink river, on which is a Pyramid of stone; the other is *Portland-head*, two miles farther north, opposite to the entrance into the sound. On this head is Portland Lighthouse, in lat. 43° 39 and long. 70° 3,—an edifice of stone 72 feet in height, exclusive of the lantern, and was erected in 1790. *Spurwink* settlement was and is in the southerly angle of the town, towards *that* river. The *Purpooduck*† village is nearly opposite the compact part of Portland and is connected with that place by a bridge, 2,600 feet in length.

Between Portland peninsula and the town of Cape Elizabeth is *Fore river*, a salt water indent, stretching first southerly and then westerly, in all a league or more, and terminating in *Stroud-water river* which descends through Westbrook. Spurwink settlement was prosecuted under Samuel Jordan, an Episcopal clergyman; and that of Purpooduck by several brothers whose surname was Wallace.

Richman's Island. *Richman's Island* is southwesterly of the headlands on Cape Elizabeth point, distant 2½ miles; and N. E. of Wood Island, three leagues. It is situated ½ mile from the main land by a strait fordable at low water. It is good land, about 3 miles in circumference and inhabited by two families. It has a harbour for small vessels; though it has sunken rocks called *Watch ledge*, half a mile in extent, east from the northeast end of the Island. In early History this Island is frequently mentioned.

Back cove. On the north and east side of Portland, is a bay called *Back cove*, which stretches up westerly near to the head of Fore river,

* Indian name, *Tolam*—J. De Laet, (printed 1633.)

† The Indians called this land and the country west, "*Apistama*."

leaving an intervening isthmus, which joins the peninsula to the main land in Westbrook. At the mouth of the cove, is a very commodious and substantial toll-bridge about 120 rods in length.

With the waters in the northerly margin of that cove, at its mouth, mix those of *Presumpscot** river, which is navigable a short distance from the sea. Its head is in *Sebago lake*, the easterly edge of which is fifteen miles from the salt water in a straight line. The lake is about four leagues by three in compass, and receives a number of tributary streams; the principal one being *Crooked river*, which rises in the north part of Albany, near a bend of the Androscoggin, and finds its mouth in Sebago pond after running southerly about 35 miles, and turning a number of mills. Northwest of it is *Long pond*, between Bridgeton and Harrison, 9 miles in length.†

About two miles northeast of the place where the Presumpscot receives its waters from Sebago lake, is *Sebago pond*, which lies partly in Gray, though mostly in Windham. It was originally in two parts, separated by a neck 25 feet in width, but connected by one Hardy, about 1760, who lived on an Island in the northern one, to avoid carrying his boat from the one to the other; the southern one before had no outlet. About the year 1790, Col. Anderson cut a canal from the latter, half a mile long, southwesterly, to Pleasant river, a mill stream, through which he drew a small brook to aid in turning his mills. In the great freshet of 1814, the water in the pond rising to an unusual height, burst away the bank of the pond, at the head of the canal, which was sand; and with a tremendous torrent opened a channel 300 feet in width and 50 feet in depth, and swept away a house in which a family lived, also a mill and a bridge; and rushed into a thick and heavy growth of forest trees, tearing them up by the roots, and swelling Pleasant river, so that its waters did much damage before they were discharged into the Presumpscot. The latter is itself rapid, though not very large, and has high banks especially towards its mouth.‡

Royall's, or *Westecustego river*, is about seven miles north-east of Presumpscot; and between the two there are, along the

* Or *Spring-point*.

† MS. Letter of Z. Leach, Esq.

‡ A MS. Letter from J. Waterman, Esq., with a plan. Also 3 Mass. His. Coll. p. 469.

coast, several shoal indents of water and salt marshes. It is a small river, and has a good harbour at its mouth, about which the ancient settlements of North-Yarmouth were commenced which suffered so exceedingly in the early Indian wars. The river rises in New-Gloucester, and after running fifteen miles, descends a fall two miles from the sea, where it meets the tide at the head of navigation.

The original North-Yarmouth lay about nine or ten miles long from the easterly line of Falmouth, in direct course, on the margin of the salt water; extended back two leagues and a half from the mouth of Royall's river and from *Magocook bay*, which terminates northeast in *Maquoit**; and embraced, besides the present town of that name, the towns of Freeport, southeast, and Pownal in the rear. In Freeport are several small creeks, where wood-coasters can load. In the western section of the town is a small stream called *Harraseeket river*, where the first settlements were established; and in the centre are *Porter's* and *Mast* landings, two or three miles from the sea, at which vessels of 400 tons have been built.†

It was between the head-waters of *Maquoit* and Brunswick, or Pejepscot falls, where the Indians passed over land three or four miles only, in their travels across the country.

Between *Magocook bay* terminating at *Maquoit*, and the *peninsula Merryconeag* [in Harpswell] is *Middle Bay*, which borders on that town east, and northwest, on a tongue of land called "*Mare-point*," which is the south extremity of Brunswick, and which separates the waters of the two bays.‡

That *peninsula* is nine miles in length and its average width one mile, and joins Brunswick on the north by an isthmus "a very few rods wide." Eastward of it is the Island *Sebascodegan*, which lies north of *Quaheag bay*, and which is separated from the main land on the east by *New Meadows bay*,§ and river;

* D. Neal says, A. D. 1700, "Maquoit is a small village." In "1662 Boies and others built a fortification at Musequoite." *Kennebeck Claims* p. 18.

† Rev. R. Nason.

‡ From this place may be seen Portland Observatory.

§ Quaheag and New Meadows bays, form *Broad sound*, between Harpswell and Cape Small-point.

and these latter urge their waters up within *one* mile of the Androscoggin. On this Island are 70 houses. Originally, the town of Harpswell was considered a part of North-Yarmouth; though the title to the lands came through the Plymouth company.* Harpswell.

New Meadows bay and river, form an arm of the sea, making up north from *Small-point* and east of Sebascodegan, in width from one to two miles, and in length 15 miles, within one mile (as above mentioned,) of the Androscoggin waters; its head has been called *Stevens' river*.† The harbour is formed by a cove, two miles north of *Bare Island*, land-locked on all sides and sufficiently capacious to hold forty sail of vessels. The cove is between the rocks called the *Brown Cow* and *White Bull*. This river bears N. E. 8 leagues distant from the pyramid on Cape Elizabeth. New Meadows river.
Bare Island.

Cape Small-point, two leagues southeastwardly of *New Meadows* river, at its mouth, has high ground and a rocky shore and is inhabited. Above the point on the northwest, there is a small harbour, and below the southwest extreme of the point is *Lovell's (Glover's) rock*,‡ which is one league west by north from *Sequin Lighthouse*. Cape Small-point.

CASCO BAY.

Between Cape Elizabeth and Cape Small-point, which are nine leagues asunder, are the waters of the spacious and celebrated *Casco bay*;§ of which the northern shore forms the hypotenuse Casco bay.

* MS. Letter of Rev. Samuel Eaton.

† Stevens' River is 40 rods wide where the turnpike bridge crosses it, 5 1-2 miles from the college, and 2 and 1-2 from Bath-village. From the bridge to its head is about 1 and 1-2 mile, and from its head to Merry-meeting bay is only one mile—through which a canal has been cut 30 feet wide,—so deep as to float rafts about highwater.—The old road passed by the head of the river to Bath. Stevens lived on the north side of the present canal, and Purchase on the south side.

‡ One mile W. N. W. from Glover's rock is *Small-point ledge*.

§ The ancient "Acocisco."—The Compiler is indebted to the courtesy of L. Moody, Esq. Portland, for the information in the account given of this bay and its Islands. Mr. M's Chart of the bay is very perfect.

and the eastern shore the perpendicular of an acute angle at the head of Stevens' river. The principal entrances into this bay are through *five* noted sounds, viz. 1. *Portland sound* on the western side between the main and Bang's Island, leading to Portland harbour; 2. *Hussey's sound*, eastwardly 3 or 4 leagues distant, between Peak's Island and Long Island; 3. *Luckse's sound*, southwesterly of Great Gebeag; 4. *Broad sound*, easterly of the latter Island and of Crotch and Jewel's Island, and southerly of Westecustego river; and 5. *Harpwell sound*, between Merryconeag peninsula and Baily's Island.

Portland harbour is one of the best on the American coast. The usual entrances into it are through either Portland or Hussey's sounds; where is good anchorage, on an oozy bottom in water from 1 to 6 fathom deep, land-locked on all sides, having the peninsula and the mouth of Fore river westward, Bang's Island southward, Great and Little Hog Islands southeastward; Mackay's Island and the main northward; and Clapboard Island northeastward. The harbour is seldom frozen over, and the Ledge westward of Little Hog Island, is the only annoyance of any kind to vessels.

Northeast of the preceding harbour, and contiguous, is another still superiour, between the main and Great Gebeag, being more than two leagues in length N. E. and S. W. and varying in breadth from one to three miles. This harbour with a soft bottom and water from 5 to 15 fathoms deep, is sufficiently spacious to hold 1,000 ships of the largest class; which with a fair wind could go to sea through Hussey's sound in a single hour. Along the shores of Falmouth and North-Yarmouth, between them and Clapboard and Sturtevant's Island, however, the water for a short time in some winters is frozen over.

This bay is crowded with Islands, of different sizes, shapes and appearances; and the fact of their being twice or three times as long as wide, and generally stretching northeast and southwest, inspires the thought, that they might be all at some period connected, and then rent asunder by an earthquake or some other tremendous shock of nature from the southwest. The whole number seen above the water at the height of common tides is about 110, exhibiting all the varieties of black ledges, ragged rocks, verdant elevations, and well cultivated fields.

Sounds.
Portland,

Hussey's,

Luckse's,

Broad, and
Harpwell.

Portland
harbour.

Northeast
harbour.

A short description of the Islands apparent above the tide-Casco bay. waters, follows—beginning on the western side of the bay, with Islands. the Islands nearest Portland Lighthouse.

Bang's Island, of 250 acres,* exhibits on the eastern side a Bangs'. high bluff, called "White-head," and is environed by a rocky shore. It is more than a mile N. E. of Portland Light, bears a few trees, yields good pasture, and is inhabited by one family.

Southeast of this, one mile, is *Ram Island*, uninhabited, con-Ram Island. taining 10 acres of low land, with a rocky, dangerous shore ; upon which is a pond and pasturage.

House Island, of 40 acres, is half a mile long, N. W. of Bang's House Island. Island and a near neighbour. On its westerly end, which is east of fort Preble on the main,† distant more than half a mile, is *fort Scammell*, erected A. D. 1807—8, and so named in honour of a Fort Scammell. brave Colonel in the American Revolution. Here is a battery, a blockhouse and a small body of United States troops. The westerly half is owned by the National Government, and the other is inhabited by one family.—*Fort Preble*, built at the same time Fort Preble. with the preceding, is garrisoned by 50 soldiers. It is a strong fortification ; the walls, which are constructed of stone laid in lime-mortar, are 12 feet in height, of a curving form, and enclose the barracks ; but the hospital and habitations for the officers are without the fort.

One league eastwardly of Portland is *Peake's Island*, of 500 Peake's Island. acres and good soil. Its length is half a league by one mile in width ; and has on the S. E. side a rocky shore. It is inhabited by 10 or 12 families who are owners of the Island in severalty.

Northwestwardly and near, are *Great and Little Hog Islands* Two Hog Islands. containing together 300 acres, and separated by a bar covered only at highwater. They form the easterly side of Portland harbour. Upon the former, which is good land, are two houses and a fine growth of wood ; the northeasterly shore is rocky, and the south and west sides sandy. The other is sandy pasture land, without inhabitants.

* The acres mentioned, are generally by estimation, in most of the Islands.

† In the town of Cape Elizabeth, across the channel and west from House Island, is fort Preble.

Casco bay. *Mackay's Island*, situate 1-2 a mile from a point of that name* east of Presumpscot river-mouth, and N. E. of Portland Observatory, 2 miles, containing 70 acres, exhibits a handsome shape, an inviting sandy shore, one dwellinghouse and a beautiful surface.

Two Brothers. Northeast, near Falmouth shore, are "*the Brothers*," which are two small uninhabited Islands, connected by a bar, and are of little value.

Cow Island. Near the N. E. part of Great Hog Island is *Cow Island*, which contains 25 acres of good land, secured by a rocky shore, and adorned with a handsome dwellinghouse and verdant summer fields, without any trees. South, more than one mile and close to the N. E. end of Peak's Island, is a very small one of 2 acres, uninhabited, called *Pumpkin Island*, covered with a thick spruce growth, and bounded by a bold rocky shore. *Crow Island* is also very small, directly south of Cow Island, at the mouth of Diamond Cove, an indent on the N. E. side of Great Hog Island,—a place of great resort by the people of Portland in summer for pastime and recreation.

Long Island. But one of the most beautiful in these waters is *Long Island*, separated from Peak's Island, on the east, by Huzzy's sound. It is about 2 and 1-2 miles long by 3-4ths of a mile mean width, and contains 600 acres, inhabited by 10 or 12 families of well informed people. Though the western end is somewhat rocky, the soil is loamy and productive, adorned with scattering trees.

Overset and Marsh Islands. Very near the southwestern extremities of Long Island are *Overset* and *Marsh Islands*; the former of which, so named from its form, contains 6 or 8 acres, and is uninhabited, rocky and full of spruces. The other is also small, low, rocky and barren, connected to Long Island by a bar.

3 Green Islands. A league and a half eastward of Portland Light, are the *three Green Islands*, one of which is not far from Jewel's Island. Each is small, about twenty feet in height, and without inhabitants.

Jewel's Island. *Jewel's Island*, of 163 acres, is more than a mile in length, the northerly moiety of which is very narrow; and on the northeast part is a curious and very excellent harbour. The soil is good, and the face of this beautiful Island is cheered, by the appearance of one dwellinghouse well filled with inhabitants.

* *Mackay's point*—is where Mr. Mackworth dwelt; and Massachusetts, 1652—3 claimed 4 or 5 miles farther north.

Still larger is *Crotch Island*, at the north, which contains 350 Casco bay. Crotch Island. acres of good land, and is inhabited by 6 or 7 families. Its shape is much like a capital T; its shores are rocky, though on the easterly side is a good harbour.—*The westerly half of this Island and all the others in this bay, previously mentioned, belong to Portland.*

About half way between the preceding one and the south end of great Gebeag is *Hope Island*, which exhibits good land, two Hope Island, of 80 acres. houses, and a bold ledgy shore;—northeast of which is *Sand Island*, of 2 or 3 acres, low and barren. Sand Island.

*Great and Little Gebeag** are very famous Islands. The former, containing 1,800 acres, is the largest Island in Casco bay, if we except, perhaps, Sebascodegan. It is situated about six miles from the main land, possesses a good soil, and supports 325 inhabitants, distributed into 43 families. It is a high Island, 4 miles long by 3-4ths of a mile in mean breadth; and more than half of it is yet covered with a soft wood growth. It has two harbours, viz., in its northeast and southwest parts. The Islanders are fishers or farmers; they have a good school-house; and are a part of North-Yarmouth.† An half mile southwest is *Little Gebeag*, of 60 acres, and a good soil, which being well cultivated supports one family. This Island is only rocky on the southwest side, the residue is sandy; and it is connected with Great Gebeag by a sand bar. It belongs to Portland. Great and Little Gebeag.

Clapboard Island, lying 2 miles N. W. of Little Gebeag, and 1 mile from the shore of Falmouth, is a mile long and only a few Clapboard Island. rods wide, low, though of pretty good soil, bearing a growth of trees.‡ It contains 65 acres, and is uninhabited.

Sturtevant's Island, of 80 acres, lying still farther N. N. E. Sturtevant's Island. is uninhabited and rough; and between these two Islands are dangerous ledges. Not far distant is *Basket Island*, of 15 acres, Basket Island. full of spruces and firs, in a tolerably good soil.

Between Great Gebeag and the main, are *Cousin's* and *Little John's Islands*. The former, which is the nearer of the two to Cousin's Island, of 500 acres.

* Anciently "Chebeague."

† They now have a meeting-house.

‡ About A. D, 1652—4, Massachusetts extended her Charter to this Island.

Casco bay. the land, is two miles long and $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide. It is an high Island, and exhibits to good advantage 6 or 8 dwellinghouses, a good soil, a sandy shore, and some flats. *Little John* has 200 acres of good land, and two or three houses; its S. E. shore is rocky, and the residue a mere mud bank; extending at low water even to Cousin's Island.

G. & L. Moges. *Great and Little Moges** Islands lie near the mouth of Haraseeket river. The former contains 100 acres of good soil, and the latter 20; and from both a mud bank extends to the main shore.

B. Sound. On the westerly side of Broad sound, and south of the northern extremity of Great Gebeag, are these several Islands to be seen as we proceed to the mouth of the sound, at the head of which are, 1, *Two Green Islands*, very small and poor, covered with spruces, near Great Moges:—2, *The Goose Nest*, a barren, dangerous ledge, small and without a tree, lying 3-4ths of a mile south of Great Gebeag;—3, *Crow Island*,† a mile west of the Goose Nest, small and barren;—and 4 and 5, south of Goose Nest, 1-2 a mile, is *Lower Bangs' Island*, of 60 acres, 3-4ths of a mile long from N. E. to S. W., very narrow, with a poor soil, and rugged shore; having *Stockman's Island* northeast, containing 20 acres, as rocky and sterile as the others. 6, South of Lower Bangs' Island is *Stave Island*, of 50 acres, surrounded by rocks and reefs. Its soil is indifferent, yet it contributes support to one family.—*Between Lower Bangs' Island and Stave Island is the usual route from Portland to Kennebec.* 7, Next is *Ministerial Island*, containing 11 acres, half a mile long, low, narrow, and unproductive, though cheered by one house. Its shore is ledgy and forbidding, and between it and Stave Island are dangerous rocks. 8, *Bates' Island*, close aboard, and connected by a bar to Ministerial Island, has 15 acres of low, indifferent land, and a dangerous projection of rocks from its southern extremity. It is distinguished by a house and large barn upon it. 9, *Brown Cow*, or *Broken Cave*, one mile S. of Bates' Island, and 1 mile and 1-4th N. E. of Jewel's Island, is formed of sunken rocks and brown backs crested in summer by a little herbage. 10, Northeast, one mile, is *Eagle Island*, of 5 acres, lying at the

* Formerly "Mosiers."

† Between Crow Island and great Gebeag is a small good harbour.

mouth of Broad sound ; it is a high Island, full of tall spruces, Casco bay. surrounded by dangerous rocks, and uninhabited. These ten Islands do not probably contain in aggregate more than 170 acres.

Between Broad sound and the northwesterly side, and south end of Merryconeag-peninsula, [Harpswell,] are *twenty-five* Islands, of which we will take a passing view in proceeding north-eastwardly from *Drunkers' Ledge*, *Mark Island Ledge* and *Whale Rock*. *Little Mark Island* one mile S. E. of Eagle Island, of only 6 or 8 acres, is remarkable for the stone monument or pyramid erected there by the United States, which is 18 feet square at its base and 50 feet in height. This is at the entrance of Harpswell sound. North is *Haskell's Island*, of 120 acres, a mile long, and narrow, bearing 4 or 5 families, who live well by fishing and cultivating a good soil. At the N. E. end is a small harbour ; the rest of the shore is rocky. *Haddock-rock*, is close aboard west ; and *Great Mark Island* is on the S. E. side of Haskell's Island, of 6 or 8 acres, admitting only a boat passage between them. It is low, ledgy and unproductive.

Upper Flagg Island, having 15 acres of good land, one house and a rocky shore ; *Horse Island*, of 6 acres, a mere sheep-pasture ; and *Little Birch Island*, of 10 acres ; all lie not far from each other at the south end of Harpswell-peninsula, neither of which is inhabited.

Great and Little Whale Boat Islands lie two miles east of the northeast end of Great Gebeag. The former, a mile and 1-2 long and a few rods wide, contains 100 acres and exhibits a bold rocky shore ; northwest of which, 1-2 mile, is the latter, of 15 acres, with a dangerous shore.

Northwest of these is *French's Island*, rocky and ragged, containing 30 acres, and having at its N. E. end an extensive reef of rocks. Still further north, near *Flying-point*, 1 mile and 1-2 east of the mouth of Harraseeket river, is *Bibber's Island*, of 80 acres. The waters are met by rocks on the southerly side of it ; but the margin of the residue is a mere mud-bank to the main shore. It has for its near eastern neighbours the two little *Silver Islands* of 6 acres each, environed by ooze.

From *Flying-point* to *Mare-point* in Brunswick, the distance is 2 and 1-4th miles, between which there are two small Islands, one of 15 and the other of 6 acres, whose names are unknown.

Casco bay
4 Goose
Islands.

The *four Goose Islands* lie within a league S. W. of Mare-point, one contains 75, another 60, and the third and fourth 10 acres each, and all of them are surrounded by sand banks.

Shelter
Island.

Midway of the entrance into Middle bay is *Shelter Island*, which is equidistant from the Goose Islands and Harpswell neck, containing 6 acres

Birch
Island.
5 others.

Birch Island, still further northeast and opposite to Mare-point, contains 150 acres of excellent land; northeast of which are 5 others, towards the head of Middle bay, the largest contains 40 acres, and the three others from 3 to 6 acres each.

On the easterly side of Harpswell-peninsula are several large Islands of very irregular and various shapes.

Baily's
Island.

We begin with *Baily's Island*, a mile from the S. E. extremity of the peninsula; which is 2 miles and 1-2 long and 1-2 mile wide. It has a good harbour, called Mackerel cove, on the westerly side, near the south end. The face of the Island is fair and adorned by some trees; though the soil is not of the first quality and the shore is rocky. There are upon it ten dwelling-houses.

Jaquish
Island.
Turnip
Island.

Only a few rods south is *Jaquish Island*, full of trees, embracing 12 acres of poor land, surrounded with rocks and uninhabited. *Turnip Island* is very small and very near.

Orr's Island.

Orr's Island, or *Little Sebascodegan*, separated from Baily's Island by a narrow strait, stretches up N. E. 3 miles and 1-2, parallel with the peninsula, within a few rods of Sebascodegan, with which it is connected by a commodious bridge, 100 feet long. Upon this Island, which has a tolerably good soil, thirty families are settled. The eastern end is full of trees; the S. E. a rocky, and N. W. a sandy ascent from the water; and this Island makes the S. E. side of Harpswell harbour.

Sebascode-
gan.

Of all the Islands in Casco bay, Great SEBASCODEGAN,* is the largest and most irregular, its shape being a curiosity. It forms the west bank or shores of New Meadows river, and more than a mile it is separated from the peninsula by a narrow strait of a few rods in width. Though the length of this Island is only 6 and 1-2 miles, and 3 miles, mean width; yet such is its irregularity, that the circuit of it at the water's edge, exceeds 50 miles. The northern end is within 7 rods of the main land in

* Spelt on Mr. Moody's Chart, "Jebaskadiggin."

Brunswick ; and here a commodious bridge is erected. This Casco bay. Island, which has a good soil and 450 inhabitants, is a principal constituent of the town of Harpswell.

Between Baily's and Orr's Islands on the west and Phipsburg on the east, are several small Islands southerly of Sebascodegan. These are, 1. *Pond Island* of 10 acres, 3-4ths of a mile S. E. *Pond Island.* of Baily's Island ; northerly and southerly of which are extensive ledges ;—2. *Ram Island*, 1 mile N. E. small, rocky and barren ; *Ram Island.* —3. *Cedar Island*, east, a mere reef of rocks ;—4. and 5. two *Cedar Island.* *Elm Islands*, farther N. E. little and poor ;—6. *Ragged Island* of 50 acres and poor soil, is high and full of trees, has a ragged *2 Elm Islands.* *Ragged Island.* shore and is without inhabitants. Westward of it are dangerous ledges :—7. *White Bull* ;—8. *Bold Dick* and *Brown Cow* are *White Bull,* south ;—9. *Little Bull*, east ;—10. the *Sisters*, N. E. and 11. *Brown Cow,* *Little Bull,* *Snake Island*, are north of Ragged Island, and all of the latter *Sisters,* *Snake Islands.* are small indeed. The White Bull is 80 yards in diameter and 12 feet above water. East of the last, 1 and 1-4 miles, is the noted *Mark Island*, of 6 or 8 acres, high, round and full of trees. Southerly of which are dangerous ledges. Between Mark Island and the White Bull is the usual passage into New Meadows river.

Near the Phipsburg shore are the *Gooseberry*, two *Wood*, *Gooseberry* *Burnt-Coat*, *Horse*, *Malaga* and *Bear Islands*, neither of which *Island.* *2 Wood Islands.* is large, though some of them are of considerable extent : viz. the first is low and rocky, of 2 or 3 acres, having at its south end rugged, projecting rocks. The *Wood Islands* at the entrance of Small-point harbour, 1-4th of a mile from the main, are connected by a rocky bar, on either side of which vessels may pass : both may contain 40 acres. *Burnt-Coat*, of 7 acres, is rocky *Burnt-Coat.* and barren. *Horse Island*, of 30 acres, is connected to the main *Horse Island.* shore by a sand bar and flats, and is full of trees. *Malaga* has *Malaga Island.* also many trees and is rocky ; embracing about 10 acres, and lying between the main land and *Bear Island*. This last is at *Bear Island.* the entrance of New Meadows river, 3-4ths of a mile long, and contains 50 acres. It is full of trees and exhibits a few houses. N. W. on the shore of the Sebascodegan, 3-4ths of a mile distant, is *Condys* well-known harbour.

At the entrance of Quaheag [Cohawk] bay, in the mouth of Sebascodegan, is *Yarmouth Island*, which, though irregular, is *Yarmouth Island.* about 3-4ths of a mile in diameter. It has one resident family

Casco bay. and a good soil, and is favoured with a safe harbour. Farther Pole Island. north is *Pole Island*, of 8 acres, with a rocky shore. It is covered with spruces ; and though uninhabited, it is a beautiful Island. Above this, in the bosom of the bay, are a dozen small poor Islands, whose names are unknown. But we may mention four little Islands, S. E. of Yarmouth Island, viz. *Jenney's*, *Rogue's* and *Flagg Islands*, and *Long Ledge*, all of which are ledgy.*

THE MIDDLE COAST.

Middle
Coast.
Heron
Island.
Pond
Island.
Wood
Island.
Salter
Island.
State
Island.
2 Forts.

Between Cape Small-point and Seguin, which are four miles apart, are *Heron Island* and *Jackknife Ledge* : and north of Seguin, near two miles, is *Pond Island*, on which there is a Light-house. Pond Island, above the mouth of the Sagadahock, has *Wood Island* west, *Salter Island* east, *Stage Island* 1-2 mile N. E., and the *Sugar Loaves* north ; each of which is small. Above Pond Island, on the western shore, are two Forts ; one a mile and 1-4th, and the other 2 miles distant.

Seguin
Island.

Seguin Island,† situate E. N. E. from Cape-Elizabeth, distant 25 miles, lies at the mouth of Sagadahock river, about two miles from the southeast corner of Phippsburg and 3-4ths of a mile further from the United States' fortification. The Island is said to contain, by admeasurement to low water mark, 42 acres, though estimated much more. On the 19th of Feb. 1794, the jurisdiction of this Island and ten acres of its territory was ceded to the United States, and the next year the National Government erected a Lighthouse at the expense of \$6,300, with a lantern 200 feet above the level of the sea, and in 1797 became the owner of the whole Island. The Lighthouse was rebuilt in 1819, at the additional charge of \$2,248 ; and the United States have given \$300 annually to the keeper, besides the fruits of his toil upon the land of the Island.

Sagada-
hock.

Sagadahock loses its name twenty miles from its mouth, at the Chops, where its constituents, the *Androscoggin*‡ and *Kennebec*

* The survey and bearings of these Islands are retained in the ancient records of North-Yarmouth, but unfortunately more than half of them have since changed their names.—*Gen. Russell*.—There are Green Islands, not far from the southwesterly entrance into Portland harbour ; and still others northeast of Matinicus.

† Anciently "*Salquin*."

‡ Anciently "*Aumoughcawgen*."

ivers in their junction, form *Merry-Meeting bay*, and are now to be considered.

The *Androscoggin* rises in the northwest section of the State, ^{Androscoggin.} only about an hundred miles from the Chops, in direct course, though it actually runs, in its flexuous meanders, more than 160 miles.

The rise of its eastern and (considered its) principal branch is in the vicinity of Sunday mountain, about ten miles east of the dividing line between Maine and New-Hampshire, and on the south margin of the highlands, which form the boundary between this State and Canada. This source of the Androscoggin has for its immediate neighbours a head-pond of Dead river, which empties into the 'Kennebec, and the southernmost spring of a stream, which runs northerly and contributes its waters to the Chaudiere. This branch of the Androscoggin runs about 25 miles south and discharges its waters into lake *Mooseetocmaguntick*, a most singular body of water, connected with *Umbagog* lake, by a strait; and it empties all its waters into the latter, which lies on both sides of the western boundary line of Maine. On the western side of it, in New-Hampshire, issues the Androscoggin, 40 miles south from the upper end of the line which divides that State from Maine.

Three miles westward of the outlet, the main river receives the *Magalloway*, which is 12 rods in width at its mouth. This riv- ^{Magalloway river.} er's head is about as far north as that of the Androscoggin, runs a southerly course in Maine, more than 30 miles, and is distant from three to five miles from the line, which it crosses 120 miles north of the Piscataqua mouth.

The Androscoggin, shortly after it receives the waters of Magalloway river, and another river from the northwest, runs southerly in New-Hampshire 25 miles, almost parallel with the line, and five or six miles from it; and then turning, crosses it, and runs the remainder of its course in Maine. In reentering the State it runs through the town of Gilead, and forms a fine interval on both sides, overlooked by rugged lands on the north, and is fed in that town by *Wild river*.^{*} The main river runs four- ^{Wild river.} teen miles in the next town, Bethel, forming an elbow in its western quarter, and flowing northerly in a gentle glide, towards New-

* MS. Letter of A. Burbank, Esq.

The Androscoggin.

ry ; then eastwardly, over a smooth bottom of rounded pebbles, embosoming in the town a number of fertile and delightful Islands of various extent, the largest of which contains 100 acres. The alluvion skirting the banks of the Androscoggin, from ten to an hundred rods in width, is highly productive and beautiful land ; rising in many places by regular banks, one above another, and forming two or more bottoms. Of these, the highest is about 25 feet perpendicular above low water ; and they are all evidently formed by the efflux of the river—changing its bed and banks ; so that the people feel safe in building on those more elevated bottoms, some of which were not covered in the time of the great freshet, October 22, 1785, when the water rose twenty-five feet.

Along northward of the river, three or four miles distant from it, and nearly parallel with its banks in many places, are the “nucleus of the mountains” which, rising in ridges, stretch along from the west line of the State towards the falls, just above the northernmost bend of the river in the east line of Rumford, and shelter, in some measure, these extensive intervalles from the northwest winds. In these parts it is to be remarked, that the hills rise with a gradual ascent from the northwest to their summits, and then fall off abruptly on their southeast sides, and frequently into deep precipices. So inviting is this section of country, that the Northern natives resolved to hold it ; and therefore committed depredations on the scattered settlers thereabouts in the last years of the Revolutionary war.*

After the river receives several small streams and a considerable one through the mountains from East-Andover, it rushes down the *Great falls* [of Pennacook] at Rumford, 50 feet perpendicular and 300 feet within a mile.

From these falls the river runs in a southerly direction through Dixfield into Jay, where it forms various windings ; and leaving the town in a southern course, passes through Livermore, between Turner on the west, and Leeds and Green on the east, and descends *Lewiston falls*, 60 miles below the Great falls. In Turner it receives *Twenty mile river*, which rises principally in Sumner and Hartford, and runs through Buckfield and Turner, forming almost every accommodation for mills and machinery. Over this

Lewiston falls.
Twenty mile river.

* MS. Letter of J. Grover, Esq.—MS. Letter of Luke Riely, Esq.

river there are four large bridges in the town of Buckfield, and several in Turner. This part of the country has been exceedingly injured by fires, particularly in 1816, when the flames spread and raged to a very alarming degree. The Androscoggin.

At Lewiston, 20 miles above Brunswick, the cataract is called the *Upper falls* of Pejepscot; where the water tumbles over massy rocks, and rushes through narrow passes, about 100 feet perpendicular, from the surface above to the bed below. These falls are not abrupt as over a mill-dam, but descend on an inclined plane, broken with ledges. Here are mills, and one is supplied with water through a channel sunk in solid rock. The river below the falls is 50 or 60 rods wide, and seldom so shoal as to be fordable by a man and horse, even in the drought of summer.

As you stand on an elevation, one mile below these falls, you see the rapid river, called the *little Androscoggin*, flow in from the westward, shooting its current across the bed of the main Androscoggin, forming a channel on the eastern shore, and adding a fourth to the main river. It rises in Woodstock and Norway; and receives waters from *Moose* and *Gleason* ponds in Paris, as it passes between the swells of that town, and also those of *Thompson* pond on the southerly side, turning many mills, especially in Minot and some in Poland, which two towns it separates. It has generally high banks, though lined with intervalles or strong land. Little Androscoggin.
Its sources.

On the east side of the great Androscoggin, there is one tributary river above Lewiston falls, which deserves to be mentioned for its peculiarity. This is the *Thirty mile* or *Dead river*, which is the natural and only outlet of great Androscoggin pond, 3 and 1-2 miles long and 3 broad, between Leeds and Wayne; and of small ponds 15 miles in extent northwardly.* *Dead river*, from the outlet in Leeds to Androscoggin river, is six miles in length, 8 or 10 rods in width and deep; and its bed is so level and exactly horizontal, that the rise of the great river eighteen inches, will invert the current of *Dead river* its whole length. In great freshets, much water is forced into the pond, which becomes a Little Dead river.

* Other ponds are, little Androscoggin pond, Muddy pond, Wilson's pond, and Hutchinson's pond.

The Androscoggin. reservoir ; greatly soaking, however, and hurting the lands on its borders.*

Below the mouth of little Androscoggin, the water rapidly ripples : and the upper falls [at Lewiston,] were formerly said to be the northwestern limit of the Pejepscot purchase.

Pejepscot
Lower falls.

The cataracts of Pejepscot, or Brunswick falls, are contracted from a quarter of a mile in some places, to forty and possibly to thirty rods, in width. Here the water pours over falls of fifty feet, barred or checked in different parts by three grades of dams. On the lower grade the dam is semicircular, embattled near the centre with an Island which thrusts off the waters on each of its sides, though mostly on the west, under arches of the winding bridge in two parts, which rests its approximating ends on the Island. Below the bridge the river expands to the width of an hundred rods, and the tide at high-water, rises four feet. Above the head of the falls, the river is spacious and glassy ; and to secure floating logs, and stop flood-wood, piers are sunk at great expense, and large timbers in joints so fastened to them with irons as to form an impassable boom.

On these falls are 25 saw mills, each of which will on an average, annually cut 500,000 feet of boards. They employ about 300 men. Here also were carding machines, fulling mills, and factories ; 1,488 cotton and woollen spindles, and 24 looms whose warping and sizing machines were moved by water power.†

The water in the freshets not unfrequently rises in the river, 20 feet : and in 1814, immense damage was done by the uncommon flood, which brought down mills, barns, masts, logs and trees, over the falls, in undistinguished ruin.

At the falls, the river formerly had the name *Pejepscot*, till it lost itself in *Merry-Meeting bay*. In the middle of this bay are sand-beds bearing a species of reed, upon whose roots feed wild geese and other seafoal. These sands, often changing their drifts, greatly injure the navigation toward the falls.

Merry-Meeting bay, from the falls to its outlet, may be 10 miles in length, winding round towards the north, till it meets and

* MS. Letter of Thomas Francis, Esq.—“ On Norris’ Island, in the pond, is an Indian burying-ground.”—MS. Letter of A. G. Chandler, Esq.

† Destroyed in 1825, by fire.

Merry-
Meeting
bay.

embraces the Kennebec waters, receiving on the northwesterly side, as it glides forward, 1st. *Muddy river*, which is a long arm of the sea, collateral to the bay; 2. *Cathance*, which is mostly a salt water river, and navigable 3 miles to Cathance landing; and, 3d. *Abagadusset*, whose mouth is near Kennebec, at which is a point of that name, where was once a small fort, and where the Sachem Abagadusset had his residence, about 1665.

On the southerly side of Merry-Meeting bay, near the extreme of the *Chops*, is *Wiskeag* or *Wisgig Creek*, which extends south into the land two miles; from the head of which to that of Stevens' river, the neck is only one mile in width, across which Mr. Peterson, in 1800, cut a canal eight feet in breadth, sufficiently deep to float logs at highwater. Stevens, the ancient Indian trader, lived on the northerly side of where the canal now is, two miles above the turnpike bridge, which leads from Brunswick to Bath, and which is at the head of navigation over Stevens' river. Here was the Indian carrying place between Casco and Merry-Meeting bays.

The next river to be described is the *Kennebec*, which is some longer, larger, less rapid, and less serpentine than the Androscoggin. Its length from its sources to Merry-Meeting bay, in direct course, may be 130 miles, and its actual run 40 miles more. It is formed by two principal branches, viz: the *North Branch* and *Dead river*, called, where they meet, *the forks*, and are said by travellers to be 48 and 1-2 miles above the south bend at Norridgewock village.

The *North Branch* issues from *Moosehead lake*, which is the largest body of fresh water in the State, or in New-England. It is twelve leagues in length, from north to south; and its upper rills head within twenty rods of the Penobscot. It receives Moose river from the west, which rises among the highlands. In this lake there are four kinds of fish:—1. One kind, which is from 1 and 1-2 to 3 and 1-2 feet in length, has teeth, fins, and a head larger than that of a salmon, weighs from 5 to 16 pounds, and is good for the table. 2. There are two sorts of *trouts*, one has a white belly, a beautifully spotted back, and is exceedingly good for food; the other, which is without scales, not so large and hardly fit to eat, is of a brown colour with a black head, weighing from 1 to 2 and 1-2 pounds. 3. Another kind

The Androscoggin.

Kennebec river.

North Branch.

Moosehead Lake.

Kennebec
river.

of fish which is found in shoals, is from 12 to 18 inches in length, scaled, and in shape somewhat resembling a mackerel, and is called "*white fish*." When taken (though seldom with a hook,) it is very palatable.—4. In the lake is also found the fresh water *cusk*, very much resembling that of the salt water, weighing from 2 to 7lbs.—5. There are also *lobsters*, not much unlike in form those taken in the salt water, though smaller, as these are only from 3 to 5 inches in length.

The length of the North Branch from the outlet to the forks, where it meets Dead river, is about 20 miles. The traveller from this place to Canada, finds the road well cleared, bridged, and passable for wheels; crosses Moose river 28 miles from the forks, thence at intervals of 7, 8, and 10 miles, he passes over the three branches of the Penobscot, and five miles further, reaches the "MILE TREE" before mentioned, on the heights.*

Dead river.

Dead river rises among the boundary highlands, three leagues from the northwest corner of Maine, near those which rise and run north into the Chaudiere. It descends in a southeasterly direction till it has passed Mount Bigelow on the south, where it turns towards the north, and then to the east, and joins the North Branch, yielding more than a third part of the water which constitutes the river below the crotch or forks. Dead river is rapid; its mouth is about 60 rods wide, though its water there is usually, quite shoal.

The course of the Kennebec, below the forks, is nearly south. It runs through a fine country of wild land 12 or 15 miles; it then passes the "carrying place rips," half a mile in length; and 26 miles below the forks, it descends the *Carratunk falls*, which have Solon on the east and Embden on the west. Here the river, which is 30 rods wide, is contracted to 40 feet only and pitches over the rocks in a beautiful sheet of water 35 or 40 feet, though the carrying place by them is about fifty rods, to be prevented by a canal on the eastern side. The appearances of the falls are commanding; while the eye as it chases down the current 50 rods, is relieved in view of spacious smooth waters. Anciently

Carratunk
falls.

* From *Mile Tree* to Quebec is 94 miles, viz: to the mouth of Chaudiere 29, thence to St. Marie's 35, and thence to Quebec, 30 miles.—Holden's house is situated one mile north of Moose river bridge.

these falls were a place of great resort by the Indians in fishing Kennebec river time, where they took salmon in abundance.*

From Carratunk falls to *Norridgewock falls*, which are just Norridgewock falls. above the mouth of Sandy river, the distance is called 14 miles. Here the water does not descend in a cataract; its whole fall in the length of near half a mile would not exceed probably fifty feet. In dry times the river is fordable here, and sometimes also at Norridgewock village, six miles below.

Sandy River, after watering several townships, runs circuitous- Sandy River. ly through Farmington, and taking the little Norridgewock, proceeds northeasterly to the Kennebec. No part of the State is more justly celebrated for its beauty and fertility than the lands on this river, particularly in that town. Here were the Indians' old cornfields, in the deep intervalles which spread wide from the river enriched by its annual overflowings.†

In the bend of the Kennebec, on its east bank opposite to the mouth of Sandy river, at Norridgewock point, is the site of the Indian "Norridgewog." ancient village of the Canibas Indians, so famous in history. The land is a level and fertile intervalle, and its natural situation beautiful. The area contains 250 acres, and is the spot where the old catholic chapel stood. Its bell, weighing 64lbs., was lately found and presented to Bowdoin College.

From Norridgewock point, the Kennebec takes a turn and runs southeast to the village, 6 miles, and then northeast, five miles, descending through narrows, and down Scouhegan falls, Scouhegan falls. 12 or 15 feet, and the rapids below, in all half a mile. Here it receives, through Cornville from the north, the river *Wesserunsett*, a large and most pleasant stream.† Wesserunsett river. At Scouhegan falls are about ten mills and machines, and also villages on both sides of the river connected by a bridge. The north or upper line of the Plymouth patent runs east and west a couple of miles above the mouth of the Wesserunsett river, though the proprietors claimed six miles at least further north.§

* MS. Letters of E. Coolidge, Esq.—Hon. Obed Wilson,—Wm. Butterfield,—O. Baker.

† MS. Letter of Hon. Nathan Cutler, of Farmington.

‡ MS. Letter of A. Morse, Esq. and a plan. "At Scouhegan falls is Scouhegan Island: the waters on the west side form some of the best mill sites in the State.

§ MS. Letter of G. Bixby, Esq.

Teconnet
falls.

The next, to the southward, are *Teconnet falls*, 15 miles below the Scouhegan and opposite the village of Waterville, where the water in a short distance descends about twenty feet. Below Teconnet, the *Sebasticook*, rising near some branches of the Penobscot and running southwesterly, empties its waters into the Kennebec on the eastern side. It is a large mill stream and in many places rapid. On the point of land above the confluence of the two rivers, and below the falls, was the old *Teconnet fort* of the Indians and afterwards *fort Halifax* of the English, built in 1754, during many years a most noted place. The fort itself is in Winslow, and the block-house was lately standing.

Sebasti-
cook.

Fort Tecon-
net, or Hali-
fax.

Fort West-
ern.

Fort Western is also on the east side of the Kennebec, a little below and near the bridge, in Augusta, about 16 miles south of fort Halifax, built by the Plymouth company in 1754, still exhibiting all the prominent appearances of its location.* To this place the tide flows and rises two feet,† and small vessels of 100 tons ascend; being 45 or 50 miles from Seguin Lighthouse.

Cobbesse-
contee.

The next considerable tributary of the Kennebec is *Cobbessecontee river*, an inviting stream for mills and machinery. It issues from Winthrop pond, north of west from its mouth, and running in the form of a semi-ellipsis, receiving in its course the waters of Cobbessecontee pond and almost encircling the town of Gardiner, empties into the Kennebec, on the western side, seven miles from fort Western. It is crossed near its mouth by a dam of split stone, and is ornamented by a number of mills and among them an excellent flour mill. The name of the river is of Indian etymon and signifies "*Sturgeon river*."‡

Swan
Island.

Five miles lower we meet with *Swan Island*, in the river where it divides Bowdoinham on the west, from Dresden on the east shore. The Island is four miles in length and 200 rods in mean width, anciently the dwelling-place of an Indian Sagamore, who lived here about the time the country was first settled, and who joined in most of the conveyances, made by the Indians in those times, of lands on the Kennebec. The Island itself is a part of the town of Dresden and its soil is good; the river is

* MS. Letter of Hon. Daniel Cony. Lat. of Augusta, 43deg. 14min.: the bridge cost \$26,000.

† The Tide rises at Hallowell 6 feet.

‡ MS. Letter of R. H. Gardiner, Esq.

navigable on both sides of it, though the channel mostly used is on the eastern side. Between this Island and the mouth of the Cobbessecontee, five miles below the latter, in Pittston, is a small Island and stream, by the name of *Nehumkeag*, or *Negumkike*,* Nahumkeag. [or eel-bed,] a noted place mentioned in the Plymouth patent.

Old Pownalborough, which included Dresden, Wiscasset, and Alna, as they are now bounded, was the ancient plantation of *Frankfort*. On the margin of the river in Dresden, the Plymouth company, in 1754, constructed and erected a fortress, which they called *Frankfort*, or *fort Frankfort*, afterwards named *fort Shirley*, laid out a parade 200 feet square and built Fort Frankfort, or Shirley. two block-houses. It was 16 miles from fort Western and 33 from fort Halifax.

Richmond fort a very ancient establishment, was on the west- Richmond fort. ern side of the Kennebec, one mile and an half below fort Frankfort, and nearly opposite the upper end of Swan Island.

The *Chops* are so called because they open and receive the Chops. waters of the Kennebec and Androscoggin, after they *merrily meet* and form the great *Merry-Meeting bay*. From their throat,† or the narrows, to the sea, the waters of the two rivers in junction are called *Sagadahock*‡ to its mouth, having Bath and Sagadahock. Phipsburg on the west, and Woolwich and Georgetown on the east. About a league below the Chops, abreast of Bath village, it is divided by Arrowsick Island at first, and seconded by Parker's Island, a little lower on the east, and part of its waters passes down *Long reach*, to a short turn which then takes Long reach. the name of *Fiddler's reach*, and washes the shores of Phipsburg Fiddler's reach. and Arrowsick Island; the other part runs between Woolwich and the northeast end of Arrowsick and of Parker's Island, through *Cross river*, or the *Gut*, to Sheepscot river, two leagues; Cross river.

* Opposite to the Island is *Nahumkeag stream*, in Pittston, which is too small for mills except in wet seasons. There were attempts to fix the patent on the east side of the river at this place: but it was extended to the north line of Woolwich.

† At the Throat is King's Island, of 180 acres, a mile above the ferry, which ferry is two miles above Bath. At the ferry the river is 1-2 mile and 4 rods wide. Above King's Island is the Chops.

‡ Anciently "*Sunkatunkarunk*."—mouth of Rivers.—*Hon. D. Sewall*.—Or rather "*Sunkaradunk*."—*Kennebec Claims*, 14.

Back river or southeast, through the eastern passage called *Back river*, which separates those two Islands.

**Winne-
gance
creek.** *Winnegance creek*, is a cove making down south, two miles from the turn where Long reach and Fiddler's reach meet, and ends within 20 rods, across land, of the *easterly* branch of Stevens' river before mentioned. As to widths, the main river at the mouth between Phippsburg and Parker's Island, is more than half a mile; Back river, 8 or 10 rods, and Cross river from 6 in some places to 100 rods in others. A bridge connects Parker's Island and Arrowsick Island; and there is another over Winnegance creek, to avoid going round its head in passing from Phippsburg to Bath.

**Two Bridg-
es.** On the north side of the aforementioned passage, called Cross river, which runs down southeasterly, having Arrowsick and Parker's Islands southerly, and Woolwich and Jeremisquam Isl-
**Monseag
bay.** and* northerly, is *Monseag bay*. From about midway of Cross river it stretches up northerly, between Woolwich and Jeremisquam Island, two leagues in length, and is sometimes called Monseag or "Monsweag" river. In Woolwich on the northerly shore of this bay or river, in a pleasant situation, was the birthplace of
Gov. Phips. Governor Phips, now a well cultivated farm.

Nequasset. *Nequasset* stream is very short; the water is salt to the head of the tide, and it is wholly in the town of Woolwich. It issues from a pond of 400 acres in that town, and turns several mills at the falls where it meets the tide. Here is one of the best alewife-fisheries in the State. Anciently Woolwich was called the *Nequasset-settlement*.†

Phippsburg. Phippsburg is a peninsula, divided northerly from Bath by Winnegance creek and a narrow isthmus between it and the east branch or cove of Stevens' river, and includes Cape Small-point at its southwestern extremity. A mile above the southeast corner or projection of this peninsula, on what is called *Hill's point*, is the plat of ground where the Sagadahock colony passed the winter, 1608—9. The United States' fort is near the same spot, though a little further east. The fort built by those ancient colonists was called *fort St. George*, but gradually acquired the name of *Popham's fort*. The remains of it and of several houses or

**United
States' fort**

**Popham's
fort.**

* New Westport.

† MS. Letter of E. Delano, Esq.

habitations built there, and afterwards revived and increased in number to 10 or 12 by the new Plymouth settlers, are yet seen.

The colony, at first, landed on *Stage Island*, situate on the east side of the channel, south of Parker's Island, and separate from it by a narrow shallow strait. On this little Island of 8 or 10 acres, they erected a fortification and dug a well, which was walled and parted by a partition still apparent. But because they could not get good water, they removed across the river* and settled on the peninsula, westward.

Arrowsick† Island is mostly excellent land. It is five miles long, its mean breadth is one mile, and it contains 4000 acres: It has 200 acres of marsh; some ledges, and some yet in woods, and is separated from Phippsburg by the main channel, more than half a mile wide. The first settlement of this Island was very early. *Hammond's fort* was on the northeast part next to Cross river, opposite Monseag bay: the other settlement was about a mile above the south end of the Island and extended quite across it, having back of it, on the eastern shore, the new tier of lots, anciently called *Newtown*,‡ which has sometimes given this name to the whole Island. The remains, or appearances of 50 dwellings, which were destroyed by the savages in the first Indian wars, can now be discovered.

Parker's Island, originally *Eraskohegan*, lies southeasterly of Arrowsick, separated from it by Back river. It is nine miles long, and on an average one mile and an half in width, containing about 10,000 acres, one half of which is yet covered with native woods. It has 500 acres of marsh; but two thirds of its territory are mostly ledges and swamps. It is said that John Parker commenced the settlement of this Island in 1629, spent the winter following on its south side, where are the appearances of some ancient habitations. Amid Indian hostilities, this Island was for a time abandoned, but never forsaken. It was actually purchased of a Sagamore, by Parker about 1643. Near midway of this Island is Georgetown meeting-house.

The *Sagadahock plantations*, or settlements, must be called the "Ancient Dominions" of Maine. As they revived and ex-

* The River here is said to be about a mile wide.

† "Arroseag." In *Sullivan*, 145.

‡ Said to be "in the old county of Cornwall."—*Ble. of Claims*.

Old George-
town.

tended between North-Yarmouth on the west, and Sheepscot on the east, they included the peninsula [or Phippsburg and Bath,] Arrowsick, Eraskohegan, and Nequasset, and constituted *Old Georgetown*. After the re-embarkation of the first colony, A. D. 1609, this section was visited by Captain Smith, and Capt. Hunt, in 1614, and by almost all others who came into the contiguous waters; it was also the early resort of colonists from New-Plymouth.*

Sheepscot
river.

The Sagadahock river is sometimes frozen over below the Chops. The tide rises at Bath 10 feet, at Augusta 2 feet, and at Topsham 4 feet, where the flood-tide is an hour later than in Maquoit bay. The run of salmon and shad, both in Androscoggin and Kennebec, is almost at an end.

Sheepscot
farms.

Sheepscot river, which has a communication with the Sagadahock, by means of Monseag bay, is neither long nor is it, above the tide waters, very large. It rises in Palermo, and after running through Whitefield and Alna, where it is only a mill stream, it descends the falls which are five miles above Wiscasset point. On the Sheepscot, at and above these falls, are the old "Sheepscot farms" which lie each side of the river in Alna and New-Castle.

Wiscasset.

The falls are at the head of the tide and of navigation, though they are not great.† The waters of *Wiscasset bay* have the upper end of Jeremisquam Island and Cowseگان Narrows to Monseag bay on the south; Wiscasset point and village on the northwest, and Decker's Narrows in view; *Folley Island*, in the northwest corner of Edgecomb, on the southeast; and the waters of the river, on the northeast, which will safely float vessels of 100 tons to Sheepscot Narrows, about four miles, into the town of New-

* Hon. Mark L. Hill.—MS. Letter, of Benj. Riggs, Esq.—In king Philip's war, A. D. 1676 "the inhabitants lost 1000 head of cattle."—*Hub. Ind. wars*, 281.

† A little above Wiscasset, on the New-Castle side, is a salt Marsh of 1000 acres, on a mill stream. The land between Bath ferry and Wiscasset, 8 miles, is hilly:—Also the land, from the Sheepscot falls and bridge, 6 miles above Wiscasset, to the outlet of Damariscotta pond, by which the river divides New-Castle from Nobleborough, is hilly rough land. The pond is 27 miles in circumference, the water at the outlet is sufficient to carry a mill. The toll bridge which unites the two villages of New-Castle and Nobleborough, is about 2 or 3 miles below the outlet. The river is navigable to the foot of the mill, below the outlet.—The fort is 12 miles below the village.—These places are often mentioned in ancient History.

Castle, towards the river Damariscotta. The distance from Wiscasset point to the United States' fortification on Folley Island is half a mile; and to the head of Jeremisquam Island, three quarters of a mile; and directly across the river to the east shore, where Edgecomb and New-Castle corner on the bank, it is one mile. Here is an excellent harbour, very seldom frozen, with a good depth of water, smooth bottom and a tide ordinarily of twelve feet; it is 20 miles N. N. E. of Seguin. Wiscasset-point is 1 and 2-3 leagues N. W. of Cross river.*

Jeremisquam Island, situated between Monseag bay and the Jeremisquam. main channel of the Sheepscot, is eleven miles in length, and, on an average, one mile wide, and contains 15,460 acres, forming a third part of the town of Edgecomb, to which it has belonged. East of Jeremisquam is *Barter's Island*, three miles and a half Barter's Island. long and half a mile in width. The main channel, which has fifteen fathoms of water, is between these two Islands, though small vessels may pass up Back river, which is the passage on the east side of Barter's Island. From the head of Back river, the water in the "*Oven's mouth*," stretches east in a narrow strait, Oven's mouth. between Boothbay and Edgecomb, more than half way across from Sheepscot to Damariscotta river, and then turns south.

On the southwest side of Boothbay, which bounds on the east shore of the Sheepscot, is the Island of *Cape Newagen*, 4 and 1-2 miles long, generally one mile wide and separated from Boothbay, to which it belongs, by a narrow passage for small vessels, called *Townsend Gut*. *Ebenecook harbour* is on the west side Townsend. Ebenecook. and midway of cape Newagen Island, where was an old settlement; and *Cape harbour* at its south end, is near two great rocks called the *Cuckolds*. Cuckolds.

The distance across land through Boothbay or Edgecomb, between the Sheepscot and Damariscotta rivers, is generally a little less than four miles; and in New-Castle the waters of those rivers approach still nearer each other. The southeast section of Boothbay is *Linekin's Neck*, between which and Cape Newagen Linekin's neck. is Townsend harbour, two miles and a half wide; and in the middle of the latter is *Squirrel Island* of 90 acres, which is Squirrel Island.

* *John Mason* lived at Wiscasset-point; the *Davies*, north about half a mile, and *Walter Philips*, Recorder under the government of the Duke of York, lived on the New-Castle side.

inhabited by three families and is a noted place for its abundance of white sand.

At Townsend, that is, in Boothbay harbour are several little Islands; one is *Burnt Island* near the east shore of Cape Newagen, on which is the Lighthouse.

Damariscotta river issues from Damariscotta fresh ponds which are in Jefferson and Nobleborough, and which are three or four leagues in length from north to south. At the upper or fresh water falls, where the water descends 50 feet in as many rods, it is crossed by a free stone-bridge; and two miles below, at the lower or salt water falls, New-Castle and Nobleborough are connected by a toll and drawbridge over the river. The *Oyster banks*, on both sides of the river at the upper falls, deserve to be noticed. On the banks and margin of the west side, these shells lie in heaps from 12 to 15 feet high, covering an area of several rods; and although the heaps on the eastern side are not so high, they extend back twenty rods from the river, and render the land wholly useless. When burned they make lime as white and good as that of limestone, and as easily slacked. It is also said, the skeletons and bones of human beings are found among them;* yet no tradition about them has come to the present generation.

The Damariscotta river is navigable for ships of any burthen about four leagues from the sea to the lower falls; and is on an average half a mile in width. At its mouth, it has Linekin neck on the west, and *Rutherford's Island*, one mile in length, and *Thumpeap Ledges* on the east—bounding the west side of Penmaquid bay. From *Inner Heron Island*, lying at the mouth of the river, up to the United States battery on Narrow's Island in the western side of the channel, the distance is 4 miles.

Southwesterly of Damariscotta river, easterly of Townsend Light and southerly of Linekin neck or point, are the noted *Damariscove Islands*,† though they are of small sizes. They are in number five or six, viz. 1. *Fishermen's Island* of 70 acres, with the *Hippocras*, one mile south of Linekin's neck, is rocky, poor and forbidding, the residence of one family. 2.

* MS. Letter of E. Rollins, Esq. MS. Letter of M. Davis, Esq.

† "A place of great advantage for stages for Fishermen in former times." They lie to the west by north from Monhegan.—*Hub. Nar.* 280.

Wood Island, or *Damariscove proper*, a mile farther south, is ^{Wood Island.} two miles in length, from N. E. to S. W. and half a mile wide in some places. It is the largest and best of the whole, and is also inhabited by one family. It belonged to the old Pemaquid patent. 3. *White Island*, eastward of Fisherman's Island, is a ^{White Island.} mere rock, and has the appearance of two little Islands: It is called the *north Damariscove Island*. 4. *Heron Island*, and 5. *Heron.* *Pumpkin rock*, are east of Wood Island, the one a mile, and the ^{Pumpkin rock.} other half a mile distant, being a barren rock, 20 feet above the level of the sea:—*Bantham Ledges* are southwest of this cluster ^{Bantham Ledges.} of Islands.*

John's river is an arm of the sea, stretching up a couple of ^{John's river.} miles from the northwest part of Pemaquid bay, into the land between Damariscotta and Pemaquid rivers. East of it is *Pema-* ^{Pemaquid river.} *quid river*,† small, and only fourteen miles from its source to its mouth. It issues from Pemaquid pond, in Nobleborough. It is an inviting, convenient stream, till we descend within two miles of its mouth, at the head of the tide and of navigation. Here are rippings, to avoid which, a canal was cut twenty rods ^{A canal.} in length, about ten feet wide and variously deep from 6 to 10 feet, calculated to receive a smooth sheet of water over a very level bed; though no water runs there at the present time. Nor is there any tradition when or by whom this ingenious work was performed. Pemaquid bay affords one of the most pleasant harbours in the State.

Fort William Henry,‡ previously *Fort George*, was on the east ^{Fort William Henry.} bank of Pemaquid river near its mouth, where it takes a turn to the west and is forty rods wide, and the tides from 14 to 16 feet. The fort was on a point of land which projects into the river and completely commands its entrance. Its ruins are the melancholy remains of great labour, and expense; and during the Revolution, the hand of destruction did much to prevent its

* They are nearest Wood Island, and dangerous; there have been many wrecks on them.

† Anciently *Pemaquideag* or *Pemaquida*; Long Point.—*Indian*.

‡ Col. Dunbar called it *Fort Frederic*. Perhaps he caused the canal to be made.—*See Post. Hist. A. D. 1731*.—Below the Fort was a handsomely paved street, extending towards it, northeastwardly from the water 60 rods. It is still to be seen; and like the canal, it is the work of unknown hands.

becoming a fortress of the enemy. Some of its walls however are now 3 feet high.

Pemaquid point.

From the fort, directly south, to *Pemaquid point*, is three miles and a quarter, having on the west side of Pemaquid bay, which is generally a mile and a half wide, Rutherford's Island and Thump-cap ledges.* *New harbour* is a league above Pemaquid point on the eastern shore, towards Muscongus and nearly east of the old fort, across land; its ledges have 5 feet of water at the lowest ebb.

New harbour.

Pemaquid river is generally about four miles from Damariscotta river, over land, and nearly as far from the waters of the *Muscongus river*, in many places, though only about two miles from the west margin of Broad bay. The southerly Island in this bay towards the western shore is *Muscongus Island*, of more than 900 acres, inhabited by 8 or 10 families, and beautified with several fine farms. It has upon it a convenient schoolhouse. There are ten families on *Long Island*, and also families on other *Islands*; several of which afford pleasant residences for their inhabitants, and exhibit considerable wealth. These Islands belong to the town of Bristol.

Muscongus Island, and others.

Muscongus river.

Muscongus river rises in Montville and in Union, and is an excellent mill stream, which is advantageously used for that purpose. Its course is south, through Waldoborough, till it mixes with the tide at the head of navigation, seven miles from the sea. Vessels of 200 tons may come up to the bridge. After descending 3 miles from Waldoborough village, which is at the head of the tide, it takes a short turn to the west, where it is only 100 feet wide, and receives the waters of a cove from the northwest called

Broad cove.

Broad cove; and soon afterwards spreads and passes down each side of the above named Islands, being about two miles across from the southwest point of Friendship to Bristol. The German settlements about Broad cove on the west shore in Bristol, are somewhat ancient. *Upper Narrows Island* and *Hog Island* have 2 or 3 families; *Poland's* one family; *Pond*, *Haddock*, *Hungry*, *Otter*, *Jones'*, and *Garden Islands*, *Egg*, and *Shark* rocks all adorn this bay. Broad cove affords a fine harbour for vessels of any size;† and has been a place which has long attracted much notice.

12 Islands.

* A plan by Hon. D. Rose.

† MS. Letter of M. R. Ludwig, Esq.—Gorham Parks, Esq.

Broad bay is between Pemaquid point and St. George's Islands, ^{Broad bay.} three leagues over; and is the receptacle of Muscongus river. Besides the Islands mentioned in the river, the bay embosoms ^{Islands.} others; one of which is half a mile long and is peopled by many families; another contains 85 acres, both of which belong to Friendship;—a third is *Gray's Island* belonging to Cushing; and ^{Meduncook} these two towns are partly separated by the small river *Meduncook*. ^{river.}

The river *St. George** rises in Montville, near the head of ^{St. George's} Muscongus river, and after running south twenty-five miles, and affording a variety of mill-privileges, meets the tide in Warren, about twenty miles from its mouth, as it runs. Large vessels ascend to the narrows in the upper elbow, where it turns and runs a short distance east and then south; and small vessels may ascend four miles higher, near to the head of the tide: its usual width below the narrows is about half a mile. The old fort on the east side of this river, which was long a place of refuge and defence, was about sixteen miles above its mouth:—Gen. Knox's house is near its ruins. It was built by the Waldo proprietors about 1720.†

St. George's Islands, so often mentioned by early navigators, ^{St. George's} are a large cluster, situated about the mouth of *St. George's river* ^{Islands.} eastwardly; and on the east margin of *Broad bay*, being about twenty in number; twelve or fourteen of which deserve to be described or mentioned.

1. *Franklin Island* is eastward of the mouth of *George's river*, ^{Franklin} a league from the main land. In 1806 it was ceded to the United ^{Island.} States and a Lighthouse was built there the same year, at an expense of \$3,370, and the keeper is the only resident upon it.‡

2. *Herring-gut Island*, or *Cobb's Island*, lies towards the eastern ^{Cobb's or} shore of *George's river*, in its very mouth. It contains about 300 ^{Herring} acres, is owned by Mr. Bradford, and is occupied only by him ^{Island.} and his family. He has on it a dwellinghouse and barn and some fields of cultivation. 3. *Seavey's Island*§ is the northernmost of ^{Seavey's}

* Anciently, "*Segochet*." Smith called it *Norwich*.

† 4 Coll. Mass. His. Soc. 20. The famous attack was A. D. 1722.

‡ The lantern is 50 feet above the level of the sea, and has a fixed light.

§ The "*three*" *George's Islands*, properly so called, are *Seavey's*, *Burnt*, [or *Burnt-coat*,] and *Allen's Islands*. Otter Island is 4 miles N. E. of *Franklin Island*.

the whole cluster. It is eight miles from Herring-gut point on the main, contains 20 acres of good land, all cleared, and is occupied by Mr. Seavey, its owner, and his family. 4. The next is *Burnt-coat*, not a gunshot distant; and between them is a harbour. It contains about 300 acres of pretty good land and is the residence of three families. 5. *Allen's Island*, containing perhaps 250 acres of indifferent land and occupied by one family, is the easternmost of them all. The latter three lie south of Herring-gut; E. S. E. from the mouth of St. George's river, and between two and three leagues distant. 6. South of the middle Island in the cluster, are two dangerous rocks, called the *Old Man* and *Old Woman*, one mile from the shore. 7. *Vicory Island*, so named after the first owner and occupant, contains 60 or 70 acres, lies north of Burnt Island, and is without inhabitant. 8. *Davis' or Griffin's Island*, of one family and 40 acres, lies to the northward of the preceding one. 9. Near to Griffin's Island is *Jo. Seavey's Island*, owned by him, the dwellingplace of two families, containing 80 acres. 10 and 11. *Bickmore's and Barter's Islands*, are two which nearly adjoin each other, one of 30 and the other of 90 acres; and each has on it one family, though rugged and unfit for agriculture. 12 and 13. *Stone's and Tiel's Islands*, of 20 acres each, are severally occupied by one family, but they are both iron-bound, forbidding places. 14. No other one of George's Islands is large enough to be particularly mentioned, except *Colwell's Island*, which contains 70 acres, occupied by two families. It is a high round Island covered with trees; and lies nine miles and an half eastward of the entrance into George's river.* All the rest of George's Islands are small and some of them mere rocks. The distance between the *Two Brothers* and the most eastwardly of these Islands is three or four miles; they all belong to the town of St. George.

It is well known that Capt. Weymouth, with his ship's crew visited this river, A. D. 1605, called the harbour *Pentacost harbour*, and gave to George's Islands the name they have since borne. Here he planted a *garden*, the first probably in this State. On *Carver's Island* near the west bank of George's river at its entrance, is said to be some appearance of a very ancient

* The vessel passes between eastern and western Egg-rocks in entering this river from the westward.

settlement, such as an old stone house in ruins, and other vestiges of antiquated habitations.

Monhegan Island was in ancient times, without exception, the *Monhegan*. most famous one on the seaboard of this State. It was the land aimed at and first mentioned by the original voyagers and fishermen about these waters; and was so noted a stage for the latter as to be sometimes called a *plantation*. To this the New-Plymouth settlers resorted early and frequently, to exchange furs for provisions. In 1626, Abraham Shurte was sent over by Elbridge and Aldsworth, to purchase the Island of the owner, Abraham Jennings of Plymouth, for which he gave £50.* It is situated nine miles southerly of George's Islands; five leagues east-southeast of Townsend, and 3 leagues westwardly of Metinic. It contains upwards of a thousand acres of good land, has a bold shore on all its sides, a large projection of rocks at its northeastward part, and has one good harbour. On its south side is the *Menanah* Island of two acres, distant a cable's length, and the harbour is between the two Islands; the entrance into it on the southwest of *Monhegan* being safe and easy.†

The number of people on the Island is between 75 and 100, who inhabit 12 or 14 dwellinghouses, and are the owners of the soil, industrious, moral and well-informed. They have a school-house where their children are educated, and religious meetings are attended. Fishing and agriculture are the employments of the men; they own several vessels; and while the more able bodied are engaged in the former business at home, and in the codfishery on the Grand Banks, the old men and boys cultivate the land, raising good crops, keeping cows, swine, and sheep.

The Island, though within the county of Lincoln, belongs to no town. It is a democratic community: It has no officers of any kind, not even a Justice of the Peace. The people's affairs are governed and guided by themselves, conformably to certain prudential rules and usages which they have mutually established. They have paid one United States' direct tax, otherwise they are strangers to taxation, except what they pay towards the support of their school. The Lighthouse was erected on the Island in 1824.

* Shurte's Deposition.

† Capt. John Smith says, in 1614, "between Monahiggon and Monanis is a small harbour where we rid."

Metinic.

Metinic Island is situate seven miles east by north from Monhegan ; 12 miles south of White-head and 2 and 1-2 leagues from Musqueto Island. It contains 300 acres of excellent land, being about two miles long from N. E. to S. W. and in one place is a mile wide. It has a bold shore and a landing place, though no harbour. It belongs to no town, though attached to the county of Lincoln ; and is owned by the Messrs. Thordikes of Thomaston and St. George. There are two families on the Island, who cultivate the land with considerable success, though fishing is their principal employment. Between this Island and the main land is *Wheeler's bay*, three leagues over.

Wheeler's bay.

Herring-gut.

Herring-gut has its western entrance at the mouth of St. George's river, and is a reach of water stretching eastward, two leagues, to *Musqueto Island*, having on the north the rugged shore of the main land, being the south end of the town of St. George, and having the most of George's Islands southerly.

Musqueto Island.

Musqueto Island is half a mile from the main land, or shore ; it is about a mile over it either way, and has upon it one house. Between it and the main is the eastern entrance of Herring-gut, over a bar of sand passable at two hours flood ; the vessels however usually pass the outside of the Island. *Tennant's harbour* is formed by that Island and the main and is a very fine harbour, 100 rods wide, where 70 sail may lie in safety.

Tennant's harbour.

South of Musqueto Island, distant 100 rods, are the "*Two Brothers*," each of an acre, covered with trees. From these to Townsend harbour [Boothbay,] is thirty miles.

White-head.

Northeastwardly of Musqueto Island, one league and a half, is *White-head*, which is a small Island one mile from the shore, of ten acres and one family. It is considered to be at the western entrance of *Penobscot bay*, and on the 18th of June, 1803, the United States purchased it, and the next year erected a Light-house on it at the cost of \$2,200.*

Light.

From *White-head*, leaving *Seal* or *Sail harbour* on the west, to *Spruce-head*, is north one mile ; thence to *Ash point*, abreast

* The lantern is elevated 50 feet above the level of the sea ; and has a fixed light ; the keeper has \$300 by the year. From Monhegan to White-head is N. E. 7 leagues.

of *Ash Island*, is three miles; and thence to *Owl's head*,* in the Owl's head, northeastern corner of Thomaston, is five miles.

Between White-head and *Ash point*, which are a league apart, are the *Muscle Ridges*, consisting of about a dozen Islands; the Muscle Ridge Islands. most of which must now be mentioned though they are severally small. 1, *Ash Island* of 20 acres is very near the main, Ash, without inhabitant. 2, *High Island*, abreast the other, is a poor High, rocky place of 5 acres; and 3, *Potatoe Island* of two acres, Potatoe, is still southerly; and both are uninhabited. But 4, *Anderson's Island*, east of Ash point, of 300 acres, has three families upon it; the land on its south end is good, and a farm was lately sold there for \$1000. 5, *Peabody's Island* of 70 acres, is poor land; Peabody's, 6, *Pleasant Island*; 7, *Two Bush Island* [now one Bush,] being Pleasant, all three very small, have no resident upon them. *Pleasant Island* however is a site worthy its name, and *Two Bush* is so called Two Bush, because it has exhibited two bushes conspicuous to the passing mariner. 8, *Allen's Island*, of 40 acres, was the residence of Allen's, one family till expelled by poverty. 9, *Graffam's Island* is a Graffam's, pleasant one, well swarded into grass, though without inhabitant.

There are a few others which are mere black rocks, without shrubbery or vegetation. Indeed they are all rocky and forbidding; and no one belongs to any town. The passage from Penobscot bay westward is through these ridges, leaving Ash Island on the west; and the mariner always avoids them all, as big with danger.

Matinicus Island,† is another such as Monhegan, situate 17 Matinicus. miles southeast of *Owl's head* and 10 east of Metinic. It is two miles in length and from one half mile to a mile in breadth, and contains 750 acres of excellent loamy land, three fourths of which are cleared. Near it, southerly, is *Wheaton's Island*, which forms Wheaton's Island. the eastern part of the harbour; and east is *Wooden Ball rock*, Wooden Ball rock. uninhabited. Southeast is *Ragger-task*, an Indian name, between which and Matinicus, is tolerable anchorage in stormy weather. Ragger-task.

The Island of Matinicus was inhabited very early, and "re- Matinicus people. mains of stone houses are still apparent, generally supposed to

* Anciently "*Mecadacut*," Smith in his map and History, 1617, called it *Dunbarton*.

† The main passage into Penobscot bay from the sea is between Matinicus and the Green Islands.

have been built by French or Dutch fishermen," though unknown. Also there are several places where the Indians had their camps, as is evident from the shells and bones found thereabouts.* It is often visited for the benefit of health. There are now about 100 souls on the Island, in sixteen families : they have been claimed as a part of Vinalhaven, but have never been taxed, nor have they ever voted in public affairs. They have a schoolhouse and a school of 40 scholars ; and upon the Island there is a Calvinist Baptist church of 22 members. They are a very industrious, humane and moral people ; the men are engaged in fishing and farming ; and the women manufacture the principal part of family clothing. The Islanders own six fishing craft from ten to fifty tons each, and raise annually about 400 bushels of wheat and abundance of vegetables ; living together in prosperity, quietude and happiness, without law and without rulers.

Green
Islands.

The two *Green Islands* are northeast of Matinicus and near it, within the county of Hancock ; and though small, each of 2 or 3 acres only and without inhabitant, the soil is so productive as to yield 100 tons of hay in a single year.

Hog Island.

Hog Island is half a mile southwest of Metinic Island, containing two acres of miserable barren land.

Munroe
Island.

Munroe, or *More's Island*, is situate opposite Owl's Head, an hundred rods distant, and the harbour is between them. It is claimed to be within the town of Thomaston, though most of it is in the county of Hancock. It contains 180 acres of good land, occupied by Mr. Munroe and his family.

Sheep
Island.

Sheep Island, the next one southerly, contains by admeasurement 74 acres of very good land, and bears a house and barn.

Mark
Island.

Mark, or *Fishermen's Island*, still farther south, of 3 or 4 acres, without a resident, is very woody ; and the one which the British in the late war used as a place of rendezvous.

Spruce-
head.

Above Owl's Head, on the same side, is *Great Spruce head*, from which to *Old Fort point* in Prospect, is ten leagues north-northeast. In ascending to which, however, the mariner leaves

Camden
Heights.

Ducktrap.

Belfast bay.
Brigadier's
Island.

Camden Heights on the west, which the older writers have viewed as mountains ; and *Ducktrap* harbour in Lincolnville still farther to the north ; and crosses the mouth of *Belfast bay* two leagues over to *Brigadier's Island*, not far from the western shore.

* MS. Letter of T. Waterman, Esq.

This has a good harbour westward, called *Long cove*, and another to the northward—a bar extending from the Island to the main. Fort point above mentioned is near, making the distance from it to White-head thirty-six miles in a direct course.

Fort Pownal erected in 1759, by Governor Pownal, was ^{Fort Pownal.} on the western shore. Its site was a pleasant and commanding situation in the town of Prospect, below the south end of *Orphan* ^{Orphan Island.} *Island*. Nothing of the fort remains except the entrenchments and circumvallations; but the place has acquired the name of “*Old Fort point*.” As this may be considered at the mouth of ^{Old Fort point.} Penobscot river, and at the head of Penobscot Bay, it will be proper now to begin with the sources of that river and trace it downwards to this place.

The *Penobscot river** is the longest of any one in the State; ^{Penobscot river.} and in its tide-waters, it is as large as the Sagadahock after the junction of the Kennebec and the Androscoggin. Its whole length, as it runs from its heads to Fort point, is supposed to be ^{its heads.} about 200 miles. It has no reservoirs, such as the great lake which yields supply to the Kennebec; it is formed by a great number of streams, which issue from ponds, swamps and springs, above and below the 46th parallel of latitude, and spread the whole width of the State; its western sources being more than an hundred miles, in a straight course, from its eastern heads; and so much do they all, like branches of one family, converge and aim at a general union, as to form a confluence and constitute the main river, 95 miles from its mouth, and within about half a degree only, *below* the parallel above mentioned.

The *western* branch of the Penobscot is supposed to be the largest. It rises in the highlands north of the Kennebec, east of ^{its western branch.} the Chaudiere and south of the St. John; and what is noticeable, the head streams of the four rivers are quite near each other in several places. Its sources have been explored by the surveyors under the treaty of Ghent; and it is found that the road from the forks of the Kennebec to “*Mile Tree*,” crosses three primary branches of the Penobscot, two of which, one 4 and the other 6

* Anciently “*Penobskeag*,” Indian; *Pentagoet*, French. From Penobscot bay to Mount Desert, was called Nasket.” Smith called this country Low Mounds.” Charlevoix says [1 vol *N. F.* 206–10] the Pentagoet river in the most ancient accounts of the Country was called “*Norimbagua*.”

miles below the heights, are large mill streams where they cross the road.

From the northwest branch of the Penobscot, rising between 20 and 30 miles northeasterly of "Mile Tree," the carrying place into the main St. John is only two miles; and some streams of the two rivers are much nearer each other. This great western branch, after collecting its waters from the north and south, runs eastwardly, not far from the northern margin of Moosehead lake, and empties into *Chesuncook lake*, sixty miles from some of its sources. The outlet river of this lake, which is 15 miles in length, runs southwardly and eastwardly 45 miles, till it embraces the great eastern branch, and forms, what is called the *junction*, the waters in each being nearly equal.

Its eastern
branch.

Grand falls.

Junction.

Salmon
stream.

Metawam-
keag.

Sebascohe-
gan.

The two main streams of this *eastern branch* rise about 50 or 60 miles, from their heads to its union with the great western branch or the Neketow.* Twenty miles above this junction in the west branch, are the *Grand falls*, where the waters descend over a ledge of smooth rocks, fifty feet, through a channel 45 feet wide, into a bason of unknown depth. In late years, the eastern branch has been explored above the junction; and of the other, considerable is known to its several sources, though neither of them have yet any settlements on their banks. South of the junction, two miles, the Penobscot receives from the northeast a brook called *Salmon stream*.

Sixteen miles below the junction, is the mouth of the *Metawamkeag† river*, which rises on the eastern side of the State, and flows many miles southeasterly towards Schoodic lakes; then forms a bow and runs southwest twelve miles, and receives the *Sebascohegan*, through which travellers and Indians ascend within three miles of the Schoodic lakes. The Metawamkeag is as large as the Piscataquis, and larger than two of the Kenduskeag; rapid, very rocky in several places, and has frequent falls and intervening still-waters. Its mouth is about thirty miles below that of the Sebascohegan; and the mail, first established in 1826, passes up these two rivers through the Schoodic lakes to Houlton.

* Necotok—where two streams come together, forming an *acute angle*.—*Indian*.

† Metawamkeag means a stream running over a *gravelly bed* at its mouth.—*Indian*.

From the mouth of the Metawamkeag, the Penobscot descends in a smooth and inviting current, navigable for the largest rafts, receiving on its west side the *Medunkaunk*, a small mill stream, Medunkaunk. and the *Madamiscondus*, a large one; and on the east side, the *Metanawcook*,* 2-3ds as large as Passadumkeag, and 16 miles above it. Madamiscondus.

But the most important and considerable tributary of the Penobscot is the *Piscataquis*, which comes from the west, and after Piscataquis. running 100 miles from its sources, empties itself 35 miles above the mouth of the Kenduskeag, and 35 miles below the junction. Three large streams constitute the *Piscataquis*, viz., *Pleasant* Pleasant river. *river* from the northwest, which rises on the east side of Moosehead lake; *Sebec* Sebec river. *river* from the west, which has some of its sources in the same neighbourhood, and Sebec pond in its course; and *Piscataquis proper*, which comes more from the southwest;—the latter two embrace first, and 3 miles farther down, they receive the third, 12 miles from the mouth of the *Piscataquis*. Sebec and Pleasant rivers are about equally large, and few others of their size can fully compare with them in beauty and commodiousness. They afford many excellent mill sites and in freshets will float large rafts. The three branches have low banks, interspersed with rich and extensive intervals. The flowing of the *Piscataquis*, which is 30 rods wide, is very quick and its waters uncommonly transparent and pure. At its mouth it descends a fall of 12 or 15 feet in the space of 10 rods; and over a part of the fall the water pours in a thick and limpid sheet. In mixing with the Penobscot it adds to it nearly a third part of its waters.†

Five miles below the *Piscataquis*, on the east side, is the *Passadumkeag*,‡ which rises near Schoodic waters and empties itself into Passadumkeag. the Penobscot. It is boatable about 20 miles, excepting seven carrying places of inconsiderable lengths. On this river are extensive natural meadows, where great quantities of hay are cut every year.

The Penobscot, after flowing south, five miles, receives on the east side *Olemon stream*, which is little else than a large brook; Olemon. and likewise embraces an Island of excellent land, called *Olemon*

* Metanawkeag.—Indian.

† Col. J. Carpenter.

‡ Passadumkeag means, where the water falls into the river above the falls.—Indian.

Island, containing 300 acres ; also *Sugar Island* of like size a little below, and several smaller ones in a short distance. *Sunkhaze** *stream* is rather larger than *Olemon stream*, and empties into the *Penobscot*, eleven miles below, on the same side. Not less than 200 tons of hay are taken annually from its meadows. Both these streams together, probably, do not contribute more water to the main river than the *Passadumkeag* does itself.

One mile below *Sunkhaze*, and 14 from the mouth of *Kenduskeag*, the *Penobscot* is parted in a very remarkable manner, so that about half the water next the eastern shore descends in direct course southerly, and the other half turns a short corner and runs northwest more than two miles, and then turning again almost as short, runs southerly seven miles, before the two branches form a junction. This western branch is called *Stillwater*, and the first Island it embraces after the divorce is *Osson Island*, of 1,200 acres ; it then has intercourse with the east branch by a south-westerly reach, three miles in length, which separates that island from *Marsh Island*, containing 5,000 acres ; and from this reach a passage bounds the southeast end of *Osson Island* and separates it from *Oldtown Island*, of 300 acres, where the *Indian village* is. Besides these three, the *Stillwater* river also embraces another one, called *Orono*, of 150 acres. At the upper and lower end of *Stillwater* river are falls suitable for mill sites ; and on the east branch, that is, the main river, there are similar falls, viz. at the foot of *Oldtown Island* and at *Great Works*, a mile or more below ; in each of which the descent may be 20 or 30 feet.

All four of these Islands are excellent land ; and except *Marsh Island*, which is the southernmost one, they are claimed by the *Tarratine* tribe of Indians. They also own the other Islands mentioned, which are of a like fertile soil.

From the reunion of the *Penobscot* with the *Stillwater* at the foot of *Marsh Island*, the river flows southwestwardly three miles to the head of the tide, at "*the Bend*," so called, where its usual ebb and flow are two feet. Small vessels may ascend in freshets and in spring tides, within a mile of it, but ship-navigation is not good and safe much above *Kenduskeag point*, four miles below the *Bend*.

The *Kenduskeag stream*, rises near some of the *Sabasticook*

* *Sunkhaze* means *dead water* at the mouth of the stream.—*Indian*.

sources, and after running in its southeasterly serpentine course 50 miles, and turning the wheels of various mills and machinery, it discharges its waters into the Penobscot, amid Bangor village, 60 miles from White-head, 23 from Fort point, and 70 from the junction. It is generally eight rods wide; its mouth, which is 35 rods in breadth, and 60 rods higher up at the bridge is 30 rods, forms a branch of the harbour: but here the ground, except in the channel, is often bare, at low water. Opposite to the mouth of the Kenduskeag, the water in the channel of the Penobscot is 17 feet when the tide is out, and the width of the main river below is 80 rods.

The Penobscot thence descends in a deep and steady current, passing the mouths of *Segeunkedunk** on the east side, and *Sowadabscook*† on the west shore; both being mill streams much less than Kenduskeag, one 8 and the other 5 miles below it; thence one league to *Bald hill cove*, on the same side; another to *Buck's ledge*, covered at highwater; and half a mile more, to *Oak point*, where the water is 60 rods wide and deep. Between the latter and *Dram point*, which are a league asunder, is *Marsh bay* which is more than a mile wide, ornamented by the village of Frankfort on the western shore. Here the water is very salt and the river seldom is frozen as low as *Buck's ledge*. Indeed during some winters it continues open as high as the mouth of the Sowadabscook.

It is about 5 miles from Dram point to the head of *Orphan Island*, which contains 5000 acres or more, and divides the waters of the river into two branches; the western and main one passes through the *narrows*, opposite the northwest curve of the Island, and by *Oldham's ledge*, which is half a league below, and a league above Fort point, at the mouth of the river. The branch which washes the other side of the Island is called *Eastern river*, safely navigable for small vessels;—the Island itself, taxed in Bucksport, is good land and is owned by the descendants of an *orphan* lady, who inherited a part of the Waldo patent.

* This is a fine mill stream running through Brewer village, named by the Indians "*Segeunkedunk*."—MS. Letter of Hon. D. Perham.

† Called, by way of corruption of the Indian name, "*Sowadabscook*;" this is in Hampden.—More properly spelt "*Sowadapscoo*."—*Gen. Her-
rick*.

The Penobscot in general.

The general breadth of the Penobscot is from 80 to 100 rods ; and it is remarkable, that owing to absorption and evaporation it should be so uniformly wide from Piscataquis to Orphan Island ; though its depths are various, being above the tidewaters from six to twelve feet, not easily fordable by a man and horse below the junction. The usual tides at and below Bangor are 15 feet ; and at low-water its depth in the channel is from 3 to 6 fathoms ; and in some places 20. The banks of the river are generally high ; some projections are rocky and rugged ; and others afford a picturesque appearance. An enchanting expanse of the river spreads itself before Bucksport village, and another before Frankfort ; and a beautiful country on either side, extending to the head of the tide, fills the passenger's eye from the river with captivating views of nature and culture. As we ascend the river we find the banks less elevated ; and above the tide-waters we pass many extensive intervalles before we reach the Piscataquis. The only fearful ledges below the head of navigation are Buck's and Oldham's, before mentioned : and Fort point ledge, half a mile from the point, and *Steele's ledge*, a league southeast, covered at high water.

Frozen 41-2 months.

At and above Bangor, and below it as far as the water is fresh, the river is generally closed by ice from the middle of December to the fore part of April. However, the ice in 1800 did not descend till the 18th of April ; and on the 1st of January, 1805, the river, after being closed three weeks, was clear for two days ; and it may be mentioned as a rare instance, that on the 26th of March, 1811, the river was clear of ice and frozen no more during the spring. Moreover, in February, 1807, the ice, which was very thick and strong, being broken up by an uncommon freshet on the 17th of the month, was driven down in great cakes ; and, 100 rods below Bangor village, formed an immoveable impediment to the current. By reason of this check, the waters rose from 10 to 12 feet higher than was before known, filled the lower apartments of several buildings, and destroyed and injured a great quantity of goods ; forcing the inhabitants of one dwelling-house to make their escape from the chamber windows. Three days elapsed before the ice fully gave way and the flood subsided.

Great freshet.

Head of Penobscot bay.

At the foot of Orphan Island, the Penobscot expands, so that the distance across from Fort point to the eastern shore is two miles or more ; and this is the head of the bay. The next noted

place on the eastern shore, is *Major-bigyduce* point, 15 miles ^{Major-bigyduce.} below Orphan Island, a place repeatedly mentioned in history.* It took its name from a Frenchman who anciently lived there.† *That* point is the southerly projection of the peninsula, which constitutes the greatest part of the town of Castine. On the north it has Back cove; north of west, it has Penobscot bay, two leagues over, with Belfast bay another league on the west, adorned by the village of Belfast; on the southwest it has the upper end of Long Island, two miles distant, and at the eastward it has *Northern bay*. It has always been considered by Europeans as well as by the Americans and natives, to be a very eligible situation. *Castine* village‡ is on the southerly side of the peninsula; ^{Castine.} and westward of it 100 rods, at some distance from the shore, are the appearances of the *Old fortifications*. Here the Plymouth colony had a trading house as early as A. D. 1626; here d'Aulney located himself in 1640; and here baron de Castine ^{Old fort.} afterwards had his residence many years. The United States' ^{United States' gar-} garrison is still farther to the west and on higher land, intended to protect the town and command the upper section of Penobscot bay.

Before we proceed to examine the eastern seaboard, it becomes ^{ISLANDS in Penobscot bay.} expedient to make a few remarks relative to the Islands in Penobscot bay. We begin with *Long Island* [now a part of Islesborough] which is 11 and 1-4th miles in length and about one mile in mean width. There is a fresh-water pond on the north part of the Island, at the outlet of which stand mills; and the soil of the whole Island is generally good. It has five good harbours, 3 on the western and 2 on the eastern shore.§ Included also in the corporation of Islesborough, are these;—1. *Seven hundred* ^{700 acre} *acre Island*, “of very good land,” so called from the quantum of ^{Island.} its territory;—2. *Billy Job's Island*;—3. *Marshall's* or *Pendleton's Island*;—4. *Lassell's Island*, which four are inhabited; ^{Billy Job's, Pendleton's, Lassell's,} some of them are well cultivated and make good farms. They all lie near the western shore of Long Island, and “form several

* The country hereabouts called Norumbega.—1 Hol. A. a. 74, Note 4.

† MS. Letter of Col. Wardwell, and certificate of Capt. Mansel.

‡ In 44° 24' N. Lat. and 68° 46' west Long.

§ *Gilkey's* harbour, 5 miles below the north end of the Island; *Pendleton's* still below, both on the west side.

Mark,
Saddle,
Lime,
Ensign,
Mouse,
Spruce,
Islands.

Islesho-
rough.

Fox Islands
or Vinalha-
ven.

Fox Island
thorough-
fare.

The south
Island.

The north
Island.

excellent harbours much frequented by vessels." In addition to these, we may mention—5. *Mark Island*, of 10 acres ;—6. *Saddle Island* ;—7. *Lime Island* ;—8. *Ensign Island* ;—9 and 10. the *two Mouse Islands* ;—11. *Spruce Island*—all which lie S. W. and W. of the main Island ; and there are *three others* farther up the bay which are small. The "number of acres in the town is about 6,000," originally a part of the Waldo patent.*

Fox Islands, south of Long Island, are separated from it by a branch of Penobscot bay, about two leagues across, and constitute the town of *Vinalhaven*. From its western point, called *Crabtree's point*, N. N. E. to Castine, is a course of 15 miles, in so good a channel that a stranger may conduct a ship through it without danger.

These Islands took their name from the circumstance of their abounding in *Foxes* when first discovered, particularly the *silver grey fox*, seldom found at this day in any part of the State. The two principal Islands, so called, are denominated the *north* and *south Fox Islands* ; separated by a *thoroughfare*, which may average near a mile in width, affording a good ship channel of 12 feet tide and an excellent harbour ; and is beautified by a small village on each side of the narrows.† These Islands have very curiously indented shores on all sides ; which give them quite a peculiarity of shapes. They are bounded or washed westerly and northerly by Penobscot bay ; easterly by Fox Island bay which separates them from the Isle-au-Haut and Deer Isle, and southerly by the Atlantic. Vinalhaven not only embraces these two great Islands but includes all such as are smaller, lying within three miles of them, too numerous and little to be particularized. The area of the two Great Islands, with the others inclusive, is 16,527 acres.

On the south Island, which is much the larger, are two considerable ponds and several others which are small ; and at the outlets of the former are mill-privileges. Much of this Island however is hilly, rocky and barren ; but it has a valuable growth of spruce for spars, a fine harbour, and an advantageous herring fishery. The north Island has one pond of 100 acres ; and a much better soil than that of the other, being a reddish gravel ; which is very

* MS. Letter of Mighill Parker, Esq.

† The passage has rocks on both sides ; especially Crabtree point, on the northward.

productive. In 1779 the British built a fort on this Island, plundered the people and drove them away.* The meeting of the waters in the thoroughfare, from the E. N. E. and W. S. W. when the tide is of flood, forms a "deep cove" and eddy which exhibits a giddy sweep or whirl as the waters embrace and settle. It is more than two leagues through the thoroughfare; the western entrance at Young's point is narrow at low water, and dangerous by reason of sunken rocks on the larboard, called the *Dumplings*. Dumplings.

The Castine *Peninsula* is washed on its eastern margin by the waters of the northern bay or *Castine river*, which is formed by Castine river. two wide though short branches, of which one heads in the town of Penobscot northerly; and the other in Sedgwick runs northwesterly ten miles, when they form a junction two leagues from their common and single mouth. Thus united, the river has ten feet tide, and is navigable four miles to Limeburner's ferry, where it is half a mile in width.



THE EASTERN COAST.

In passing to the southward two leagues from Castine village, we double *Cape Rosier*† or *Rosarie*, in the town of Brookville. EASTERN COAST. Cape Rosarie. This has a bold shore and high projecting rocks. Between this and the north Fox Island, southerly about nine miles distant, are several Islands; viz. *Butter* and *Eagle Islands*, each a mile square, four miles from Vinalhaven towards Brookville, owned by William Gray, so fertile as to support nineteen inhabitants. *Great* Butter, Eagle Islands. Spruce-head. Beech Island. Spectacle, Thumpeap, Mark, Colt's head, Pond, Green ledge, & Pompkin Islands. and *Little Spruce head*, and *Beech Island*, owned by individuals, contain 27 inhabitants. The others are *Spectacle Island*, one mile from Cape Rosier; *Thumpeap*, two miles from it; *Mark Island* of two acres, 3 leagues from Castine; *Colt's head*; *Pond Island*; *Green Ledge*; and *Pompkin Island*, which are small and uninhabited.

"*Little Deer Isle*" is situated northwest of *Great Deer Isle*, Little Deer Island. southeasterly of Cape Rosier, and south of *Edgemaroggan reach*, which is three miles wide and separates the latter Isle from Sedgwick. It contains 1,000 acres of good soil, supporting a considerable number of inhabitants.

* MS. Letter of Thomas Waterman, Esq.

† From Mr. Rosier, probably, who came along with Capt. Weymouth, A. D. 1605.—*Hub. N. E.* 14.

Great Deer
Island.

Between that Island and the Isle of Holt is *Great Deer Isle*, about ten miles in length from north to south, and near five miles in width towards the upper and lower ends. It has Edgemarroggan reach on the northeast, which separates it from the main; and the east branch of Penobscot bay on the west, in a width of two leagues intervening between the above Isle and the Fox Islands.

Isle of Holt.

The *Isle-au-haut*, or "Isle of Holt," which has a good soil, is one league directly south of Great Deer Isle, and is supposed to contain about 3,500 acres and 75 families. It is favoured with one rivulet. It has generally a bold shore, high steep cliffs; and between the beach at its northwest part, and an Island near, there is a good harbour;—also another open to the south, between the southeast and southwest extremities of the Island. The highest part of its territory is in the middle of it, and exhibits the appearance of a saddle. It affords good landing at its eastern end, and anchorage half a mile off in 18 fathoms.

Town of
Deer Isle.

Great and Little Deer Isle and the Isle of Holt constitute the *town of Deer Isle*, which contains 14,320 acres of land and 225 dwellinghouses, and probably includes other little Islands lying between the others.

Eastern and
western limits
of Penobscot Bay.

The *Isle of Holt* and *White-head*, which are six leagues asunder, are the *eastern and western limits of Penobscot bay*. Its width is not so great as that of Casco bay, nor does it embrace so great a number of Islands; but it is much deeper, being 11 leagues in extent from north to south; and embosoms much larger Islands, stretching around them in a manner unique and like a crescent. A perspective view of this bay from the heights of Camden, so indented on its shores and diversified with Islands, is said to be admirable.

Edgemarroggan
reach.

Edgemarroggan reach,* which has a sufficient depth of water in its channel to float a ship of 74 guns, is from one mile to three in width, and about 13 miles long, from its northerly entrance between Brookville and the northwest end of Little Deer Isle, to the southeast extremity of Sedgwick; and has good anchorage on that as well as the Deer Isle side. South of the eastern entrance of the reach, opposite, eastwardly to Great Deer Isle and separate by shoal water, is *Conaway Island*, of 100 acres, sup-

Conaway
Island.

* Pronounced—Edgemorgan.

posed to belong to the town of Deer Isle. It has a bold shore, a good soil and several families.

Near the southeast point of Sedgwick, called *Naskeag*, is a Naskeag. good harbour of the same name, about which the first settlements were made in Sedgwick, formerly Naskeag plantation, eligibly situated for fishery.* The harbour is between the point and *Harbour Island*, of 25 acres, close aboard; having *Hog Island* farther distant, both of which are inhabited. Harbour Island. Hog Island. The course from Naskeag point to the Fox Islands is near to Deer Isle, leaving 20 or 30 Islands towards the Isle of Holt, many of which are inhabited.†

From Naskeag point, east of south, is *Swan Island* or *Burnt-coat*, distant four miles. Burnt-coat. It is of an irregular shape with many indents of water, and in general its shore is ledgy and forbidding. But a large cove makes up into it on its western side, about midway of it, and forms a good harbour. There is another good one in the creek at the southwesterly part of the Island, where Mr. Swan lived. He, finding the soil to be excellent, purchased the whole Island, embracing 1000 acres, built an elegant house, about thirty years ago, bought cattle, and with much emulation, commenced farming on a large scale. Discouraged, however, or displeased after five or six years, he left the Island; the house decayed and it has since been taken down. There are now on the Island about 30 flourishing families.

Between Naskeag point and Swan Island, are three others, viz. *Pond Island* of 150 acres; *Calf Island* of 125 acres; and *Little Black Island* of 100 acres; all of which have a good soil and are inhabited. Pond, Calf, Little black Islands. Of the three, Pond Island is the most northerly one, and the main channel is between that and Naskeag point.

* MS. Letters of D. Morgan and W. Jackson, Esqrs. "The middle of Sedgwick is in N. Lat. 44° 25', Long. 68° 40' west; and 121 miles from Portland Lighthouse, and 133 miles from Passamaquoddy bay on a straight line."

† Of a few Islands on this Eastern Coast, a census of 1820 is returned, viz.—10 souls on Pond Island; 9 on Black Island; 19 on Long Island; 39 on Placentia Island; 218 on Burnt-coat; 7 on Marshall's Island; 7 on Mark Island; 5 on Hog Island; 8 on Beach Island; 19 on Little and Great Spruce Islands; 8 on Eagle Island, and 11 on Butter Island.—See *census*, 1820.

Marshall's
Island.

Marshall's Island lies southwestwardly of Swan Island. It has a rich loamy soil, is mostly cleared and is the residence of a few families. But it has no harbour; the main channel is on the west side of the Island, though it has a difficult one on the east side, embayed with ledges. Indeed, the shore is bold and rocky, against which vessels have not unfrequently been driven and sometimes wrecked.

Long
Island
off Burnt-
coat.

Directly east of Marshall's Island, two leagues, and also two miles southeast of Swan Island, is what is called "*Long Island off Burnt-coat*," which is near three miles in length, though it contains only about 5 or 600 acres: The soil is good; it has a bold shore on the eastern side and a good harbour opposite its northwest part. Some 15 or 20 families live upon the Island who carry on a considerable fishery. There are some other Islands about Swan Island which are too small to be described.

Bluehill
bay.

The entrance into *Bluehill bay*, is on both sides of Swan Island, which lies in the very mouth of the bay; though the usual passage is eastward of the Island. The bay, which has Naskeag point on the west, and Mount Desert on the east, extends up northwestwardly fifteen miles from the Island to the village of Bluehill.

Long
Island.

Long Island, in this bay, extends nearly to its head on its easterly side, and is such in length as well as name; for it is about 6 miles long and quite narrow. It may contain 2000 acres, and be inhabited by 10 families. It has no harbour; the good and the poor land is about in equal moieties, and the Island is owned by Peters and Ellis. South of Long Island are *Robinson's Island* of about 350 acres, and three families, and *Bear Island* of 60 acres.

Robinson's,
Bear
Islands.

Fly,
Ship and
Barge
Islands.

After passing Naskeag point, northward, *Fly Island* is left on the western side, also the "*Ship*," an Island of three trees, and the "*Barge*," a dry rock, looking like a boat of that name.

Morgan's
bay.

The waters northwardly of Long Island, are called *Morgan's bay*, the head of which is shoal water; and the promontory between it and the mouth of Union river has the name of *Newbury neck*, [in Surry,] steep on the east side, and on the west inclining to a flat. The channel on the east side of Long Island, from the sea to the mouth of the river, is sufficiently wide and deep to render the navigation of large vessels safe and commodious.

Newbury
neck.

Below the mouth of the river and two miles east of Long Island, is *Bartlett's Island* of 600 acres, half of which is very good for farming and the rest rocky. It is inhabited by 8 families; and they have, about the middle of the Island, on the east side, a good harbour. South of this is *Hardwood Island* of 200 acres; most of which is covered with wood, though it is of an excellent soil, and exhibits one dwellinghouse. The passage for vessels is good on both of its sides.

Union river, whose head is near the Passadumkeag and more than 40 miles north of its tide-waters, is a very commodious stream for mills. At the head of the tide, which is ten miles above Newbury neck, there are several mills; also the flourishing villages of Ellsworth and Surry, which are connected by a bridge across the river, 25 rods in length. In proceeding from this to the sea, the passage is between Long and Bartlett's Islands.

Eastwardly, contiguous to the waters of Union river, is the Island of *Mount Desert*,* 15 miles long from north to south, and about seven miles in mean width. It has on its northern curve, *Jordan river*, which is almost wholly salt water, navigable on the tide three miles to its head in Trenton. Branching east, it discharges itself into Frenchman's bay, at the southeast extremity of Trenton, called *Trenton point*; and west, it mixes with the waters of Union river, after passing *Mount Desert narrows*, which are only 20 rods across at highwater, where the usual tides are 12 feet, and the place fordable at low water. The southwest extremity of Trenton is called *Oak point*, opposite to the narrows.

At the south end of Mount Desert Island, west of the point, is the celebrated *Bass harbour*, formed by a cove, landlocked by two projections or points, eastwardly and westwardly, and sheltered on the south by three Islands. One is *Great Presench* or *Black Island*, south of the harbour and the most remote of the three; *Little Presench*, northwest of the other and near the entrance of the harbour, each of 5 or 600 acres; and *Got's Island* of 300 acres, northeastwardly of the preceding two; and the three have severally three or four families.

Somes' sound, is the water southeast of Bass harbour, stretching up north into the heart of the whole Island, navigable into

* Mount Desert rock is 6 leagues S. of Mount Desert Hills; here the tide of flood sets W. S. W.

land more than a league. It took its name from *Abraham Somes*, the first American settler, who commenced a plantation near its head ;—it is sometimes called *Mount Desert sound*. At the entrance into the sound are several Islands, viz. *Great Cranberry Island*, of 500 acres, inhabited by 6 or 7 families. Northeast of this, is *Little Cranberry Island*, of 200 acres, having three families ; nearer the land, west of north, is *Lancaster's Island*, of 100 acres, peopled by two families ; and the eastern channel into the sound is between the two latter. East of *Great Cranberry Island* is *Duck Island*, of 50 acres, and one family.

The harbour, situate between the head of the sound, *Great Cranberry* and *Lancaster's Islands*, is called the *Pool*, and affords excellent anchorage. Five miles southeasterly of the *Pool* is *Baker Island*, on which there is a *Lighthouse*.

From the pool, the shore is bold around on the margin of *Frenchman's bay*, to the northeast indent of the Island or creek, 3 miles in extent, where there is a small harbour, and a little Island called *Harbour Island*, and the village of *Eden*. The water stretching up into *Trenton* from *Sullivan*, northwest from the head of *Frenchman's bay*, is *Skillings' river*, navigable nearly to its head at highwater. The point of land in *Sullivan*, east of that river's mouth, is *Crabtree's Neck*.

The Island of *Mount Desert** is the largest one in the State, and contains about 60,000 acres, a third part of which is elevated into thirteen connected, high and rugged mountains, covered with woods : and at sea they may be seen the distance of twenty leagues, and are remarkable for being the first landmark of seamen and for giving the French name *Mons Deserts* to the Island. The savages were much attached to this Island ; for in the mountains they hunted bears, wild cats, racoons, foxes and fowls ; in the marshes and natural meadows, beaver, otter and musquash ; and in the waters they took fin and shellfish. The alewives in the spring ascended into the interior ponds to cast their spawn, where they were easily taken ; and though the hills are hard and rocky, the vallies are rich, strong land, and have borne a heavy hardwood growth. The smaller Islands and some parts of *Mount*

* In going from *Mount Desert* to *Gouldsborough*, steer E. 1-2 N. for *Shattock point*, 4 leagues ; there are 5 hills on *Shattock* remarkable in their appearance—and at a distance round, *Shattock point* forms the eastern and *Mount Desert* the western extreme of *Frenchman's Bay*.

Desert, abound in excellent cranberries.* About the pool, on the west side of *Somes' sound*, are the appearances of old settlements : Here it is supposed the French Missionaries, Biard and Masse, located themselves in 1609 ; though it may be, they were at the northeast harbour, where they were afterwards carried by Suassaye under the auspices of Madam Guercheville. It is said there appears to have been an old French settlement at Trenton point, where Madam Deville has lived.

French Missionaries,
Biard and Masse.

Frenchman's bay is generally two leagues in width and four leagues in length. This bay acquired its name from a peculiar incident.† In the spring of 1604, after De Monts left his winter's encampments at the Island St. Croix, he and his company, among whom was Nicholas d'Aubri, a French Ecclesiastic, sailed westward ; and somewhere, probably between the Union and Narraguagus rivers, d'Aubri, to gratify curiosity in a ramble upon the coast and in a view of the country—was set ashore. Wandering too far, he was lost in the woods, and the boatmen were necessitated to leave him. For three weeks he suffered very terrible apprehensions and extreme want ; and when almost in despair, the people of the same vessel in touching at some place in the vicinity, providentially found him and restored him to his companions. Interested and pleased with this story, which gave to these waters the name of *Frenchman's bay*, Mons. Cadillac obtained of Lewis XIV. in April 1691, a large tract of land lying on this bay, and also a large Island opposite, supposed to be within the region of Acadie. This grant was evidently made, to confirm possession ; and these circumstances attracted the attention of the French Jesuits and others to this particular section of the country : “ For there were anciently many French settlements on that part of the bay which is opposite to the banks of Mount Desert, as well as on the Island itself.”‡ Madame de Gregoire proved herself to be the lineal descendant of Monsieur Cadillac, and in 1787 acquired a partial confirmation of the original grant.§

French-
man's bay.

* MS. Letters of Davis Wasgatt, David Richardson, and Nicholas Thomas, Esqrs.

† Abbe Raynal, V. 260—32 Translated. ‡ Sullivan's Hist. 56—59.

§ See Resolves of General Court, July 6, and November 23, 1787.—Mrs. Gregoire was granddaughter of Mons. de la Motte Cadillac.—See post. A. D. 1785.

Flander's
bay.

Trenton
bay.
Narrows.

At the head of Frenchman's bay, is the town of Sullivan : and *Flanders' bay*, is on the northeast side, next to the northwest part of Gouldsborough. Between Skillings' river and Flanders' bay, is *Trenton bay* ; and two miles above its mouth, are the *Narrows* of only 600 feet in width. Above them the bay is seven miles long, and from half a mile to a mile in breadth. When the tide floods, the water is forced through the narrows with great impetuosity and raises the upper bay eight or ten feet. As the water below ebbs out much faster than the incumbent water can escape through the narrows, a fall of ten feet is formed, where the water pours down, and being salt, fills the eddy below with surges of white foam for the space of 12 or 15 rods. Twice in every twenty-four hours this natural curiosity makes its displays much to the amusement of the beholder. A toll-bridge, lately erected by Col. Sargent across these waters in Sullivan, gives to the place additional variety and beauty.*

Clam-shells.

On several projections of land hereabouts, are beds of clam-shells, from one to two acres in extent, and in some places near two feet deep. So long have they been on the ground, that strata of earth have covered them ; and a heavy growth of trees was found upon them even by the first settlers. In one of the neighbouring Islands, the shells are six feet thick ; and there is remaining a stump of a large tree which, though felled half a century ago, must, from evident appearances, have grown since the stratum of shells was formed or deposited there.†

Islands.
Thomas',
Mayo's,
4 Porcupine's,
Wheeler's,
Burnt,
Sheep and
Great.
Bean's,
Ingall's,
Preble's,
Bragdon's,
Dean's,
Simpson's,
and Ashe's
Islands.
Bar Island,
Thumpcap,
Stave,
Bear.

The Islands to be mentioned, as found in this quarter, are *Thomas' and Mayo's Islands*, the four *Porcupines*, viz. *Wheeler's, Burnt, Sheep and Great Porcupines*. Here cod, haddock, pollock and halibut, are taken plentifully ; and on the shores, clams, muscles, and other shellfish. Within the bounds of Sullivan are 7 Islands, viz. *Bean's, Ingall's, Preble's, Bragdon's, Deane's, Simpson's*, and *Ashe's Islands*. More remote, and distant 8 or 9 miles, are *Bar Island* and *Thumpcap*, in the vicinity of the Porcupines, which are high Islands. Near Gouldsborough is *Stave Island* ; about midway of Frenchman's bay is *Bear Island*, and another south, inhabited by three families.

* But it has been carried away and not rebuilt.

† MS. Letter of A. Johnson, Esq. Moulton's is a bad ledge, south of Gouldsborough harbour.

The greater part of *Gouldsbrough** is a peninsula; on the west of which is *Frazier's* point, between which and *Schoodic* point and the southwest extremity of the peninsula, is *Musqueto* harbour, having good bottom, and sheltered on the southwest by *Schoodic Island*, which is small and without inhabitant. Five miles northeast of *Schoodic* point is a little cove, which makes *Prospect harbour*,† and nearly east, is *Indian harbour*.

Gouldsbrough river, which is salt water, is about 3 leagues in length, and is navigable six miles to its branches, which spread and end not unlike fork tines, exhibiting the village between them, mostly on the west fork. Here the usual tides ebb and flow 12 feet.

Dyer's bay, six miles long and one mile wide, is in *Steuben*, *Dyer's bay*, and is navigable on the tide to its head. The point east of it is *Petitmenan point*, southeast of which, two miles, is the *Island* of that name, containing 25 acres. In 1817 it was ceded to the United States, and that government erected a *Lighthouse*‡ on it at the cost of \$5,045. Ships pass both withinside and outside of *Petitmenan Island*, though there is a bar between it and the main land.

North of the preceding is *Bowbear Island*, quite narrow, though nearly a league in length. It is close to the *Steuben* shore in *Pidgeon hill bay*; containing about 300 acres of indifferent soil, though inhabited by 4 families.

Pidgeon hill bay on the west, and *Pleasant bay* on the east, are contiguous and mix waters; and the distance across both, from *Bowbear Island* to *Cape Split*, is three leagues. The former receives the waters of the *Narraguagus river*, after a gradual descent of 40 miles from its sources. It is only a mill stream till it meets the tide and is enlarged and assisted by its waters. It is then navigable five miles from its mouth to the village and lower mills, in a good channel. *Cape Split* has a good harbour.

Between the mouth of this and that of *Pleasant river*, which

* *Gouldsbrough* harbour is N. N. W. from *Petitmenan Light* 2 leagues.

† If you fall in with *Shattuck Island* give it a good birth and steer N. N. E. into *Prospect harbour*.

‡ It is a stone building 25 feet high, has a fixed light, furnished of lamps 53 feet above the level of the sea. Pass on the west side into *Dyer's bay*, and give the light a good birth, leave a dry ledge on your larboard.

Pleasant
river.
Narragua-
gus bay.

are two leagues apart, is *Narraguagus bay*, stretching up seven miles into Harrington, which affords good navigation and good harbours; having branches or salt water streams flowing into it, upon which tide mills are advantageously situated. *Pleasant river* empties itself at the head of Pleasant bay; its fresh water part is short and small; but the residue of its run, being about ten miles, is commodious. At the head of the tide about four leagues from the bay, it is divided by a fertile and inviting Island, almost in the shape of a pendant, being about three miles in length and nearly two in its greatest width. Although the channels on each side are narrow, yet the beds of them are so soft, level and smooth, as to render the navigation safe and convenient nearly to the head of the Island. The soil here is fertile, the banks low, the village flourishing, and the situation and beauty of the country, emphatically such as to entitle it *all* to the name the river bears.*

Cape Split.

Cape Split is the point at the southwest extreme of the town of Addison, as we enter Pleasant bay from the east; and is half a league north of the western entrance into *Moose-peck reach*.† Between that point and *Tibbets' point*, a little farther east, is a good harbour. The reach has Addison and Jonesborough on the north; and on the south *Beal's Island* of 1000 acres of good land and 10 families.‡ Its margin is ledgy, though it has one harbour on the north side, east of *Indian river*. The Island at the mouth of *that* little river, is encircled with navigable tide-waters on all its sides. Below the east entrance of the reach, is *Head Harbour Island*, containing 300 acres of poor land, with one family; between which, on the southwest side, and *Bryer's Island*, is a good harbour.

Moose-peck
reach.
Tibbet's
point.

Beal's
Island.

Head har-
bour Island.

Bryer's Isl-
and.

Rogue's Isl-
and.

English-
man's bay.

Rogue's Island is N. N. E. from Head harbour, in *English-man's bay*: it contains 500 acres of good land, inhabited by three or four families. It has a very broken shore and its harbour is formed by an indent of water about midway of the Island on the southerly side. Near *Rogue's Island* southerly are others, called the *Virgin's Breasts*. *Chandler's river*, which empties itself into

Virgin's
Breasts.

* *Shattuck hills* are back of Harrington.

† *Moose-peck* or "Miskecky" Lighthouse is on Ship Harbour Island, with a revolving light.

‡ Southwesterly of *Beal's Island* are 8 or 10 small Islands not far distant, which are uninhabited.

the head of the bay, is a small mill stream ; yet vessels ascend Chandler's river. to its mouth and take cargoes.

Buck's harbour, though small, is a noted one, being easy of Buck's har- access from the sea. It is a cove on the east side of the point bour. which is the western limit of Machias bay. The salt water river, west of that point, is navigable and pleasant, its banks being ornamented with handsome dwellinghouses on both sides.

Southwesterly of Buck's harbour are several Islands, viz. *Fos-* Foster's Isl- *ter's Island* and the two *Libby Islands*.^{*} Upon the outer one of and. the latter two, is the *Lighthouse*. Libby Lighthouse.

Machias bay is about two leagues in breadth at its mouth, and Machias bay. seven miles in length. At its northwest corner it receives the waters of East and West Machias rivers, three miles below where they form a junction, and two miles below where they pass the narrows.

The length of *West Machias river*, in its meandering south- West-Ma- easterly course, is about fifty miles. The tide flows five miles chias river. above the junction to the bridge, the village and the landings, where are the public buildings. In this branch the navigation for small vessels is good.

East-Machias river is not so long as the other, though quite as East-Ma- large. It is navigable only about two miles from the junction chias river to the falls, bridge, mills and village :—the falls here being from 15 to 20 feet.

One mile below the junction, are the *Narrows*, 50 rods across ; Narrows. to which a ship of the line might ascend, in a channel of six fathoms of water, with safety. South of the narrows, the shores are bold ; the tide flows 15 feet ; and it is supposed, where the wharves now are, stood the *New-Plymouth trading house*.

There are two *Cross Islands* lying at the east entrance of Ma- 2 Cross Isl- *chias bay* ; Great Cross Island contains about 6 or 700 acres of ands. pretty good land ; though neither of them is inhabited.

East of Cross Island is *Little Machias bay*, which extends Little Ma- nearly a league into the land and has a depth from two to six chias bay. fathoms at low water. It is inhabited on both sides. Also *Little river harbour*, two miles still farther east, is a good one, enlivened by a small contiguous settlement.

* Machias Lighthouse stands on Libby Island, lying on the western entrance to Machias bay, and is 65 feet above the level of the sea and contains a "revolving light." Seal Islands are due S. E. from Machias.

Little river.

Moose and
Haycock
harbours.

West-
'Quoddy-
head.

Campo-
bello.

Flagg's
point.
Lubec vil-
lage.

The divis-
ional line.

The coast from Little river to *West-Quoddy-head*, five leagues, exhibits a very forbidding appearance. Except about *Moose harbour* and *Haycock harbour*, which afford good anchorage, the shore is little other than high ranges of a most rugged ledge, a league or more in width, against which the waves often break so furiously as to throw the water an hundred feet into the air.

*West-'Quoddy-head** is an elevated bold promontory, which forms the southeast corner of Maine and of the United States :— the highest part of it is 150 feet. In 1807, 100 acres of the projection was ceded to the United States, and the next year a Lighthouse, with a lantern of fixed light, 90 feet above the level of the sea, was erected on the south side, near the centre, at highwater mark, which cost the national government \$4,966. There is also an alarm bell, intended to be rung in foggy weather, which will strike 10 times in a minute.

North of '*Quoddy-head*, is the south end of Campobello†, which is 8 miles in length from northeast to southwest, with an average breadth of four miles. It completely landlocks Lubec and Eastport from the southeast ; but its local situation renders the west entrance into the bay and the harbour of these places crooked, and at low-water difficult on account of a bar.

From the entrance the course is west about two miles, forming West-'Quoddy-head into a promontory ; thence north two miles, at the end of which is *Flagg's point*, whereon is *Lubec village*, opposite to the narrows, which are only about 25 rods across from that point to Campobello. But as the tide rises here from 24 to 28 feet, the whole passage is safe and easy at half flood. Four miles and an half from Lubec village north, is that of Eastport or Moose Island, full in view.‡

The line between the two governments is thus ;—From the narrows, in the middle channel, by Mark Island ; thence in mid-water, between Eastport and Indian Island ; thence N. N. W. to and in the thread of the St. Croix river, passing between the

* There are three passages into Passamaquoddy bay, *western*, *middle*, or *ship channel*, and *eastern* : in passing the first, give the sail rocks and whirl-pool a birth more than half a mile ; and steer westward.

† This Island is an appendage of New-Brunswick.

‡ Lubec village is 24 miles from Machias ; 12 from Grandmenan ; 16 from Robbinston : 30 from Calais ; and 60 from the city of St. Johns.

Devil's head and *Oak point*,* to its source at the Eastern monument.

Between Lubec and Eastport, at the southeast entrance into *Cobscook bay*, are two small Islands, the northeasterly one is *Allen's Island*, containing 70 acres of good land, and has one family; the other, southwesterly, of 15 acres, is called *Rice's Island*, and is uninhabited. At the entrance of the bay, the width of water is half a mile; but on account of shoals and rocks, the navigation is difficult. This bay, which lies westward of Moose Island, and is about seven miles long from its southern to its northern entrance, does on its several sides, project into no less than seven branches; all which are navigable for boats, and the shorter branches for small vessels. On the largest one, southwest, is situate the village of *Orangetown*, now *Whiting*, up to which boats may float; on the northwest branch, which receives *Dennysville river*, is the village a little above its mouth, to which only boats can ascend; and on the branch southeast of *Dennysville* is the *Pennemaquam* settlement, 4 miles from the ledge, and west of the narrows, which are 40 rods wide at the entrance, north of Moose Island.

Cobscook, Allen's and Rice's Islands.

Orange-town.

Pennemaquam.

Of all the Islands described, no one is more noted than *Moose Island*, [or *Eastport*.] It was not only, for many years, a subject of controversy between two nations, being itself most eligibly situated; but it has long been a place of great resort. Its greatest length is five miles from N. W. to S. E.; yet it is no where two miles in width. Vessels pass on all sides of it. In one place towards the northerly end, it is nearly parted asunder by the waters on each side, so that at highwater they almost meet. Its area is 2,150 acres. The exterior of the whole Island, at the water's edge, is extremely irregular; and its surface is sufficiently variegated with swells, hills, and vallies. It is a very inviting place for commerce. The village is southerly of the isthmus, on the eastern shore, pleasantly facing the east. There is a regular ascent from the village, half a mile northward, to *Fort hill*, which commands quite an enchanting prospect. This is the site of the *United States' garrison*. There is a deep cove at the south end of the Island where ships of any size may be moored, head and stern, and be safe from all winds. The north

Moose Island. Eastport.

The village

Fort hill

* MS. Letter of H. G. Balch, Esq.

extremity of the Island is near the main land, separated only by a narrow pass for vessels ; and the mouth of the Schoodic river is considered to be at the narrows, between this Island and Deer Island.*

Mark and
Rogers'
Islands.

Allen's Island and *Rice's Island*, before mentioned, also *Mark Island* and *Rogers' Island*, are all belonging to the town of Lubec. But it is to be remarked that *Allen's Island* is the same as "*Dudley's Island*," and *Rice's Island* the same as *Frederick Island*, and both of them, as well as *Moose Island*, under the 4th article of the Treaty of Ghent, the Commissioners determined, November 24th, 1817, to belong to the United States. Dudley and Frederick Islands were originally granted by Massachusetts to Col. Allen ; and his son's widow and family live on the former, the only inhabitants. The latter is owned by Mr. Thayer of Lubec.†

Schoodic
river.

The *Schoodic*‡ river, which in its whole length, is the dividing line between this State and New-Brunswick, we are next to describe ; and we begin with its sources, which, as the river runs, are about one hundred miles from its mouth. Its head is seven miles above the lakes, at the *Eastern Monument* ; in which part it is quite small, and is sometimes called *Cheputnatecook*. It empties itself near the north end of the upper *Schoodic lakes*, which lie in the form of a crescent, 35 miles in extent, with their thickest segment northwest. The mean width of the lakes may be from one to two miles, though in many places there are very narrow passes between the greater or wider bodies of water.

Cheputnate-
cook.

From the outlet of the upper lake, the general course of the river is southeastwardly ; its descent is rapid, its bed and banks for the most part rocky, with very few bordering intervalles ; and its length, to the lower or salt-water falls, is called by travellers sixty, some say, seventy miles. In this distance we find several sections of still water, particularly two, called *Loon's bay* and *Porter's meadow*. There are also the *Great falls*, several miles from the outlet, where the water descends 20 feet in a short distance ;

Loon's bay.
Porter's
meadow.
Falls.

* Philip Coombs, Esq.—MS. Letter of Jona. D. Weston, Esq.

† MS. Letter and ingenious plan of Lorenzo Sabin, Esq.

‡ There are three rivers which empty into the Passamaquoddy bay, the largest of which is called the Schoodic, [Scatuck—*Indian*.]—the lake is "*where fish live all the year*," and are often taken ; such as trouts, chopa and perch.—But M. de Monts and Champlain, call it "*Etechemins*."

and several other rapids and pitches, so that there are at some seasons of the year, no less than seven carrying places between the upper outlet and Calais.

About 35 miles below the upper outlet, a junction is formed between the main river and the west branch, which is made by issues of water from the *Grand Schoodic lakes*, being about a dozen of them in all; and by this confluence, the river below is doubled in the quantum of its water. Schoodic
Lakes.

The lower falls are at the head of the tide, to which the river descends from the southwest, and thence runs southeast, forming almost an isoscles angle. Within this is the village of Calais, opposite to which, at the point on the north shore, is the parish of St. Stephens. The falls are at *Milltown*, two miles above *Calais village*, where there are about 20 saws, a grist mill, and other waterworks in lively operation. Those on the northerly side are owned by the British, and those on the other by the Americans. Between Milltown and Calais, the river is crossed by two bridges, each about eighty rods in length. Milltown.
Calais vil-
lage.

At Calais, above the mouth of Dennis Stream, there is a great mill establishment of \$20,000 cost. The river here is half a mile in width, and the water is very shoal when the tide is out; but the flood tide brings hither a sheet of water from 14 to 16 feet perpendicular, and is limited a mile above the village, where the salt and fresh water meet.

Five miles below the village is the *Ledge*, where the passage is narrow, the water quick, and the navigation difficult, even at half ebb. Two miles lower is "the *Devil's head*," 9½ leagues above Eastport landing, a very high, rocky, and mountainous bluff, on the western shore, which may be seen 12 leagues. Directly opposite to this, northward, where the river is two miles wide, is *Oak point*, on the British side.* The ledge.

Devil's
head.

Oak point.

Three miles below the Devil's head, the river passes between the village of Robbinston and St. Andrews, where it is a league across.† Hereabouts in the river, on the American side, are two small Islands; the one is a mere ledge of about an acre, above highwater mark, bearing only a few trees; the other, called *Hel-leker's Island*, of 4 or 5 acres, was first owned by a man of that

* Philip Coombs, Esq. Here the tide flows 25 feet.

† MS. Letter of Hon. John Balkham.

name, who became the sole inhabitant of it soon after the revolution, where he lived to a great age. The north bank of the Island is high and ledgy, the residue is of a rich soil which he cultivated like a garden. The width of the river here is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

"*St. Croix*," or *Neutral Island*, is situate in the river, opposite to the dividing line of Calais and Robbinston, where it angles upon the waters edge. It contains 12 or 15 acres and is directly in the middle of the Schoodic river, though the ship passage is usually on the eastern side; it is now the residence of one family and is claimed by Gen. Brewer. It is a delightful spot;—here de Monts, in 1604, erected a fort and passed the winter; here the commissioners, in 1798, under the treaty of 1783, found the remains of a very ancient fortification; and afterwards determined the river to be the true *St. Croix*.*

Pleasant point, [in Perry,] which is ten miles southeasterly of Robbinston village and 5 miles northwardly of Eastport village, is one of the most delightful situations in the State. It is a small peninsula, on a cove making up on the back or west side of it two miles. This is the site of the Indian village, where the *Passamaquoddy* tribe have about 40 habitations or wigwams.

There is no difficult navigation in the Schoodic from Eastport to Calais, except at the Ledge. The tides at Eastport are from 24 to 30 feet; and there are some good harbours and many places of good anchoring ground, along the western shore; the only inconveniences being the boldness of the shore and a depth of water, which is in some places 12, in others 25 fathoms.†

The only considerable river which remains to be described is the *St. John*† and its tributaries. Its several branches are spread through the whole northern section of this State, and a sweep around their heads would form a curve, or segment of a circle, not less than 200 miles in extent. Its principal sources are in the highlands which divide Maine from Canada, and the chief *St. John*, in its meanders, runs more than 150 miles before it crosses the eastern divisional line of the State. Not very much is known of all these branches, though they intersperse and water a third part of our territory; except, that the soil among them is

* 1 Holmes A. a. 149.—*Sabin's MS. Let.*

† Blunt's Coast Pilot.

† Indian name, *Loshtock*, or *Long river*, very wide, for the waters running in it.

St. Croix or
Neutral
Island.

Pleasant
point.

Indian vil-
lage.

St. John
river.

good ; the timber-growth great ; and the face of nature well interspersed with elevations and vallies. At the mouth of the *Metawascash*, however, which is 30 miles from the line, where the *French settlement* is, people have made repeated visits and some discoveries.

The St. John river crosses our eastern boundary line, 77 miles north of the "Eastern Monument," and 227 miles from its mouth. The *Great*, or "*Grand falls*," are four miles below the line, in lat. 46° 54'. Here the river is contracted to the width of only 3 or 4 rods, walled and overhung with cliffs, and descends a few feet in a broken inclined plane ; rebounding from a bed of rocks below the eaves of a fall. It is then precipitated down perpendicularly, about 45 feet, into an abyss studded with rocks, which nearly choke its passage. But with a whirl, it sweeps through a broken and rugged channel and a chain of falls half a mile long, closely pent with projecting rocks on both sides, which so overhang the water in some places as to impede the view of the beholder. To the foot of these falls, come flat bottom boats, from the city of St. John, 223 miles.

From the Grand falls to Woodstock, at the mouth of the *Medusnekeag*, the river is about a quarter of a mile wide, when it expands to the width of a mile, forms some fine Islands, and then again contracts and passes the *Maductic falls*, where the channel is greatly choked with rocks, though they do not totally interrupt the passage of boats and rafts.

At *Fredericton*, is the head of sloop navigation, about 85 miles from the sea, where the river is about 3-4ths of a mile wide, and where the tide rises from six to ten inches, and is perceivable nine miles above that place. Thence the river flows in a beautiful unbroken current, to the falls, near the city St. John.

As the tide rises there from 24 to 28 feet, varying according to the phases of the moon, they are passable at half flood for a short time, when the waters over the falls are smooth. The city,* situated on both sides of the river, below the falls, is principally on a peninsula of the eastern shore. But the site of old Fort Frederic was on the western side. Patridge Island lies at the entrance of the harbour, on which there is a Lighthouse, and from which, to the western shore, there is a sand bar.

* In lat. 45 deg. 20m. north, and has 8,488 inhabitants.

In view of the matter in this section, and a careful inspection of a Map of Maine, it is almost superfluous to say, that perhaps no other seaboard of equal extent can be found so lined with Islands, and so highly favoured with coves and harbours; and that no other country, of the same size, is so interspersed with rivers, streams and ponds.* It may also be added, that the inland waters are fair and salubrious, and many of them are exceedingly limpid.



MOUNTAINS.

MOUN-
TAINS.
Mount
Katahdin.

OF the mountains in this State, the first for magnitude and height, is the *Katahdin*;† there being none higher in New-England, except the White hills in New-Hampshire.

Situation.

The local situation of the Katahdin is about seventy miles, north by west, from the head of the tide in Penobscot river, and about equidistant between its east and west branches. It is the southernmost and highest of nine lofty ridges, branching out northwest and northeast; which, however, are easily overlooked from the more elevated summit of this single one.

Table-
lands.

Around it, except on the north side, are table-lands, about three miles in width, rising in gentle acclivity to its base. These were once covered with forest trees. In the parts near the descending streams, where the soil is good, the growths were formerly hardwood; but elsewhere the ground was clothed with spruce. Viewed from the heights of the mountain, these table-lands appear like a plain, while in fact, they overlook the surrounding wilderness to a very great extent.

A great
slide.

Prior to the year 1816, the ascent was on the west or southwest end, equal to the hypotenuse of an angle, generally from 35° to 46° with the horizon, ragged, difficult, and fatiguing; and the distance from the upper margin of the table-lands was not less than two miles, in direct course, to the summit, though the tract travelled was somewhat spiral and zigzag. But sometime

* Twelve Mile pond, 7 miles long and more than half a mile wide, adjoining China; 1000 acre pond in Dexter; Moose pond in Hartford; 2000 acre pond in Madison; Great east pond, of 4,500 acres, in Newport, and numerous others.

† Spelt "Katahdin," "Ktardn," Ktahden,"--the vowel in the last syllable having no sound.

in that year, an enormous declivity, about mid-side the mountain, Katahdin, slid into a distant valley—apparently the effect of an overwhelming fall of water. In its descent it rent away every obstacle, tearing up trees by the roots, or crushing or twisting them like a withe ;—an event, however, which has rendered the ascent, in one of its difficult places, altogether more tolerable, and in others more easy.

The circumference of the mountain at its base, which is north-^{Base, sides, and soils.}erly and southerly elliptical, may be ten or twelve miles. The surface of its sides is covered with small light-gray rocks of granite, apparently broken and split, as if by force, into a thousand different forms. In many places these innumerable crumbles form the principal component and consistency of the soil, which, with the rocks, are covered by a deep-green moss. Under this, the trees of various kind stake root ; which, as we ascend, are shorter and shorter, until they become mere dwarfs, towards the summit, of only two feet tall, with very long limbs and trunks six inches in diameter at the ground. About a mile from the top, all vegetation ceases, the uppermost of which is a kind of vine. Here the large and the pebble rocks are of a finer grain, or con-texture, than those lower down and are of a bluish colour.

Some years ago a fire from the vallies swept up the mountain, ^{Fires.} on the southern and eastern sides, and rendered that section and other places, black-burnt and quite barren, except about the springs and streams, where vegetation has reset. At no time, however, could these sides be ascended, by reason of their projecting cliffs and great steepness.

The summit of the Katahdin is a plain, inclining partially to ^{Summit.} the northwestward, and formed of solid rock. The western part is very smooth, the rest more rough and broken, and the inter-stices filled with coarse gravel. Its area, which is a full half mile in length, but much less in width, contains about 800 acres, all covered with a dead white moss.

As this is the highest of the mountains in our horizon, the pros-^{Prospect.}pect from its top in a clear day is, what might be supposed, vast and enchanting. Here the beholder sees the great reservoir of the river Aroostic ; also the Moosehead lake, except its central parts, hidden by the Piscatequis mountain intervening ; and the glassy Cheesauncook lake, still nearer, one of the great cisterns of the Penobscot. Indeed, no less than 60 lakes, of different

dimensions, can be counted ; the most of which, probably, empty their waters into the Penobscot and the Kennebec.

On the northeast is an uninterrupted prospect as far as the eye can reach, until it rests on the distant highlands west of the bay Chaleur. This region exhibits an undulating forest of hills and vallies, interspersed with lakes and streams. Facing the south the spectator beholds from Katahdin the heights of Mount Desert, distant on an air line, more than 120 miles, and appearing to rise in semi-globular form from the bosom of the ocean.

Fort mountain.

Near the Katahdin, north-northwest, is *Fort mountain*, so called from its shape and appearance. It is separated from the other by an appalling gully, where a small pond gives its waters to the great east branch. Its form is oblong, from northeast to southwest : its sides are steep and its top is an arching ridge, exhibiting a sharp edge, a mile in length, and apparently covered with verdure. There is another northerly, called *Bright mountain*, quite large in size and irregular in appearance, having an extensive ledge of smooth rocks on its southern side, which glisten in the sunbeams like isinglass.

Bright mountain.

Indian tradition.

The Indians feared till lately to visit the summit of the Katahdin. They superstitiously supposed it to be the summer residence of an evil spirit, called by them "*Pamòla* ;"* who in the beginning of snow-time, rose with a great noise, and took his flight to some unknown warmer regions. They tell a story, that seven Indians, a great many moons ago, too boldly went up the mountain and were certainly killed by the mighty Pamola : for, say they, "we never hear of them more : " and our fathers told us, "an Indian never goes up to the top of the Katahdin and lives to return."

The mountain visited in 1804.

The first ascent to its summit, known to be accomplished by any Americans, was in August, 1804. About the middle of that month seven gentlemen, from Bangor and Orono, taking two Indians for guides, ascended the Penobscot in canoes to the head of boat-navigation, in a limped stream, which received its principal supplies from the sides of the mountain and a gully towards its top.

* They say that Pamola is very great and very strong indeed ; that his head and face is like a man's, and his body, shape and feet like an eagle, and that he can take up a moose with one of his claws.

The Indian guides cautioned their employers not to proceed, if they "should hear any uncommon noises;" and refused to go ahead when they "came to the cold and barren part of the mountain." At length they resolved to go no farther, saying, "here we stop; how long shall we stay if you don't come again?" Being told by the party—they should *soon return*; and seeing their determination to proceed, the guides again took the lead and seemed emulous to be the first to reach the summit. Yet the tribe at Oldtown could only be made to believe by the guides themselves, on their return, that the party had actually been to the summit, where the evil spirit resided.

The party, after leaving their boats, found as they ascended, a variety of wild fruits, such as raspberries, blue, and wortleberries, black currants, box-berries and bog-cranberries, of which they ate freely. The ascent was fatiguing, and in some places perilous; and they being oppressed with heat, drank too much of the water, which they perceived had an astringent quality, and was evidently impregnated with minerals.

They reached the summit about 5, P. M.; but the atmosphere not being clear, they tarried only a couple of hours, taking such views as the uncommon prospect afforded. They found the elevation so great as evidently to affect respiration. On the highest part, they deposited the initials of their names and the date of their visit, cut upon sheet lead; and then descended to the spruce growth, where they passed the night. In a few hours several were taken with vomiting, and in the morning all found their throats inflamed and sore—owing probably to the fruits, the water, and the fatigue. The mountain has been since visited; and the water found to be perfectly wholesome;—the thoroughfare opened by the slide, affording great facilities to the ascent of the traveller.

The adventurers supposed the mountain must be at least ten thousand feet, (or equal to the White hills,) above the level of the sea. But they were in an error; for by a geometrical mensuration of the surveyors under the 4th article of the treaty of Ghent, they made its altitude, from the bed of the river *Abalajacko-megus** at its foot, to be only 4,685 feet. The instrument

* Below this river, they calculated the Passadumkeag to be 500 feet, and the tide-waters of Penobscot 650 feet.

however was out of order, and the admeasurement not satisfactory. Some views have been since taken, and casts made by a skilful gentleman,* who gives it as his opinion, that it is at least 5,500 feet in height above the waters of *that* river.†

Spencer
Mountains.

Westerly, between Moosehead lake and Cheesauncook lake, are the *Spencer mountains*—several in number, large and lofty; and the road explored from Pleasant river, and the Piscataquis, to the river de Loup, in Canada, passes between the two southerly and principal summits.‡

Bald moun-
tain.

On the west of Moosehead lake, and near the heads of Moose river, and on the east side of the Kennebec road, is *Bald mountain*, five miles long, two wide, and quite high. Below this, and ten miles above the forks, on the west side of that road, are the *Johnson mountains*, where is an immense body of limestone, and probably a quarry of marble.

Johnson
mountains.

Mars hill.

Mars Hill, 40 miles above the monument, is on the east margin of the State. Its ascent commences with an easy swell of half a mile in width, and between this and the summit abruptly increases, in some places almost to a perpendicular steepness. Its top is narrow and divided by a hollow near the centre; on each end of which the trees were felled, a spot cleared, and a temporary observatory erected by the commissioners under the treaty of Ghent. By their astronomers and surveyors, it was ascertained that the south peak is 1519 feet, and the north one 1,378 feet, above the tide-waters of the St. Lawrence; being the highest land between them and those of the Atlantic.

Height.

Mars hill is itself covered with trees, and might be made fit pasture lands to its top, which is in lat. 46° 30'. The British Commissioner insists that this is the height of land intended by the treaty of 1783; and adds, that “the existence of a chain of

* Gen. Joseph Treat, supposes Katahdin is about as high as the White hills. M. Greenleaf, Esq. computes the height of the Katahdin at 5,623 feet.—*Survey*, p. 47.

† The highest summit of the White hills, N. H., is 5,850 feet above the water in Connecticut river.—2 *Farmer and Moore's Coll.* 98.

‡ The mountains behind the Ouelle, 24 miles N. W. from Quebec, are distinctly visible and are followed by the eye without interruption, to the highlands, between the sources of the St. John, Penobscot, Kennebec, Connecticut, and Etechemain, Chaudiere, Becancour, and the Nicolet rivers. The ridge must be 2,000 feet above the sea.—*Greenleaf*.

highlands from Mars hill, or its neighbourhood, towards Katahdin, and thence to the head of Connecticut river, is certain.”*

Mount Desert heights, not having any mountainous elevations near them, appear environed by water, on the verge of the Atlantic. There are thirteen grades and ridges of them in connexion, which give some varieties to the appearances of their summits. The area upon which they rest their whole base, may be equal to twenty square miles : and their altitude above the sea is estimated at 2,500 feet.† They may be seen more than twenty leagues at sea.

Northwestwardly, between Mount Desert and the Penobscot waters, is *Blue hill*. This affords a very engaging prospect, and gives name to the town where it is situate and to the bay south-eastwardly, because of its *blue* or *smoky* appearance. It is crowned with granite rocks.

Camden mountains, or *heights*,‡ heretofore called *Penobscot hills*, are about ten miles, over land, northwesterly from *Mecadacut*, or Owl’s head, and their tops are from three fourths of a mile to four miles distant from Megunticook harbour and Camden village. There are five or six of them, the principal of which are *Mount Batty*, *Mount Pleasant*, and *Mount Hosmer* : they range generally from northeast to southwest, somewhat diverging from the sea, and are clothed with forest trees quite to their tops. The most of them are neither steep nor rugged. Mount Batty, 3–4ths of a mile N. W. from Camden harbour, is 900 feet in height above highwater mark ; and on its summit an 18 pounder was planted in the late war. These have been represented as the old boundary between the great Bashaba’s dominions, situate on the west, and those of the Tarratines on the east. They are, without doubt, the mountains mentioned by Capt. Weymouth, in 1605, and by Capt. Smith, in 1614, when they explored the bay of Penobscot. Mount Pleasant, in the W., Hosmer’s mountains in the N. W. and two others in the N. E. part of Camden, are much higher than Mount Batty ;” the highest of them may be 1,500 feet above the level of the sea. They are seen near 20 leagues distant.

* See his Report in Secretary’s office, Washington.

† MS. Letter of A. Johnson, Esq.

‡ “*Mathebestucks hills*.” See A. D. 1696, History. Also, Penhallow’s Indian wars. Church Ex., &c. 141—2.

Certain it is that no other place affords so commanding a prospect of the Atlantic, the Penobscot bay, the numerous Islands and the contiguous country.*

Mount Agamenticus.

Mount Agamenticus† has been long celebrated as a sightly eminence. Its situation is in the town of York, about eight miles northwesterly of its harbour, and nearly on the same meridian with that of Piscataqua. It is not steep, rocky, nor broken. It is covered with woods and shrubs, interspersed with small patches of pasture, and large crowning rocks, which form its summit. It is a noted landmark for mariners, being the first height seen by them from the sea. This is supposed to have been the land first discovered by Capt. Gosnold, in 1602.

First discovered.

The prospect.

From its top, the beholder has a view of the Atlantic, skirted with an indented shore, from Cape-Ann to Cape-Elizabeth. On the southwest, he sees a country adorned with buildings, fields of cultivation, and the waters of Piscataqua; and northwestwardly, he has a sight of the White hills, in New-Hampshire.

Mount Bigelow.

Mount Bigelow is south of Dead river, about three leagues long, from east to west, and one league wide. Here is said to be a great quarry of gray stone, very excellent for the builder's use. The other mountains in this quarter, are *Saddleback*, *Speckled*, and *White-cap* mountains, and *Mount Abraham*, some of which

Sugar loaf.

Kineo.

are said to be 4,000 feet above the sea. *Sugar Loaf*, southwest, is smaller. *Kineo*‡ mountain is a peninsula on the east side of Moosehead lake, a few miles southwest of the Spencer mountains. It is 4 miles in circumference and 900 feet high,—composed of fine grained flint. Its northern and eastern sides, are perpendicular, and it is almost without so much as a shrub on many of its parts.§

Viewing the surface of Maine collectively, we shall perceive "its most elevated part is near its *northwestern angle*," perhaps *Sunday mountain*, "from which it declines with some degree of regularity, in every direction, to the extreme parts."||

* MS. Letters of Hosea Bates and Benjamin Cushing, Esqrs. and Plan.

† Sometimes spelt "Accomenticus."

‡ Kineo is the Indian name for *flint*.

§ "Immediately at the foot of this mountain, a line 5 or 600 feet has been thrown without getting bottom." It is about 120 miles from Augusta, north by east.

|| Greenleaf's Statistical View, 15.

SOILS.

The varieties of *soil* in this State, are such as to embrace *inter-
vale, loam, clay, gravel, sand,* and *ledge*; and these are some-
times intermixed. SOILS.

Along the seaboard, there is interspersed among the promon-
tories and vallies, a great deal of ledge, exhibiting bluffs, flat and
rugged rocks, and supporting in their crevices a half-starved shrub-
bery,—a spectacle often repulsive to the view of the water-passen-
ger and visitant. On the sea-
board.

From the ledgy and clayey parts to the head of the tide, on
the rivers and about the estuaries, the land generally lies in
large swells and is of a *clay* contexure, with interspersions of
sand. On the high grounds, between the principal rivers, it is
loamy, fertile, easy of tillage in many towns, and excellent for
farms. About the
tide-waters.

There are large *Salt marshes* in Wells, Scarborough, Fal-
mouth, and Machias, about the Islands of Sagadahock, and about
Mount Desert, where great quantities of salt-hay are annually cut,
which, with that of the upland and fresh meadows, make exceed-
ingly good fodder. In other parts the soil is of a black loam, or
dark mould, with hillocks of gravel and some slate, as in Cape-
Elizabeth and Harpswell. Indeed, through the whole extent of
the State, in rear of the ledge-land, the soil is generally fertile. Salt marsh
es.

There are to be found many *Cedar swamps*, scattered about
the heads and among the branches of the rivers and brooks; the
most of which are capable of making good meadows and mowing
grounds; and cedar affords the best fencing stuff which can be
made of wood. Cedar
Swamps.

Our *Sandy plains*, the natural growth of which is pitch and white
pine, are oftentimes large. They are found in Wells, in Bruns-
wick, in Topsham, in Gray, and in many other places; but to
what extent, the writer has no satisfactory information—except
that he is told there are no less than 6,000 acres of pitch-pine plains
in the single town of Shapleigh. Sandy
plains.

Our richest, most productive and valuable lands are the *Inter-
vales*. Of these, we have many thousand acres, which are
generally found to be some distance above the tide-waters; and
in wider and narrower parcels, to skirt almost every considerable
river and stream in the State. There are *intervales* on the Saco
and its branches, especially in Fryeburg; on the Androscoggin,

from Gilead, where the river enters this State, to Lewiston falls; and on the Kennebec and its tributaries, between Scowhegan falls and the Forks. Indeed, the single town of Farmington, is said to contain no less than 2,000 acres of this most beautiful and fertile land. In Sunkhaze, Olemon, and other places on the Penobscot, the meadows are very extensive, and bear large and excellent grass.

Northeast-
ern region.

The country about the easterly heads and upper branches of the Penobscot, the whole Aroostic, and the southern primary branches of the St. John, is naturally very excellent. The soil is a deep rich loam; the face of the ground variegated with swells and vallies; and the whole region favoured with abundant supplies of purest water. To emigrants, it has strong attractives; it is filling with people, and is capable of supporting a dense population.



SECTION III.

Air, Climate, and Seasons.

The air.

THE air of this State is pure and salubrious; and the weather not much given to changes. It is believed that the atmosphere here is more humid and dense than in southern climates, as the dews of summer are certainly greater. For the most part, the air in winter is serene, elastic, bracing, and not unfrequently keen; in spring transparent and humid; in the summer, often sultry and electric; and in the autumn sometimes full of smoke.

Tempera-
ture.

But as the territory of this State extends through *five* degrees of latitude; and as the characteristics of the climate here, as elsewhere, always depend in a great measure upon its situation from the equator, the temperature of our climate must have some varieties. It is unquestionably softened by seabreezes, and by the cultivation of the country; and is chilled by its being contiguous to mountains, or even to a thick unbroken wilderness. For upon these, which are never charged with the beams and heat of the summer's sun, the snow falls earlier and lies longer, than in cultivated fields.

Winds.

*Winds** here are not often high and destructive, and a hurri-

* The prevailing winds throughout the whole coast of Nova Scotia, are from W. S. W. to S. W. "nearly as steady as trade winds," except during summer months, when they are rather more southerly, accompanied with fogs, which are hardly dispersed without northerly winds.

cane is very seldom experienced. The southerly winds are the most violent ; and between that point of compass and the N. E., they, after blowing 24 hours, usually bring a storm which lasts several days, and always longer than when it comes from any other quarter. Those from the southwest mitigate the severity of winter, and often render sultry the days of summer : But fair weather, and sometimes a thundershower, come with the winds from the northwest. In New-Brunswick the prevailing winds, from October to April, are from the north and northwest ; and in the spring, they are mostly from the north-northeast, and bring dull and heavy weather.

The *water* which falls annually on an average, in rain, snow, and hail, is said to be *thirty-seven* inches : about a third part of which is supposed to fall in the two latter. Hail, however, rarely falls in considerable quantities ; yet in June, 1781, a hail storm did some damage. A southeast storm, though it begin with snow, commonly ends in rain. Rain, snow,
and hail.

Thunder is heard and *lightning* seen many times in the summer ; still, the one is not often heavy, nor the other vivid. They however rendered the seasons in 1752 and 1760, remarkable by their frequency. On the 12th of August, of the latter year, there was such a hurricane as was never before known in these parts : houses, barns, trees, corn, and almost every other thing bleakly exposed, were levelled with the ground. The tempest in May, 1779, was a tornado ; the darkness was only intermitted by incessant lightning : it did immense damage. Thunder
and light-
ning.

Freshets, larger or smaller, happen every year, and usually in the month of May, oftentimes earlier. The double occasion of falling rains and melting snows, makes them the greatest. In times of these freshets and floods, the waters in the rivers have been known to rise 20 and even 25 feet ; when they occasion great destruction. Freshets.

But *droughts* are the most frequent, and on the whole, the greatest judgments which the country experiences, for many times they are followed by fires, by devouring insects, by sickness, and by scarcity. The fires, after droughts in 1820 and 1825, were extensive and dreadful. Droughts
and fires.

It is believed that in more than half the days of the year we have *fair weather* and enjoy the shinings of the sun. But the year Weather.

1772 was very stormy ; it was even judged that a quarter, at least, of the spring, summer, and autumn, was actually *rainy*.

The sea-
sons.

*The four seasons** are far from being uniformly the same in every year : yet for the natural causes of these varieties, philosophers have never been able to assign any satisfactory reasons.

Winters.

Our *winters* are cold, usually serene, and sometimes intensely severe. We have witnessed many days of sunshine in succession, in which the snow did not melt enough to form isicles. The mercury in the thermometer is often below *zero*, though rarely down to 12 degrees. In December, 1778, many people were frozen to death ; and on Friday and Saturday, January 19 and 20, 1810, it was 15° or 16° below ; and on the same days of the week, February 14 and 20, 1817, it ranged from 11° to 15° below. But the winter of 1784 was the longest and coldest ever known, since Maine was inhabited.

December.

December always brings snow, yet the weather is changeable. Indeed, such are its vicissitudes, that its snows have been measured four feet deep ; the ground has been seen sometimes entirely bare and even without frost ; and the rivers covered with ice, and free from it, in different years.

January.

But *January* is a month more uniform and cold ; the snow is commonly of good depth, and the ice over still fresh water is sometimes five or six feet thick. There is often however soft weather, this month ; also what is called “the January thaw,” when the rain sometimes freezes as it falls ; covers the face of the earth with a glare ice, and adorns the trees with glistening pendants, too heavy for the branches to bear. When large quantities of water fall, cellars are filled, rivers broken up, and generally great damage done.—In 1771, no snow fell till about the end of this month ; and during the whole of it, in many years, the sleighing is poor.

February.

In *February*, the cold is said to be the most intense ; the greatest quantity of snow usually falls ; and by reason of winds and drifts, the travelling is sometimes difficult. In the years 1757 and 1763, the snow in the woods was about five feet deep on a level ; and in the open land, it was blown into drifts of great

* M. Greenleaf, Esq. in his survey and statistics, chap. III. has made some critical and ingenious remarks upon our climate, with several Meteorological tables as to the years 1820—1827.

height and hardness. If the earth be a long time bare in this month, it freezes from four to six feet, and so hard as to kill the grass-roots, and render the face of spring peculiarly deathlike. In February, 1772, it snowed 21 times: and yet in 1751 and 1761, the month was more like spring than winter;—even the robins have been seen this month after several days of warm weather.

Dry winters are commonly cold; whereas the earth, if well covered with snow during the winter-weather, will uniformly appear verdant early in the spring.

If our *spring season* is very early and forward, the vegetation is often chilled and checked by frosts.

March is a chilly blustering month; and the air being humid is March. often searching. In different years the varieties of this month are great. The snow on the 29th of March, 1733 and 1742, was three feet deep in the woods, and on the 13th, in 1787, five feet. These cases, however, are very rare: for in general, the snow disappears this month and exhibits many evidences of spring. Robins are often seen, and some garden-seed sown, before April. In 1760 the season was so uncommonly early, that the spring-birds appeared ten days before the month closed; the seeds of cabbage, lettuce and radishes were planted in gardens on the 16th of the month, 1811; and in other years the trees have begun to bud in March. Nevertheless we may generally expect to have the remains of winter at its beginning, and the inspiring appearances of spring at its close.

April is literally a vernal month, having nights frosty, and April. many of its days chilly and uncomfortable; also the highways are bad, if not unsafe for the traveller. In April, 1733, 1746, 1781 and 1785, snows fell two or three feet deep, particularly the first and last of these four years: There were also snow-storms this month in 1786 and 1816; yet, the ways have been settled and ground fit for the plough in some years, by the 8th and 10th of the month; and garden-seeds planted before May. The seasons of 1736, 1744 and 1747, were very forward; the grass was luxuriant; and on the 16th of the month, in the latter year, English peas and beans were up in gardens and promising.

It is in April that the ice in rivers and ponds breaks up and

voured the potatoe-tops ; and in 1743 and 1756, worms in armies and in millions, covered the whole country and threatened to devour every thing green. Indeed, so great was the alarm they occasioned among the people, that they appointed days of fasting and prayer. The droughts in June, A. D. 1749, 1761 and 1762, were very severe and followed with devouring fires. Those in the last year of the three, being succeeded by heavy falls of rain, were thus effectually extinguished. One of the severest storms ever known was on the 14th of this month, in 1768, from the south-southeast ; and the damage it did was great and memorable.

The month of *July* is commonly hot,—not unfrequently *dry* ; *July*. and sometimes the drought has been so severe as to wither vegetation, till its leaves have crackled under the feet. The weather is usually fair, clear, and favourable for getting hay this month ; but in 1763, it was not fair, at any one time, forty-eight hours in two whole summer months. A hot July produces good corn, and a cold one, good potatoes. There was a tempest this month, in 1784, with hideous darkness ; and, usually, there are thunder and lightning in July ; though electric fluid seldom, with us, takes life or does damage.

August is the month of English harvest, and of cutting mea- *August*.
dow grass. That of 1752 was memorable for tempests, and a tremendous hurricane ; and that of 1774, for the innumerable swarms of *flies*, which were most unwelcome and troublesome visitors.

It is a remark no less trite than true, that *September* is the most *September*. agreeable month in the year. It is not, in general, either cold or hot ; the winds, if any, are light, and the weather is generally fair. In as many as half of the years there is some frost between the middle and the end of the month, though seldom so severe as to destroy all the vegetables upon which it has power. Sometimes Indian corn is secure from its effects before the month closes ; and damsons begin to ripen. The corn was generally spoiled by frost, in 1758 ; and yet in 1760, cabbages began to head, and grass grew more this month than any other during the whole season. The summer of 1738 was remarkable for drought and grasshoppers ; and the month of September was rendered memorable by the raccoons, red squirrels, and blue-jays, which were more abundant than were ever before known. They might

be well compared to the multitudes of pigeons, with which the country abounded in 1759.

October.

In *October*, the frosts are frequent and severe, and sometimes there is a fall of snow: In 1746, however, the grass grew almost as luxuriantly as in the spring, till November. Between the middle and the end of the month, in 1740, 1749, 1767, 1777, and 1821, there was snow several inches deep; and the ground generally freezes more or less in this month, though snow-storms are not frequent and never long.

The year 1785 witnessed an uncommon flood:—About the 21st or 22d of October it rained incessantly forty-eight hours, and raised the waters to an overwhelming height. The rivers Saco, Presumpscot, and others, carried away bridges and mills, and made a general wreck of whatever came within the sweep and fury of their waters.

November.

As early as in the beginning of *November* the ingatherings of the field are completed. The sky of this month is frequently overcast, its nights cold, its days blustering, and it uniformly brings squalls, and sometimes snow-storms, before it closes. Rivulets are bordered or covered with ice; and nature prepares for winter. Heavy falls of snow occurred in November, 1738, 1745, and 1763; and the storms at this season of the year, from the north-east, are long and tedious. On the fifth of November, 1780, and on the 13th of the month, in 1783, there were driving storms, in which the snow fell deep, and partly remained through the winter. November, 1786, was so exceedingly dry, that, though the sledding was good, the fountains almost ceased; the bottom of the wells were bare; and the smaller streams merely flowed. The icy covert which mantled the ponds and streams of fresh water, before the month was at an end, was strong, though too slender to bear the weight of a man.*

Such are the vicissitudes of our seasons, seedtime and harvest, summer and winter, which we are assured from Divine authority shall never cease. There is however a fact, or peculiarity worthy of notice. The winters of 1730, 1780, 1793, 1802. 1810, and 1824, were marked for their pacific mildness and followed by summers of uncommon health and plenty. This has induced the saying, that "mild winters augur good summers."

* See Rev. Mr. Smith's Journal.

Our country is highly favoured with gentle breezes. In the mornings of summer, they are from the land, a soft and soothing zephyr; often controled by a seabreeze before noon, which lasts till sunset. Thus the heat of almost every brilliant day is allayed at flood tide, from the salt water, and very gratefully cools the air.

Upon our coast, fogs are sometimes very dense and dark; and when the wind is at the southward and eastward, they render the mariner's condition perilous and sometimes alarming. They also rise from fresh waters in the interior, which the morning breezes and the sun's beams soon dissipate. An early whitish fog, brooding on the water, is an indication of a fair day; and when vapours cap the mountain and hill-tops, they are considered signs of rain.

The *Aurora Borealis*, or *Northern Lights*, were first particularly noticed in New-England, on the 11th of December, 1719; yet it seems, they were seldom seen for half a century afterwards. At these earlier periods they excited emotions of wonder, and sometimes of fear. In January, 1752, their appearances were more vivid and more frequent; and though all trepidation on their account has at this age subsided; they sometimes exhibit to the beholder a spectacle which occasions particular notice and remark.

Aurora Borealis.



SECTION IV.

Natural Productions.

AFTER so many observations made upon the Geography and Atmosphere of this State; it becomes expedient next, to give some account of its indigenous *animals, vegetables and minerals*. Each of them is a very great department in any country; and therefore what is about to be said on these subjects, must be concise and will be confined to natives of this State.



THE NATIVE VEGETABLES.

In examining this subject, it is needless to go into any minuter detail, than what may be said under the *kinds and species* to be named and described. Nevertheless, it will be most convenient to divide so long a list, and arrange its parts under the heads of *Trees, Shrubs, Plants, Roots, and Vines*. Those of each head may be considered in alphabetical order.

- Native trees.** **TREES ;**—The *Ash* is a tree of which there are two species :
- Ash.** 1. The *white Ash** is strait, tall and tough ; and in a good soil, grows to the size of three feet in diameter, at the ground. Of its wood are made barrels, firkins, oars, handspikes, the handles of manual tools, and the frames of sleighs and other carriages. It is said that a venomous serpent will not cross its leaves, and that these and the bark are an antidote to poison. 2. The *black*
- White.** *Ash*† is not so large a tree as the other. It is easily cloven, or rift into thin even splits, by means of a maul, and wrought into baskets and brooms. Of this species, the *red* and *yellow* are only varieties ; and out of the roots of the latter, the turner forms bowls of different sizes, convenient in housewifery.
- Black.** The *Beech*‡ is of three varieties ;—the *red* and the *white*, both larger than the ash, and excellent fuel ; the *black*, which is tough and small, is fit only for withes and switches. Each is plenty in our hardwood forests. But the ashes of beech-wood cannot be
- Red, and Yellow.** used to make soap. The *Bass-wood* tree§ is considered the same as the *Linden* or *Lime-tree* ; its wood is white, and free from knots, and its diameter, when full grown, is often four feet.
- Beech.** *Birch*|| is a native of which we have four species, and each a peculiarly excellent wood. 1. The *white* is very useful for its tough, lasting and beautiful snow-white bark, which has always been much used by the natives for the construction of their canoes, an ingenious skiff, ever viewed by Europeans as a curiosity. 2. The *black Birch* is a very superiour wood for articles of household furniture : its heart is of a dark brown, of fine close grain, and is capable of receiving a polish like mahogany. Its trunk is sometimes found more than three feet in diameter. 3. The *yellow Birch* is valued principally for fuel—and each of the three species is very good for that use. 4. *Alder*, according to the Linnaean principle of classification, is a species of the birch kind, well known, having in its blowth the same number of stamens. Its bark dies a dark brown.
- Bass-wood.** *Button-wood*,¶ or eastern “plane-tree,” is an unyielding tight-
- Birches.**
- Alder.**
- Button-wood.**

* *Fraxinus Excelsior.*† *Fraxinus Americana*, or *Sambucifolius*.‡ *Fagus*.—1. *Ferrugina*.—2. *Sylvatica*,§ *Tilla Americana*.—*Tilla Alba* [white-wood] about the Aroostic.|| *Betula*.—1. *Betula Alba*.—2. *Betula Nigra*.—3. *Betula Lenta*.—4. *Betula Alnus* (Alder.)¶ *Platanus Occidentalis*.

grained wood, as large as a beech; and is used for wheel-hubs, windlasses and vessel-blocks. This is said to abound on the river St. John though not unfrequent elsewhere.

Butternut,* or *Oilnut*-tree is a species of the *Walnut*, and it ^{Butternut:} is believed to be the only native one of *that genus* to be found in this State; though there may be walnuts in York County.† It is a tree of a middle size, the kernels of its nuts are very oily and nutritious, and a decoction of its bark is a gentle and excellent cathartic. It is said to have been advantageously used by the surgeons in the army of the Revolution.

The *Cedar* is found to be of *two kinds*, and not two species ^{Cedar.} of the same kind; both are evergreens, and generally, the tree is from 6 to 12 inches in diameter. The *white Cedar*‡ is believed to be the western *life-tree*. Its wood is very easy to rive, is sweet and lasting, and is used by the coopers in making pails and other wooden vessels. The *red Cedar*§ is the largest of the *juniper kind*; it makes the most durable posts and rails for fencing used in the State.||

Cherry-tree¶ is a native of our forests, and is considered to be ^{Cherry-tree.} next to mahogany for cabinet work. Its grain is smooth and firm, and receives a beautiful polish: It has been found with us 18 inches in diameter. The *Elder* is of two species, the *black*** ^{Elder.} and *red*.†† The former, called "Sweet Elder," has handsome blossoms, nodding like feather-plumes and a berry not unlike a whortleberry. The latter is a mere shrub, which it is believed the French call Osier, and is poisonous. The *Elm*‡‡ is a lofty ^{Elm.} wholesome tree; its leaves, when fallen, are favourable to the undergrowth of grass; its inner bark is strong and fibrous, and is wrought into bed-cords and chair-bottoms; and its wood is tough and elastic. Of the elm there is only one species and

* *Juglans Cathartica*; or *Juglans Alba*, cortice cathartico.

† John de Laet [chap. 19.] says, walnut trees grew in this quarter.

‡ *Thya*, or *Thuia Occidentalis*.

§ *Juniperus Virginiana*.

|| The red Cedar and the Savin, in their sensible and medicinal properties, are specially allied, and used to keep up the discharge of blisters.—*Bigelow's Bot.* 49.

¶ *Prunus Virginiana*, or *Cerasus*.

** *Sambuccus Nigra*.

†† *Viburnum Opulus*, or cultivated "Snow Ball."—*Sambuccus Pubescens*

[Red Elder.]

‡‡ *Ulmus Americana*.

two varieties, the *white* and *red*; the former has medicinal properties to relieve the strangury.

Hornbeam. The *Hornbeam** or Ironwood, is a small tree of 3 or 4 inches in diameter; its wood is tight-grained and looks like beech. It is used for handspikes and stakes, and for binding rafts. Its leaves are wrinkled, oval, pointed, and sharply indented at the edges.

Juniper. The *Juniper*† is about a foot and a half in diameter when full grown, of a fine texture, and is particularly used for vessel-knees. It is sometimes called Hackmatack, which is one species: A 2d is the *red cedar*; and a 3d is an unseemly shrub,‡ which grows in open, poor pastures, only about 2 feet in height from the ground, and has horizontal branches of more than five feet in length.§

Maple. The *Maple* is a stately forest tree, of which there are three species:—1. The *white Maple*,|| which has two varieties, one is smooth and straight-grained; the other has apparent curls and bird's eyes, and is almost as handsome in cabinet work as satin wood. 2. The *red Maple* grows in swamps, and though sappy, is good firewood when seasoned. It is a tree four feet in diameter. 3. The *black*, or *rock Maple* is the most valuable of either. Not only is its wood very solid and excellent for fuel, but the *saccharine* quality of its sap has given it great additional worth and surnamed it the *sugar Maple*.

From this species great quantities of sugar have been made every year in this State; which, when refined, makes a hard, a pure, and very delicious loaf. The trees are tapped in March, with an auger, and run a fortnight or more; from which the sap is gathered in troughs, boiled in kettles to a consistency when it will granulate, and then it is drained. I am assured that 21,500 pounds have been made in one year, within the limits of a single town. "This sugar, at first moist and heavy, yields a most salubrious and agreeable sweetening. If dry sugars are preferred, "it is only necessary to make a hole in the tub, at any time be-

* *Carpinus Betulus*. † See the "Larch."—(*Pinus*.) ‡ *Juniperus Sabina*.

§ *Juniperus Americana*; also, in 3 Bigelow's Botany, *Juniperus Communis*, p. 43—48, is there called a shrub of 3 feet high; its fruit dark oblong berries, which are diuretic.—*Dr. Grover*.

|| 1 *Acer Negundo*.—2. *Acer Rubrum*.—3. *Acer Saccharinum*.—4. *Acer Striatum*, striped maple or moose-wood, of little value.

“fore the first of June, and drain off the molasses, when the “sweets of the maple are in two parts; the one of sugar, clear “and dry; and the other of molasses, the most pure and agreeable” any where seen or tasted.

No forest tree is, on the whole, more universally esteemed, and none could with more ease be cultivated than the sugar Maple. It grows pretty rapidly, stands firm in the ground, and strives hard for continued existence.

It is curious to know, that the method of making maple sugar, an article of so much importance, is learned from the Aborigines. Father Ralle, while he lived with the Canibas tribe, at Norridge-wog, says, that the insipidity of his dish of corn, pounded in a mortar and boiled, he “corrected by adding sugar, made by the “women in the spring, who boiled down the sap of the maple, “which they collected in bark troughs as it flowed from incisions “made in the trunk of the tree.” The rock Maple is in diameter between two and three feet.

The *Oak** is a genus of five species:—1. *Black*; 2. *Red*; Oak. 3. *White*; 4. *Chesnut*; and 5. the *Shrub Oak*.—The first is used for vessel keels, and its bark for tanning; the second, for dry cask-staves, and grows on side-hills: of this, there are two varieties, the *swamp* and *yellow Oak*. The *white Oak* is the toughest wood in our forests, and most suitable for axe-handles, ox-bows and ploughs. It is not found in so great abundance with us as could be desired. The *Shrub Oak* grows 8 or 10 feet in height and produces a nutgall, the nest of some insect, and is sometimes used in making ink for the pen. The *Chesnut Oak* is found in the western parts of the State; it is a tree of pretty large size and makes the best of fuel.† It cannot be ascertained, that the *Chesnut-tree* [*Fagus Castanea*] is a native inhabitant of Maine, although it is very common in every other State in New-England.

The *wild Plum-tree*‡ is of one species only, though of two or Plum. three varieties; it is of small size and scarce.§

* *Quercus* 1st species, *Quercus Nigra*—2d. *Quercus Rubra*.—3d. *Quercus Alba*—4th. *Quercus Prinus*.—5th. *Quercus Pumila*.

† There is also another variety, called the “Gray Oak.”

‡ *Prunus Sylvestris*.

§ Called also pomegranate, wild pear, and June-plum.—*S. Lowder*.

Pine.

The *Pine*,* in its several species, is the most common of any growth in our woods. It flowers about the middle of June, when its *pollen*, which is of a bright yellow, is so exceedingly fine as to ascend with the vapour from the earth to the clouds. It falls with the rain, and is thus promotive of fructification. When it rests on the face of the water, it forms a yellow scum. The pines retain their foliage during the winter, because of "the abundant quantity of oil in their bark, which preserves them from the effects of the cold."

7 Species
of pine.

The *species* of the Pine are *seven*.—1. The *white Pine*, which is the prince of the forest, and which has been seen six feet in diameter, at the butt, and 240 feet in height; and those of four feet through are frequently found. Until the Revolution, every tree, two feet in diameter, growing in any part of this State, except within the limits of Gorges' Provincial Charter, was the property of the English crown, reserved for masts and spars in the royal navy;† and the trespasser, when detected, was mulcted in heavy penalties. So literally is this erect and lofty *masting-pine* the greatest ornament of our forests, that it was adopted as one of the emblems in the shield of our State coat of arms.

The 2d species, the *yellow Pine*, being harder and thicker grained, as well as smaller than the other, is used for flooring and for planking vessels. The *Norway Pine* is another variety, of still closer texture, and is much used in ship-building. 3. *Pitch Pine* is the hardest of all, and being full of turpentine, will, when dry, make extremely hot fires in furnaces.

(Larch.)

The 4th species of the pine genus, is the *Larch*; and it is the only one of the *terebinthine* family which does not retain its leaves through the winter. It grows better on strong stony land than in a rich soil. It is said that its timber neither shrinks nor warps, nor does it easily rot; and hence it is much used in ship-building. It grows on the Alps and Appenines in Europe and is highly esteemed. It is said the *Juniper tree* is the American Larch, and that *Hackmatack* is its vulgar, or provincial name; but this is doubted.

* 1. *Pinus Strobus*.—2. *Pinus Pinea*.—3. *Pinus Taeda*.—4. *Pinus Larix*.—5. *Pinus Balsamea*.—6. *Pinus Abies*.—7. *Pinus Canadensis*.—8. *Pinus Rupestris*, [shrub pine].—The Pines, sometimes called the "cone-bearing tree," are all "soft wood."

† Charter of William and Mary, last clauses.

5. The *Fir*, which yields a fine balsam, is often called “silver (Fir.) fir.” 6. The *Hemlock* in stature almost vies with the mast-pine; (Hemlock) its bark is much used in tannery. 7. The *Spruce* is of two varieties—the *white* is a straight and smart wood, fit for spars, ship-knees, and joists, and sometimes grows two feet in diameter; the *black Spruce* is used in making beer, and with molasses forms a most wholesome and palatable drink.

Within fifteen years, the white spruce in many places has died in great numbers, so that “where once grew thousands, it is now difficult to procure spars for the use of our own vessels.” The cause of this fell destruction, it is supposed, may be attributed to the canker-worm, or some other insect, which in the summer months ravages its foliage and brings on a fatal consumption. Some have supposed the cold seasons, between 1811 and 1816, were in some measure conducive to their ruin.

The *Poplar** is of two species, 1. the *Aspen* or *white poplar*, Poplar. 2. the *Balsam*, or *black Poplar*; the former is cream coloured and soft, somewhat like bass-wood. Its trunk is seldom more than a foot in diameter, its leaves always tremulous, and its wood is poor fuel. The latter is an elegant tree, of a large size and is particularly celebrated for its balsam, which in the spring may be extracted from its buds, rich and fragrant as that of Peru. Sometimes it is called the Sycamore, or Balm of Gilead, and is found in the northern parts of the State.

Sassafras† is a species of the *Laurel* or *bay-tree*,‡ so much used by the ancients in purifications; of which there are with us, Sassafras. 1st this *Sassafras*, and 2d the *Fever-bush*. The former was much Fever bush. the most celebrated, two centuries ago, of any indigenous tree on our shores. It grows in moist land; it is of small size; and its root, bark, buds and leaves have a very aromatic refreshing smell. It possesses powerful and salutary medicinal qualities; is said to be a remedy for the stone, the strangury, the scurvy, the plague, the dropsy and rheumatism; and was a great article of exportation in the early voyages to this country. One of Capt. Gosnold’s men, on our shores, was cured by it in twelve hours, of

* 1. *Populus Tremula*.—2. *Populus Nigra*.

† 1. *Laurus Sassafras*:—In York County.—2. *Caurus Benzoin*.

‡ Cinnamon, Cassia, Camphire-tree, are of the same fami’y. It is a good ingredient in diet-drink; its volatile oil is of great use.—2 *Bigelow*, 146.

a surfeit occasioned by feeding excessively on the bellies of the dogfish.* The *Fever-bush*, or *Spice-wood*, is more strong scented than the *Sassafras*, and is a mere shrub; both are wholesome ingredients in beer, or diet-drink.

Wickape,
or Leather
wood.

Leatherwood or *Indian Wickape* is a small tree† which grows on the best hardwood land and none other: and its branches have a jointed mode of growth. It has a smooth tough outside bark of a light grey colour, between which and the wood is an inner bark, very white and exceedingly strong; and when green, pliant and soft; or even when dry, it is sufficiently limber and flexible to be used in lieu of twine or cords. Millers often lay by them a stock of its bark, for bag-strings, in supply of their customers; and the Indians used it for their cordage. The tree grows sometimes two inches in diameter and ten or twelve feet in height. Its wood is elastic and next to the cork for lightness; it is also bitter. Of its twigs the Natives make beautiful baskets. Its roots are emetic, and its fruit, which consists of small oval, red, one-seeded berries, are quite narcotic.

Willow,

The *eighteenth* and last *kind* of indigenous tree we shall mention as found in this State, is the *Willow*.‡ It is of two species, the *swamp*, or *red*, and the *white*—the former is the first inhabitant of the woods to welcome by its blossoms the return of spring.§

The largest and heaviest trees in our forests are the white Pine, the Hemlock, the Elm, the Maple, the Beech, and the Button-wood. The *next* class in size, embraces the Oak, the Birch, the Bass-wood, and the Ash. The *third* class is the Larch, Cedar, Fir, Spruce, and Poplar. The oldest trees, are the Oak and Pine; for by their annual ringlets, formed between the wood and the bark, it has been ascertained that some of them have been growing between 500 and 1000 years. As death is the natural consequence of age; decay begins at the heart of the tree,

* *Smith's Hist.*

† *Dirca Palustris*.

‡ 1. *Salix*.—2. *Salix Alba*.

§ *Swamp Sumach* (*Rhus Toxicodendrum*.)

SHRUBS.

THESE form a large family in the vegetable republic. But it ^{Shrubs.} is not very easy to distinguish what are *shrubs* from what are *trees*. Both are perennial; and sometimes a shrub has limbs, or branches. In common parlance, however, that is a shrub, to the top of which when green, a man can reach, provided it be perennial; if annual, it is a plant.

It is observable that no family is so universally fruitful as that which comes under this appellation, "shrubby." Some bear nuts, though the most of them bear berries; and with a few exceptions, they all have something of fruit, which is palatable and esculent. We can do little more than mention their genera and species, and describe a few which are the most important.

The *prickly Ash** is a large shrub, having on its branches ^{Prickly Ash.} sharp prickles. Its bark possesses warming and pungent qualities, and the seed and rind of the capsule are highly fragrant, and smell like the oil of lemons; it is of considerable efficacy in cases of chronic rheumatism.

The *mountain Ash*† is a small tree growing in elevated bogs, ^{Mountain Ash.} having pinnated leaves like Ash and clustered scarlet berries. It has a five-cleft calyx, five petals, two or three styles and an inferior or crowned berry, with a mealy pulp, enclosing three hard seeds, like the pippins of the apple.

The *black Alder*‡ is found in swamps, and about streams and ^{Alder.} ponds, and ceases to grow when it is about 8 or 10 feet in height. Its leaves are alternate oval and acute at the base, with some hairiness on the veins underneath. The flowers are small and white, growing in little tufts; the bark is bitter and a decoction of it is reputed to be a tonic. In intermittents, and some other diseases, it has been used with success as a substitute for the Peruvian bark. Small doses taken, and a wash of it applied, serve to cure eruptions on the skin. The black Alder is very attractive to the eye in autumn, for it changes the hue of its leaves from green to a beautiful red; and in the midst of nature's surrounding decays, it becomes one of the most conspicuous individuals of the woods, by its glossy scarlet berries, embracing in bunches, for a long time, the sides of the branches.

* *Xanthoxylum Fraxineum*.

† *Sorbus*.

‡ *Prinos Verticillatus*,—3 *Bigelow* 141. See *Birch*.

Barberry. *Barberry** is a briery bush, found in the western parts of the State, which bears beautiful clusters of red and very acid berries. They are used for making pickles and for preserves.

Bayberry. The *Bayberry*, or *Wax Myrtle*,† grows from 3 to 7 feet high, with its top much branched; it flowers on the sides of the branches, and bears clusters resembling berries. Father Ralle observes, as to the method of illuminating his chapel at Norridgewog, that he “found an excellent substitute for wax by boiling the berries of a kind of laurel in water, and skimming off the thick oily substance which rose to the top.—Twenty-four pounds of this beautiful green wax, and an equal quantity of tallow, made one hundred wax candles, (he says) of a foot long.”‡ The berry, which consists of a stone enclosing a kernel, is covered with black grains, incrustated with white wax.

Boxwood. Among the shrubs of the largest size is the *Boxwood*, or “*shad-blossom*”§ (sometimes erroneously taken for “common Dogwood.”) It grows 15 or 18 feet in height, has a gray bark, flowers in May, about the time the shad and their fellow travellers ascend the rivers in the spring, and is therefore called “shad tree.” It is thus among the first tenants of the woods to embellish the vernal scenery by its snow-white blossoms, and it bears red berries: Its bark is used in fevers.

Brambles. Of the *Bramble kind*|| we have seven species:—1 and 2, the *black* and *red Raspberry*; 3 and 4, the *upright* and *running Blackberry*, or *Dewberry*; ¶ 5 the *Bramleberry*; 6, the *Pigeonberry*,** and 7, the *Cloudberry*††—all which bear fruits succulent;

* *Berberis vulgaris*. It is said *Corn* will not fill well near it.

† *Myrica Cerifera*.

‡ 3 Coll. Mass. His. Soc. 2d Series, 252.

§ *Aronia*—? It bears a berry, having from 5 to 10 cells.—*Nuttall's Botany*, 114.

|| 1. *Rubus Idaeus*.—2. *Rubus Canadensis*.—3. *Rubus Fruticosus*.(*)—4. *Rubus Moluccanus*.—5. *Rubus Occidentalis*.—6. *Rubus Caesius*.—*Rubus Chamaemorus*.

(*) High bush Blackberry is sometimes called “*Mulberry*.” *Rubus villosus*.

¶ *Dewberries* are considered by some to be the same as running blackberries, by others, gooseberries.

** It is said to belong to the order of *Ivies*,—Gr. *Kissos* [*Cissus*] *hereda*.—*Quære*.

†† *Cloudberry*.—(*Rubus chamaemorus*)—grows on the sides of mountains, or exposed and elevated grounds. The shrub bears a single berry on the

and in most places they are abundant. The last is supposed to be the same as the Knotberry. The *pigeon-berry bush* is as tall as that of a blackberry, bears abundance of small purple berries, the chief food of pigeons.

We have two species of the *Corinth*:—1, the *black** *Cur-* Corinths
rant,† and 2, the *wild Gooseberry*.‡ Of the former, the party that visited the Katahdin found plenty; and the latter are seen in the borders of the woods, in two varieties, *red* and *white*, and both are of a pleasant flavour.

Dogwood,§ or *Cornel*, is a shrub or small tree from 15 to 20 Dogwood.
feet in height, bearing flat clusters, or cymes of flowers not unlike those of Elder and commonly white. The flowers are formed into flat heads, compounded and surrounded by four leaves, which grow out and become of a white colour, adding, from the latter end of May to that of June, “one of the most characteristic vegetable features to our vernal landscape.” Its wood is hard, bark rough, and has upon some people an effect like the Peruvian bark; to others it is deleterious, as if possessing a poisonous quality.

Of the *Hurtleberry*|| genus, there are four species, 1 the *Hurtleber-*
cranberry, 2, the *whortleberry*, 3, the *blueberry* and 4, the *bilberry*, ry genus
Cranberry.
Whortle-
berry.
Blueberry.
Bilberry.
—all of which are plenty, nutritious and delectable to the taste. *Cranberries* grow about ponds and marshes. Great quantities are gathered every year on the Island Mount Desert and on the Cranberry Islands in that neighborhood. The berries, red and acid, containing many seeds, are borne by slender bushes 3 feet high, and give a most wholesome and palatable zest to meats. Whortleberries are black; but bilberries, as well as blueberries, are blue, being the largest and sweetest of these three species.

top of the stem. In size and flavour it resembles a strawberry; having a greater though pleasant smartness, and making excellent preserves. Its colour is at first scarlet; turning, as it ripens, to a yellow. When eaten with sugar and cream it is delicious, and so cooling as to abate fevers. This fruit lasts about a month.

* *Ribes Nigrum*. † The black Currant-bush is high, its berries are in clusters, one variety has a flat stone within, and the other is without stone. They are drier than English black Currants.

‡ *Ribes Grosularia*.

§ *Cornus Florida*.

|| *Vaccinium*—1 *Vaccinium-Oxycoccus*. 2 *Vaccinium-Corymbosum*.
3 *Vaccinium amonam*. 4 *Vaccinium vitisidoca*. 5 *Vaccinium Tenellum*.
[Dwarf whortleberry.]

Hardhack. The *Hardhack*, a barren bush, usually chooses poor cold ground for its residence and growth. Some of its individuals may be three feet tall ; being one of the smallest belonging to the shrubby tribe. It branches, and bears flowers of a conical form ; the colour of one variety is yellowish and of the other a light red.

Hazle. The *Hazle** flourishes in the hedges of fields, and on the banks of rivers. It occurs in the south parts of the State, and is common in Bethel, on the Androscoggin. Its nut, is of the size of a pea, enclosed in a shell, light brown coloured and hard, and is very rich and esculent. The *Witch Hazel*,† which is a plant, is entirely different from the other, and is used by the natives as a remedy for inflammations. Its seed is about as large as an apple seed. It is unique in flowering, for it puts forth its blossoms, after the frost has stripped the branches of its leaves.

Ground Hemlock. *Low or Ground hemlock*‡ is a shrub which branches upon the ground, bears berries, transparent, pleasant to the taste, large as currants, and of amber colour. The Indians use a tea made of its boughs steeped, as a sovereign remedy for the rheumatism.

Lamb-kill, or Laurel. The *Lamb-kill*,§ on account of its properties and beauties, is a very celebrated shrub. It grows rarely to the height of a man ; its leaves are evergreen, very smooth, and in form, oval. Its flowers, in their sprightly colours from white to red, give it an elevated rank among the kindred beauties, which add brilliancy to the natural scenery of the woods. It has been called *mountain Laurel*, *Spoonwood*, *Ivy* and *Calico Bush*. Its wood is dense and hard, and is used as a material in constructing musical instruments, and by mechanics for handles to their tools. Though deer, it is said, feed on its green leaves without harm ; yet when young cattle and sheep eat of them in severe winters, through want of better food, they often die immediately or fall sick and recover with difficulty. Calves, after feeding on its foliage, have been known to swell, foam at the mouth and stagger, and were hardly cured, though gun-powder and other medicines were applied. Large cattle and horses sometimes also sicken for the same cause ; and it is said, a decoction of it will produce a sensible inconvenience in the human system : yet we may eat partridges whose crops are distent with laurel buds, without any ill consequences.

* *Corylus Americana.*

† See *Juniper*—*Ante.*

‡ *Hamamelis Virginiana.*

§ *Kalmia Latifolia.*

*Moose-bush** is a small tree, or large shrub, not uncommon in *Moose bush.* the forest, which, with the noble animal whose name it bears, seems to retreat, every where, before the advances of cultivation. To browse upon its berries, buds and small limbs, the moose and deer seem to be especially eager.

The *Osier*† is of the willow-kind, and always found to be most *Osier.* flourishing by water-courses. It grows large enough for switches, yields rather an aromatic smell; and from its freshness, it has been called *green Osier*.

The *Prune genus*‡ embraces, 1, the *Plum*, of which we reckon *Prune kind.* three varieties, the *red*, the *yellow* and the *thorn plum*, which are *Plum.* neither plenty nor grateful to the taste. It has five petals, a smooth drupe and a nut with a prominent feature. 2, It also embraces the *Cherry*, of which we have the *black cherry-tree*, which bears fruit abundantly of that colour:—and the *Choke-Cherry.* *cherry*, or as some may call it the *choke-berry* of two varieties, the fruit of one being dark brown, the other red. They are larger than currants and quite saturant. The choke-cherry bush is a considerable shrub of six feet in height.

The *Rose-bush*§ (wild,) holds a distinguished place in our *Rose-bush.* American shrubbery. It grows about six feet in height, its top is bowing, like that of an upright blackberry, though bolder and more graceful. It branches, and is well fortified with pin-pointed thorns. Its flowers, which are of two varieties, *white* and *pale-red*, are endued with a fragrance hardly surpassed by any in the vegetable republic.

One species of our *Sumach*|| is of a deleterious or poisonous char- *Sumach,*
acter. It has been sometimes called *poison Ash*, and by mistake, *two species*
also, "*Dogood*."¶ The other is the *common Sumach*. The latter grows much higher than a man can reach; its body, near the ground, is three inches in diameter or more, and its plentiful branches bear large conical bunches of berries, which, when ripe, are claret-red, and afford a good ingredient for dyeing, and the branches for tanning.

* Or "Moosewood," *Dirca palustris*.

† *Vimen Viride*.—Or, *Salix vinineus*.

‡ *Prunus*—1. *Prunus sylvestris*. 2. *Prunus virginiana*.—[*Cherry-tree*.]

§ *Rosea Sylvestris*.

|| *Rhus Vernix*.

¶ Its berries, which are large as peas and of a dark blue, have been called "*dogberries*."

Poison
sumach.

The *poison Sumach* occurs in the western, but very seldom, if ever, in the eastern parts of the State. It is an elegant shrub, growing 10 or 15 feet high, branching at top and covered with a pale redish bark. Its wood, which contains a great pith, is light and brittle; its flowers are green, small and fragrant: and what is remarkable, the barren and the fertile flowers grow on different trees. An incision of the bark will exude a juice opaque, strong, and of a disagreeable smell; and when touched by persons of some constitutions will effect them as doth poison ivy. The first effects are an itching and swelling, then a redness and painful burning. But it is seldom fatal; clothes dipped in lead-water and applied have proved a relief; and indeed many are regardless of the poison Sumach, as it never injures them. Its fruit is a bunch of dry berries or greenish drupes.

Sweet-fern.

The *Sweet-fern** is much smaller and of less notoriety, than the Rose-bush, though its leaves are wholesome in diet-drink, or beer; and it indicates the land where it grows to be uniformly warm and sweet.

Thorn-bush.

The *Thorn-bush*† seldom grows higher than 10 or 12 feet; its bark is dark brown, its wood very tough, its limbs and shoots are numerous and thick, and upon its branches grow spurs, or slender thorns, an inch and half in length and very sharp-pointed.‡ Apple-tree shoots engrafted into its body, cut off near the ground, have flourished well. The thorn-bush bears berries enclosing several stones, or seeds, like the *haws* of the hawthorn in England, though larger.§ The meat of the seed is rich and palatable.

These are the principal small trees and shrubs which variegate and adorn our woods, humble it is true, though strongly marked by their peculiarities.



PLANTS AND HERBS.

PLANTS.

THE native individuals of this department are very numerous, all designed, no doubt, to be of essential and various use to man as well as beast. In China, it is said, every herb is applied to some valuable purpose, and every weed has its well known use.

* *Comptonia, Asplenifolia*.—Rev. Dr. Cochrane. † *Cratoegus Coccinea*.

‡ Of the thorn there are two varieties, one has a purple and the other a white flower.

§ J. Bennock Esq.

If the properties of all our plants were scientifically understood, Herbs and vegetables. the general use of them would save to the State a heavy annual tax, occasioned by the importation of foreign drugs, and probably be equally efficacious to preserve health and prolong life.

These, as distinguished from the preceding classes, have stems, or stalks, without the contexture and firmness of wood. Such are denominated *annual*, as produce flowers and fruits only one season and then die, as the golden-rod or the strawberry; and if the root also dies the same year, and the species is propagated the next season from the seed, it is literally a *vegetable*. The *perennial* plant has a root which has within itself a principle of continued life, yielding new flowers and seeds, year after year; though the stalk dies the root lives, and most plants have this property. Linnaeus calls the whole plant an *herb*, including the stalk, the leaves, the props and defenders, and the buds. But what are *vines* and what are, botanically, *roots*?—are questions which botanists have not definitely determined, except that the former being more slender and weak, as climbers, are dependent on their stouter neighbours and their own tendrils for supports; and the latter, while they evince their existence by a rising herb, are remarkable for the *esulent* or peculiar properties of the parts within the ground.

Of the prodigious number of our *indigenous* plants, we will now proceed to mention such as have come to our knowledge; and though the list contains more than 150 individuals, they are probably not a tenth part of the whole. For the sake of convenience, as a perfectly botanical classification is impracticable, they are arranged in *alphabetical order*.

We begin with *Agrimony** and with the "*American Rosebay*."† The latter, though it prefers a warmer climate than ours, has been "observed growing plentifully on the borders of Sebago lake, near Portland." It chooses a damp spongy soil, a shelter from the sunbeams, and always dwindles within a year or two after being transplanted. It is large, straggling, and quite irregular in its manner of growth. The bark is grayish and much cracked; the leaves are in tufts at the ends of the branches, ever-

* Agrimony [*Agrimonia Eupatoria*] has yellow blossoms, in long terminating spikes; its root is used by the natives in fevers, and its leaves for diet-drink and the jaundice.

† *Rhododendron Maximum*.

Herbs and
vegetables.

green and covered with nap. The flowers form a terminal cluster, just above the leaves, each one is elliptical, having a white ground most delicately shaded with lake, the upper and largest are freckled with an assemblage of orange-coloured spots at the centre. This plant is ranked among the first astringents; but the supposition that it is poisonous is an error. Both the leaves and bark, digested in alcohol, yield a *resinous* tincture, quickly turbid when mixed with water, and the fluid ought to be taken sparingly.

Of the three following we can only say, that *Adder's-tongue** grows two feet high, in running water, and is said to be a remedy for the hydrophobia; that *Angelica*† is a third taller, loves moist ground, and a decoction of it will relieve asthmatic affections; and that *Arsmart*,‡ a well-known low herb, is said to dye a deep yellow, but is too pungent and strong tasted to be eaten green, even by any beast.

The *Bearberry*,§ or *Bear's grape*, trails on the ground, putting forth roots from its prominent stems, or rising shoots, and has scattered evergreen leaves, finely freckled. Its flowers are little clusters, pale red and white, pending from the ends of the branches. A decoction of this plant is said to be good in strangury, the stone, and the dysentery. But not more than ten grains of its pulverized leaves ought ever to be taken at a time. The taste of the leaves is both astringent and bitter.

Bitter-sweet,|| a hardy climbing plant of five feet high and shrubby, is good for the rheumatism, asthma, and jaundice, and in diet-drink; *Betony*,¶ the stalk of which is much shorter, has long leaves hanging from several branches, and a purple blowth,—a tea of it will relieve the headache. The *Brake*,** of which there are several varieties, the root of which is sometimes called the “bog-onion,” when boiled in water, to a jelly, is good for sprains. The *Bane-berry*,†† with a stalk a foot high, has green balls, as large as those of asparagus, and is ill-tasted.

The *Blood-root*‡‡ is an acrid narcotic; and a large dose of it occasions nausea, heart-burn, and faintness. It is an emetic;

* *Ophioglossum*. † *Angelica Sylvestris*.—“American Masterwort.”

‡ *Polygonum Sagittalis*. § *Abutus Uva Ursi*. || *Solanum Dulcamara*.

¶ To wit, Head and Wood Betony.

** *Pteris Aquilina*.

†† *Actea Spicata*.

‡‡ *Sanguinaria Canadensis*.

and has been beneficially used in the incipient stages of pulmonary consumption, the influenza, and the whooping cough. It has been called *Paccoon* and *Red-root*. Its stalk is quite short; and its beautiful white flowers proceed from a horizontal fleshy root, brownish without, the juice of which is of a bright orange colour, and gives the plant its name. Herbs and vegetables.

The *Buckbean*, or *Marsh Trefoil** prefers always wet spongy soils. The root penetrates or runs to a great distance in the bog-earth, with half-inch joints; its leaves spring from the end of the roots; it flowers in the middle of May, and its blossoms, on the top of a leafless stalk, are white, with an outer tinge of red. The plant holds a high place as a bitter or tonic.

Another herb, still more rich, is the *Butterfly-weed*,† *Pleurisy-root* or *Swallow-wort*, found in dry, sandy soils, and pine woods. Its root is branching, pulpous and large; and its stems many, bearing flowers of a beautiful light orange colour. It is celebrated for its efficacy as an expectorant, and also in cases of catarrh and pleurisy, and pulmonary complaints.

Those of less importance are the *Celandine*; the *Comfrey*; the *Catmint*, or *Catnip*, [Nepeta] whose appearance and virtues are well known; the *China-aster*, a plant of two varieties, the one 4, and the other 3 feet high: the former has long leaves, many branches and beautiful white flowers; the other's blossoms are pink coloured. The *Columbine*, whose flowers are red, is an annual plant, and grows 12 inches high; the *Cowslip* is one of the first herbs in the spring that cheers and adorns the meadows; and the *Cuckold*, a troublesome weed in plough-lands, whose seeds have horns, often occurs.

The *Chequer-berry*, sometimes called *Box-berry*,‡ and *Partridge-berry*,§ is a well known evergreen plant, abundant in our woods. It is low and humble, and like modest merit, prefers the shade. It blossoms early in the spring, and again late in the summer. Of its vermilion coloured berries, the taste and smell are exceedingly pleasant flavoured. This "mountain tea" promotes mammillary secretions. *Clover*|| is common; also the *Chocolate plant*,¶ which flourishes luxuriantly in woods or

* *Menyanthes Trifoliata*; or, *Hedysarum Andiflorum*, [*Bush Trefoil*.] *Nuttall's Botany*, 61. † *Asclepias Tuberosa*. ‡ *Gaultheria Procumbens*.

§ Box-leaved *Mitchella*. [or *Partridge-berry*.] || *Trifolium*.

¶ *Geum Avenae*, or *Rivale*, 3 *Species*.

Herbs and
vegetables.

new grounds. Its root, when boiled, makes a drink in taste and goodness like chocolate.

Colts-foot or *wild Ginger*,* [*Canada Snakeroot*] is one of the humblest and oldest settlers of the forest. It has only two leaves with their stalks, which constitute the whole of the plant above the ground, united at bottom, and bearing in their fork an obscure flower. Its leaves are kidney-shaped, and the aromatic flavour of its root has rendered it a fit and wholesome substitute for ginger. *Red chick-weed*† is a beautiful low plant procumbent on the ground. The *Common Cranesbill*‡ exhibits a horizontal root, thick and knobby; a stalk erect; leaves spreading, with a flower-stem in the fork; and petals of a light purple, fraught with green stars at the base. Its root is a most powerful astringent.

The *Dandelion*§ is a corrective of the bile and a tonic. The *Dogsbane*,|| though a plant, resembles in some appearances the poison sumach, but is shorter, more beautiful, and altogether free from its deleterious qualities. The *Dogstooth*¶ *violet* belongs to the lily order:—the bulb of its root, when dry, is mealy and pleasant, and its blossom is a bell-flower, very elegant. The plant may be used as an emetic.

Dragon-root,** *Indian turnip* or *Wakerobin*, grows on damp ground, exhibits two or three leaves on long sheathing foot-stalks, rising from a very curious root, round and flattened, whose upper part is truncated like an onion, and lower part tuberous and brawny. Its leaves are freckled and often white streaked,—hence called “lords and ladies.” It is covered on the under side with dark, loose, wrinkled skin or coat. Its root is extremely acrid and affects the tongue like Cayenne pepper, and is good for the asthma or croup.

The *Elecampane*, or *Starwort*,†† grows 5 or 6 feet high, bears yellow flowers, and its root is good for coughs. The *Ever-*

* *Asarum Canadense*.—*Carum Carvi*, or *Caraway* is indigenous and flourishes luxuriantly.

† *Anagallis Arvensis*,—called also *Pimpernel*, or *Poor man's weatherglass*.
Nuttall, 69.

‡ *Geranium Maculatum*.

§ *Leontodon Taracaccon*, *two varieties*.

|| *Apocynum Andros-aemifolium*.

¶ *Erythronium Americanum*.

** *Arum Tryphyllum*.

†† *Inula*.—*Heleneum*.

*green** is a beautiful little green vine, that runs extensively on the ground. The *Fireweed*† springs up 5 feet high, on lands newly burnt over, and yields from its blowth a down excellent for poultices. Herbs and vegetables.

The *Fever-root*, or *wild Ipecac*,‡ occurs in limestone soils, has opposite leaves ; and its flowers spring from the fork between the leaves and the stalk. It may be used for an emetic or cathartic.

There are three kinds of *Flag*,§ the *sweet Flag*,|| the *cat-tail Flag*,¶ and the *blue Flag*;** and they all grow in very wet land. The first has very long dirk-like leaves, and a root which is white and to the taste sweet, accompanied with a rare warmth. The stalk of the second is 5 feet in height, bearing cylindrical heads, from 3 to 6 inches in length, formed of a downy substance, good for bedding, and furnished with long thin leaves, much used in cooperage. The *blue Flag* [or flower-de-luce] from a musculous horizontal root, set thick with fibres, sends up a stem 3 feet high, bearing from two to six beautiful flowers : their borders purple, interior variegated with green, yellow and white, veined with royal purple. Its root, nauseous, hot and acrimonious, is an active cathartic and an Indian diuretic. *Fox-glove*†† is also a diuretic herb ; it grows 18 inches high and is good for the nerves.

Ginseng‡‡ is a very noted plant in China as well as America. It flourishes best on the acclivities of mountains. The root has oblong, white and fleshy parts, wrinkled crosswise, from which springs a short stalk, smooth, round, and green, tinged with red, adorned with great leaves pendant from long stems, a flower-stalk tipped with umbel blossoms of a delicate red, and kidney-shaped berries of a bright scarlet. The taste of the root is a sweet bitter and somewhat aromatic ; and on the whole, not unpleasant. Its medicinal virtues are much like those of liquorice, good in chronic coughs.

The *Golden-rod*§§ is a well known, plentiful, fragrant, sweet-tasted plant, growing three feet high, branched, and bearing compound yellow blossoms. Taken as a tea, it is a gentle stimulant and sudorific.

* *Viridium Septitumam* ? † ————— ? ‡ *Triosteum Perfoliatum*.

§ *Iris palustris* ?

|| *Acorus Calamus*.

¶ *Polypodium*, or *Typha Latifolia*.

** *Iris Versicolor*.

†† *Digitalis Purpurea*. ‡‡ *Panax Quinquifolium*.

§§ *Solidago Odora*.

Herbs and
vegetables.

*Golden-thread** derives its name from its roots, which are of a bright yellow colour, running in all directions like silken cords; from which spring long stems leafed at the end, and a flower-stalk, bearing white blossoms. A tincture made of the root, digested in rectified spirits of wine, is a good tonic bitter, promotive of digestion and strengthening to the stomach.

Our *Grasses* constitute a numerous family, of more than 20 individuals, such as *knot*, *may*, *sweet-scented*, *tickle*, *witch*, *bog*, *goose*, *blue joint*, *foul meadow*, *harsock*, *red-top*, *white clover*, *crowfoot*, or *kingcup*, and *star-grass*.† The leaves of the last spread near the ground and look not unlike a “blazing” star, whence rises a leafless stalk, the parent of the flowers and the seeds.

Herb Christopher,‡ two and a half feet high, has berries poisonous. The *Houndstongue* is good for a cough. *Hearts-ease*§ resembles arsmart in appearance, except that it has a large reddish heart-formed spot on its leaf. *Heal-all*,|| *Cure-all* or *Water-avens*, is of two varieties; one has circular, the other oval leaves. The former is used to check inflammations and eruptions of the skin.

The American *Hellebore*¶ and the *Poke* have some resemblance; both spring up early, and their large bright green leaves render them quite conspicuous in the swamps and wet meadows, where they choose to grow. But while the poke continues to have only a tuft of its original leaves, the hellebore sends up a straight leafy stalk, five feet high, and exhibits large leaves near the ground, and flowers among those higher up and smaller. To the taste it is extremely bitter and acrimonious. Its root is also a powerful emetic; and though *poisonous* and destructive to vermin, it is a cure for the scurvy and a relief in rheumatic cases. Josselyn, in his *Voyages*, says, the young natives, in the election of their chiefs, took it, and he whose stomach could endure the most, was the stoutest and most worthy to rule. Seed-corn, when

* *Coptis Trifolia*.—*Bigelow*. But *Rev. Dr. Cochrane* arranges the smooth golden thread; zig-zag do; gross leaf do; flesh leaf do; and willow leaf do;—under the *Solidago* genus.

† To these may be added *Brome*, *Bent*, *Cock's-foot*, *Hair*, *Quaking*, *Panic*, and *Soft Grasses*.

‡ *Actoea Spicata*.—*Actoea Racemosa*. 2 varieties: 1st has white blows and red berries; 2d is an astringent. § *Trinitatis herba*, or *Lady's delight*.

|| *Gerum Rivale*, or *Prunella vulgaris*. ¶ *Veratrum Viride*.—*Bigelow*.

soaked in a decoction of it and planted, if taken by the birds, ^{Herbs and vegetables.} will make them giddily fall upon the ground and thus frighten away the others.

*Henbane** is also a poison ; yet horses, goats, sheep, and oftentimes neat cattle, are said to feed upon it without injury. The whole herb, which is of a seagreen colour, two feet high and branching, with large leaves, emits a rank offensive smell. It flowers on the side of the stalk, and forms capsules, or cups, double-celled and covered with a lid. As a narcotic, it is a substitute for opium. *Horseradish*,† which is well known, is an indigenous plant. The *Indian Cucumber*‡ takes its name from its root, which is white and pleasant flavoured like a garden cucumber. On the top of its stalk are a few berries, and around it, 5 or 6 inches apart, are several leaves. The *Indian Hemp*§ grows a foot high and is good for the dysentery. Of this the Indians make their bowstrings and might make thread.

Ipecacuanha-spurge|| has a large pulpous root, which penetrates several feet into the ground, has short stems with forks, whence spring the shoots which bear the flowers. It is a powerful emetic.

Kindred to this is the *Lobelia*,¶ wild, or *Indian tobacco*,** a plentiful annual plant, found in the fields and on the road-sides ; it flowers from mid-summer till frost-time. Its height is from 12 to 30 inches ; its stem erect, roots fibrous, and is much branched ; its leaves sessile, oval and hairy. Its flowers are tassel-formed, with a bluish purple corolla, and its seeds are oblong and brown. When broken, the plant exudes a milky juice, which gives to the mouth a burning acrimonious sensation, like the taste of green tobacco. It is a powerful emetic and has given relief in asthmatic complaints.

Others, which are of much less note, are these—*Life-everlasting*,†† found growing every where, about two feet high, on

* *Hyoscyamus Niger*. † *Cocklearia Armoracia*. ‡ *Medeola*.

§ *Asclepias* — ? || *Euphorbia Ipecacuanha*. ¶ *Lobelia Inflata*.

** 1 *Big. Botany*, 177. But *Indian Tobacco*, called by the Natives "*Squaw-bush*," is a perennial herb, or shrub ; the bark of which they scrape off, mix with their tobacco, and smoke it. The stalk sometimes grows more than an inch in diameter ; its wood is tough ; its bark a dark green ; its leaves elliptical, smooth on the upper side and on the other fibrous.

†† *Gnaphalium Americanum*.

Herbs and
vegetables.

poor land ; its capsules make good beds ; *Lovage** grows the same height, but branches large : *Lungwort*† and *Liverwort*,‡ used as preventives, or cures of the consumption : *Life-of-man*, growing three feet high, bears clusters of purple berries, large as shot and wholesome ; its root is excellent in a poultice : *Loridales-plant*§ is plenty : also *Larkspur*,|| which destroys vermin.

Of the *Lily* tribe, we have several species,¶ all of which are remarkable for their modest downcast beauties ; but the *pond*, or *water-lily*** is the most peculiar. Its roots are very large, its leaves expansive, with the upper side glossy ; and its flowers have a delicate whiteness and a fine fragrance. The root is a great astringent and in some cases it is useful in poultices.

Marsh rosemary†† is a marine plant and therefore flourishes best in or near the salt meadows ; whereas highland vegetables die, if salt be so much as powdered at their roots. Of the *Marsh rosemary*, which is perennial, the root is large, fleshy and branched, from which spring expanded leaves and a large central stalk, rising several feet in height, branching and bearing flowers of a pink and pale bluish purple. Its root is astringent, equal to that of galls.

The following herbs, generally well known, viz. *May-flowers* ; ‡‡ also *May-weed*,§§ a low plant with white blows, very bitter ; *Motherwort*,||| much used by females ; *Maidenhair*,¶¶ a fine brake and tenant of low grounds ; *Mint*, or *Spearmint*, [*Mentha Romana*] a pleasant sudorific ; *Mullein*,*** whose leaves are often boiled in milk and the decoction taken for the dysentery ; and *Meadow-cup*, called forefathers' pitcher, or Whippoorwill's shoes ;

* *Levislicum*.

† *Pulmonaria*.

‡ *Hepatica*.

§ *Coridales*.—*Dr. Grover*.

|| *Delphinium*.

¶ Such as the yellow water-lily, or dog-lily, or beaver-root ; two varieties of meadow-lilies, the upright has a flower of a red colour, freckled with black ; in the other, the pensile is yellow freckled. May-lily, or " lily of the valley," and nodding-lily.—*Dr. Cochrane*.

** *Nymphaea Odorata*.

†† *Statice Carolinia* [or Sea Lavender.]

‡‡ *Epigaea Repens*. Of these there are two species—1. a vine whose blossoms are white and sweet-scented ; 2. an upright plant of two varieties : The flowers of one are red, of the other red and white.

§§ *Anthemis Cotula*.

||| *Leonardes Cardiaca*.

¶¶ *Adiantum Pedat.*

*** *Verbascum Shapsis*.

all which are common. *Millet** has been cultivated with success as an article of bread stuff. We have two or three species of the *Mallows*; † one is the *marsh Mallows*, [*Althea Officinalis*] known by the little cheeses it bears, and is often used to check a diarrhoea. *Milkweed*, sometimes called *Silk-grass*, ‡ grows 4 or 5 feet high; bears pods four inches in length enfolding a downy substance, soft like silk and good for bedding. The body, or a branch when truncated, yields a glutinous milk very white.

Nightshade, § or *banewort*, belongs to the multiform *Solanum* genus; of which there are many species, as bitter-sweet, woody nightshade, *Eggplant*, and even the common potatoe. The *black*, or *wood nightshade*, is a viny or climbing vegetable. It runs over walls, bears red berries, and is said to be *poisonous*. Another is a perennial branching plant, 2½ feet high.

Nettles || are common and of two varieties, hedge and stinging; the latter need be touched only once to be remembered. If boiled in milk, or made a principal ingredient in syrups, they are said to afford a remedy anti-consumptive.

Onion (wild,) or *Leek*, resembles *Chives*, only larger; the *Oat* (wild) ¶ has a lighter grain than those cultivated; *Pea*** (wild) is a vine which has a small pod and a black seed when ripe, growing on the margin of streams and shores of Islands. Also the *Oak of Jerusalem* †† is a native.

Penny-royal, ‡‡ or *Pudding grass*, a low aromatic herb; *Petty-morrel*, §§ which in smell and taste resembles the "life of man;" *Plantain*, [*Plantago*] whose efficacy is well known when applied to parts poisoned; *Purslain*, a fat succulent vegetable, often boiled for the table; and *Poor-robin's plantain*, an antidote to poison; are all generally known.

Poke, ||| an abbreviation of *Pocum*, is frequently called *Cocum*, and erroneously, *Garget*, ¶¶ and its clusters, *Pigeon-berries*, are said to be poisonous. The *Poke* deserves particular no-

* *Milium*. † *Malva Rotundifolia*. ‡ *Asclepias*. *Syriaca*. *Silkweed*.

§ *Solanum Nigrum*. || *Urtica Diotica*. ¶ *Tizania Aquatica*. ** *Pisum*.

†† *Chenopodium Anhelminticum*.

‡‡ *Pulegium Mentha*.

§§ *Arabia Nigra*.

||| *Phytolacca Decandra*.

¶¶ *Garget* is a different vegetable from *Poke*, as farmers assure me, for *Garget-root* is good for milch kine, when the bag is diseased and the milk curdled.

Herbs and
vegetables.

tice. Its root is often as large as a man's leg and usually divided into two or three branches, and covered with a brownish skin. Its stalks are annual and grow 5 or 6 feet high, much inclining to branches, which bear leaves oval-oblong, with under and upper sides smooth and ribbed tendons underneath. Its flowers, which spring from long leafless stems, are white, maculated in the centre with green, and are succeeded by long clusters of dark purple berries. These, which are sickly sweet and nauseous, are eaten without hurt by several species of birds. The medicinal properties of the root compare with those of the *Ipecacuanha*; and they are said also to be efficacious in cancerous affections. Husbandmen use a decoction of it for the same purpose they do hellebore.

Of the *Rush** kind, one species is a low erect herb, jointed and rough, like a fine grater. We have also the pond, meadow, fluted and bull Rushes. *Sarsaparilla*† is valuable for its aromatic root, which runs near the surface of the ground; it exhibits only three low leaves and a very short stalk. *Skull-cap*;‡ *Spleen-wort*;§ *Shepherd's-purse*,|| and *Wild Sunflowers*,¶ are very common; also, the *Sprig of Jerusalem*, an annual plant, 18 inches in height, of remedial use in the measles; and *Solomon's Seal*,** with two varieties; one has a red bell flower, with blue berries, and the other, white, with red berries. The *Senna*,†† a mild cathartic, is said to grow in the town of Union. We have, also, *Sea-weed*, [Algae,] *Oar-weed*, *River-weed*, and *Succory*, as common herbs.

Skunk-cabbage‡‡ or *Skunk-weed* possesses an odour too distinctive ever to be mistaken. It springs and decays early. It is reputed to be useful in relief of those afflicted with the asthma, catarrh and chronic coughs.

Directly in contrast of the preceding is the *Strawberry*,§§ whose fruit delights the eye, the smell, and the taste. Another, called *Two-eyed berry*, is wild, and its fruit has two dimples, or eyes, and in other respects it resembles a chequerberry.

* *Scirpus Palustris*. † *Aralia*. *Nudicaulis*. ‡ *Scutellaria Lateriflora*.

§ *Asplenium*.

|| *Thlaspi Bursa Pastoris*.

¶ Starflower, *aster Cordatus*, 5 species. But Sunflower, *Helianthus* genus, is a different kind of plant.

** *Convallaria*.

†† *Cassia Ligustrina*.

‡‡ *Ictodes Foetidus*.

§§ *Fragaria Vesca*.

We can only add, that we have *Thistles* ;* *Thoroughwort* ;† Herbs and vegetables.
Violets ‡ of several species ; *wild* or *common Tansy* ; *Water-*
cresses ;§ *Wintergreens* ;|| several species of *Wormwood*, ¶ the
wild, or *Roman*, in great plenty : also *Wild Marjoram*, [*Orig-*
anum vulgare] grows in dry fields.



ROOTS.

Besides the *Roots* enumerated in the preceding list of plants, we may mention these three, viz : the *Artichoke*, the *Roots*.
Ground-nut, and likewise the *Snake-root*.

The *Artichoke*** is somewhat tasteless ; otherwise it resembles a small oblong potatoe.

The *Ground-nuts* †† were originally a great article of food among the natives,—they are of two species ; the blossoms of one are yellow, like a wild sunflower, and its roots larger than acorns ; the other is a smaller vegetable. It is said the *Snake-root* ‡‡ is found abundantly in the town of Warsaw. Also, we may mention *Fever-root*, §§ which is perennial, and called *wild Ipecac* ; its stem is 18 inches in height, its leaves large, and its root emetic and cathartic.



VINES.

There are a few natives whose names properly belong to this *Vines*.
Class.

A *wild Grape* vine ||| found in the woods, was transplanted by J. Bennock, Esq. in Orono, twenty years ago, where it has run 100 feet, and still grows luxuriantly. It bears grapes which, when ripe, are of a purple colour, but they are acrid and unpleasant to the taste.

He also showed me a thrifty *Woodbind*, ¶¶ or *woodbine*, planted

* *Carduus* — ? several species.

† *Eupatorium Perfoliatum*.

‡ *Viola*.

§ *Nasturtium Aquaticum*.

|| *Pyrola Umbellata*.

¶ *Absinthium*.

** *Cynaria*, or *Helianthus*. *Tuberosus*.

†† *Glicine Apios*.

‡‡ *Polygala Senega*, *seneca snake-root*. “Snake-weed” is a different vegetable. [*Chelone Glabra*.]

§§ *Triosteum Perfoliatum*.

||| *Uva Sylvestris*. Also, Fox grape.

¶¶ *Periclymenos*.

Vines.

on each side of his front door, which is a perennial plant. Its stalk is large as a goosequill and tough, growing indefinitely. It forms a truly ornamental bower; especially when exhibiting its beautiful blue berries. Another species is biennial; it ascends trees, by help of its tendrils, 20 feet; blossoms the second year, in conic forms reversed, and exhibits 15 or 20 pale red flowers on a single branch. When ripe, its seeds are a glassy jet-black and almost as hard as marble.

The *Hop** is indigenous and luxuriant; and the root is perennial. The great use of it in malt liquors is well known. Hops have been cultivated profitably in the county of Penobscot. They are a great tonic, and beer made of them is both healthful and palatable.

Poison Ivy† is a vine well known where it occurs; when wounded, it exudes a juice which is poisonous. It is a dangerous medicine, though it has helped to relieve in cases of the palsy.

It is to be noted, that there is *Hemlock*, a tree, and a shrub before described, and a *biennial plant*.‡ The latter, branching, grows

* *Humulus Lupulus*, [Common Hop.]

† *Rhus Radicans*, [Mercury.] *Glecoma*—*Ground-Ivy*.

‡ *Conium Maculatum*.

NOTE.—The *Conium*, or *Hemlock*, is the plant whose narcotic poison is said to have been so much used by the ancients in executions of malefactors. It grows in the county of Lincoln and elsewhere in the State. "It very much resembles parsley—same shade of green."

An additional Catalogue of Native Plants.

Arrowhead, (*Sagittaria*.) is aquatic, growing in muddy still waters, and deriving its name from the leaves, which are formed like the head of an arrow.

Bedsandwort, (*Arenaria Rubra*.) 2 species.

Bind Weed, (*Convolvulus Sepium*.)

Burdock, (*Arctium Lappa*.) It flowers in August.

Burr-marygold, (*Bidens Cernua*.) 2 species, flowering in Aug. and Sept.

Bush-honeysuckle, (*Diervilla*.) grows 2 feet in height, flowers in June and July, pink red, and very fragrant.

Buttercup, or Crowfoot, (*Ranunculus Abortivus*.) five species, flowers in June.

Chervil, (*Chaerophyllum Claytoni*.) bears flowers upon several foot-stalks.

Chicken-berry, (*Mitchella Repens*.)

Cinquefoil, (*Potentilla Reptans*.) 3 species of clover.

Cockle, (*Agrostemma Coronaria*.)

often to the height of a man ; its leaves are a very light green Vines, and its juice *poisonous*, though in small doses it cures the jaundice.

Cow-parsley, (*Heracleum Sphondylium*.)

Cow-Wheat, (*Mediola Virginica*.)

Crosswort, grows 18 inches high. Its leaf is like that of a peach-tree ; and when decocted in water, tastes like bohea.

Dog's-bane, (*Apocynum Androseanifolium*.)—2 *Bigelow*, 148.

Dwarf-Alder, (*Ramnus Alnifolius*.) resembles an elder-bush, but shorter, and is a remedy for dropsy.

Earthnut, (*Bunium*.) a root in shape and size of a nut.

Flowering Fern, (*Osmunda Regalis*.) 2 species.

Fumitory, (*Fumaria*.) flowers in August and September—a common annual weed in gardens. Its capsule contains a single seed.

Groundsel, (*Senecio Aureus*.) 3 species. Hogweed, (*Ambrosia Elatior*.)

Honey suckle, (*Lonicera Pirenaica*.) 3 species.

Horehound, (*Marrubium Vulgare*.) water horehound (*Lycopus Europæus*.) 2 species.

Hoodwort, (*Scutellaria Latoriflora*.)—See *Scullcap*.

Indian pipe, (*Monotropa Uniflora*.)

Labrador-tea, (*Laedum Latifolium*.) is a shrub, grows 2 or 3 feet high. Its leaves make a palatable tea ;—used to check the dysentery.

Ladies' Slipper, (*Cypripedium Acaule*.) grows 2 feet high, bears a spotted red flower whose shape gives the plant its name.

Leather Leaf, (*Andromeda Calyculata*.) flowers in May and June.

Live-forever, (*Seclum*.) Loose-strife, (*Lysemachia Stricta*.)

Meadow-rue, (*Thalictrum Cornuti*.)

Meadow Sweet, (*Spiroea Salicifolia*.) *Tomentoza*, Purple Hardhack.

Medlar, (*Mespilus Canadensis*.) 2 species.

Milfoil, or Yarrow, (*Achillea Millefolium*.) Milkwort, (*Polygala*.)

Monkey-flower, (*Mimulus Ringens*.)

Mushroom, (*Fungi*.) several species,

Mustard, common, (*Senapis Arvensis*.) Necklace-weed, (*Actoea Spicata*.)

Ox-eyed Daisy, (*Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum*.)

Penny-post, (*Hydrocotyle Americana*.)

Pickerel-reed, (*Pontederia Cordata*.) Pigweed, (*Chenopodium Viride*.)

Pipewort, (*Eriocaulon Peleucidum*.)

Pig-potatoe, (*Apios*.) Its roots are strings of oblong cylindric tubero ; when cooked have partly the flavour of potatoes,—“ a part of the vegetable food of the Aborigines.”

Prickly-fungus, (*Hydnum*.) Pumpkin, Squash, or Gourd, (*Cucurbita*.)

Samphire, (*Salicornia Herbacea*.)

Scorpion-reed, (*Myosotis Scorpioides*.) 2 species.

Sedge, or Sedge-grass, (*Carex*.) is a genus of “ not less than 90 species in this country and a still greater number in Europe. They are nearly related to the grasses, growing in woods and marshy meadows. They are perennial, often vegetate in tufts, have leaves like grass, but keeled, and produce triangular stems solid within.

SECTION V.

Native Animals, Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Vermes, Reptiles and Insects.

BEASTS, OR QUADRUPEDS.*

ZOOLOGY.

IN our observations upon the different creatures of this section, respect will be had to the Linnaean classification and arrangement ;

Side-Saddle, (*Sarracinia Purpurea*;) taking its common name from the shape of its leaf; it grows in wet, mossy bogs, and vegetates in clusters rather than leaves; tubular like a bottle.

Sea-milkwort, (*Glaux Maritima*.)

St. John's-wort, (*Hypericum Performatum*.)

Snow-ball, (*Viburnum Opulus*;) is a shrub having a flower like a rose, though without any of its fragrance.

Snow-thistle, (*Sonchus*;) resembles lettuce.

Spikenard, Sarsaparilla, are species of the *Aralia*. 1. *Race-mosa*—2. *Nudicaulis*. *Aralia Spinosa*, [Angelica-tree] is a large shrub, covered with sharp thorns. The other is a stout herb.

Speedwell, (*Veronica Serphillifolia*.)

Spring-beauty, (*Claytonia Virginica*.) Spleenwort, (*Asplenium*.)

Spurge, (*Euphorbia Helioscopia*.) It contains an acrid milky juice.

Spurney, (*Spergula Arvensis*.)

Sweet Pea, (*Lathyrus Venosus*;) [Vetchling] a most fragrant annual plant. Touch-me-not, (*Impatiens noli me tangere*.)

Trefoil-bush, (*Hedysarum Andiflorum*.)

Turnip, (*Brassica Rapa*.) Wild Turnip, (*Arum Triphillum*.)

Twinflower, (*Linnoea Borealis*.) Venus' Pride, (*Houstonia Linnaei*.)

Water-arum, (*Calla Palustris*.) Water Fescue, (*Festuca Fluitans*.)

Water Horehound, (*Lycopus Virginicus*.)

Water Purslane, (*Isnardia Palustris*.)

Water Parsnip, (*Sium Latifolium*.) White Lettuce, (*Preanthes Alba*.)

Wild-rye, (*Elymus Virginicus*.) Windflower, (*Anemone Hepatica*.)

Willow-herb, (*Epilobium Augustifolium*.)

Wood-sorrel, (*Rumex Acetosella*.)

GRASSES.—*Barn*; *Blue-eyed*; *Chess*; *Cotton*; *Couch*; *Dropseed*; *Goose-foot*; *Horsetail*; *Herds*; *Indian-sweet*; *Knot*; *Meadow*; *Millet*; *Orchard*; *Red-top* and *Timothy*.—Mr. Nuttall, p. 190. says, "the Mays, [Maize], or Indian Corn [*Zea Mays*] belongs to the family of the Grasses. The flowering top, or pinnacle, consists of flowers which all well know, never produce corn.

N. B.—For facts relative to several of the Plants, particular acknowledgements are due to the "*New Dispensatory*," of J. Thacher, M. D.; to the "*American Medical Botany*," &c. in 3 vols. with plates, by Jacob Bigelow, M. D.—also, to S. Lowder, jr. and J. Bennock, Esqrs. The Botany of Thomas Nuttall, Esq. Professor, &c. at Harv. University, has been consulted; and also the list of indigenous plants of Rev. Dr. Cochrane, V. Pres. of King's Coll. N. S.—2 Halliburton's Hist. N. S. 405.

* See N. A. Review, No. 1, 1826, p. 120.

and the descriptions given will be such as have been received from hunters, and naturalists.

The *Bat* is of the mouse order : it brings forth its young alive ^{Bat.} and suckles them. Its teeth are very sharp ; only its hind feet are disengaged from the skin ; and the web of its wings is thin, without down or feathers.

Of the *Bear kind*,* are three species : 1. the *Bear* itself, ^{BEAR} ^{KIND.} which with us, is of black or a dark brown colour ; and large, weighing from 3 to 400 pounds. Its flesh is good, and its skin and its grease is valuable. It chooses for its food, corn, sweet apples, and nuts ; and when driven by hunger, it will destroy the smaller domestic animals, and has been known to kill milch cows. Children have been sometimes attacked by this animal, but it flies before a man. When “tree’d” and unable to escape its pursuer, it will gather its body into a globular form and let itself down from the top of a tall tree, to the ground, from which it will rebound two or three feet, and receive no hurt. One so escaped from the great hunter, John Getchel of Vassalborough, who pursued it with a pitchfork to the top of a tree whence it dropt. The female usually bears two cubs at a birth. During the winter months the bear lies dormant in some well-chosen den, which is usually a shelving rock, on the southerly side of a hill, where it dozes, without food and without much respiration. Before it retires in November, it *gums* up, as the hunters call it, by taking into its stomach a quantity of gum and turpentine as large as a man’s fist.

2. The second species is the *Raccoon*. This creature is shaped ^{Raccoon.} like a fox, though with shorter legs and sharper claws. Its flesh is excellent for the table ; its fur, which is of a dark gray, is good for hatting, and it weighs from 20 to 30 pounds.

3. The *Wolverine*, [Carcajou,†] is as large as a wolf and of ^{Wolverine.} like colour ; it has very long feet, and toes strongly set with claws. It is bold and fierce, and will dart from the branches of trees upon the backs of the deer, and even the moose ; and with wonder-

* A bear will live 20 years.

† Goldsmith supposes the Glutton “in the north parts of America—has the name of Carcajou ;” and “the wolverine is distinguished from the glutton by its superiour size and colour.”—2 *Goldsmith*, 365, 368. But he is not correct.

ful dexterity open the jugular vein with its teeth, and thus bring its prey to the ground.*

CASTOR KIND. We have two species of the *Castor kind*,† viz. 1. the *Beaver* and 2. the *Muskrat* or *Musquash*.

Beaver. The *Beaver* is in many respects the most remarkable of all our wild animals. Its head is large, its ears short : its fore teeth are prominent, long, and sturdy, and hollowed like a gouge ; its fore legs are short, with toes separate, and its hinder ones are long, with toes webbed. Its tail is large, broad, and scaly, resembling the body of a fish ; its fur is black, very thick and fine, and highly valued. It is an amphibious animal ; its body is three feet in length, and its weight 45 or 50 pounds. The castor, so much celebrated, lies in sacks behind the kidneys. Beavers like birds, have only one place for evacuations. They dwell together in families, of which the male and its female, and 4 or 5 young ones of a year old, called by the Indians *peoys*, form one household ; the construction of their dams and habitations, so particularly described by most writers on the subject, are evincive of a wonderful sagacity.

Musquash. The *Musquash* is also amphibious, and affords a strong musk. It is sometimes called the *Muskrat*.‡ It forms its cabin in stagnant water, with sticks and mud, and is smaller than a beaver, being 15 inches in length and one foot in circumference, and will weigh about four pounds. Its back is dark, its sides red-brown, and its fur valuable.

CAT KIND. The species of the *Cat kind*§ found in our forests are three, 1. the *Catamount*. 2. the *Wild-Cat*. 3. the *Black-Cat*.

Catamount. The *Catamount*, (*the Indian Lunkson*, or evil devil,) is a most ferocious and violent creature, more to be feared by the hunters and Indians, than any other one in our woods. Its head is like that of a common cat ; its body is threefold larger ; its tail is about five inches long, its colour gray and its fur poor. It

* 1. *Ursus Arctos*, (Bear.)—2. *Ursus Loton*, (Raccoon.)—3. *Ursus Luscus*, (Wolverine.)

† 1. *Castor Liber*.—2. *Castor Zibethicus*.

‡ Goldsmith considers the *Muskrat* a species of the *Rat* genus ; whereas American naturalists range it under the *Castor* kind.—2 vol. 278.

§ *Felis*. 1. *Felis Pardalis*.—2. *Felis Lynx*.—3. *Felis Lepus*.—Goldsmith supposes the “*Catamountain*” is the same as the eastern *Occlot*, or *Tyger-Cat*. 2 vol. 276, 280.

is found between the Penobscot and St. John rivers. There is another variety, with a longer tail, shorter legs and darker colour.

The *Wild-Cat*, or mountain cat, is much heavier and fiercer Wild-cat. than any of the domestic species. It is of a sallow-ground colour, and its weight about 30 or 40 pounds. The *Black-Cat* is Black-cat. much larger in size than the wild-cat, very ravenous and fierce, has short legs and a long tail, and is of a black colour; called by the natives *Wooleneag*. A hunter has assured me that there is a fourth species found in our woods, called *Loucife*,* which has a cat's head and ferocity, but its fore legs and tail are short and its hind legs long. It is of a light gray colour, is twice as large as a rabbit and is 18 inches high.

Of the *Deer kind*,† we may reckon three species,—1. the DEER KIND. *Moose*. 2. the *Deer*, and 3. the *Caribou*.

The *Moose*, sometimes called with us the “Moose-Deer,”‡ is Moose. the most noble animal of our forests, as the white pine is chief among the trees. Hence the Moose as well as the Pine is introduced into our shield, in the coat of arms, or the great seal of the State.

His height is equal to that of a common horse; his legs are longer and somewhat smaller; and his head and neck are shaped like that of a colt, with a small mane. He is very fleet-footed, able to trot 12 miles an hour; and when pursued, his hoofs, which are cloven, click and crackle so loud every step, as to be heard some distance. His tail is short, his body large, gaunt and cylindrical, and his hair is an intermixture of white and reddish brown, forming a beautiful gray. He chews the cud and has lofty horns, ten feet apart from tip to tip, when fully grown, which he lays back upon his shoulders when he travels, and which he annually sheds; the female is without horns. His flesh is never very fat, but exceedingly tender and juicy, and is said to make a sweeter and better steak than that of a well fattened bullock.

* “Loupcevier,” which is also found in New-Brunswick and N. Scotia. —*Sketches of N. B.* 2 Hal. N. S. 394.

† 1. *Cervus Torandus* —2. *Cervus Dama*, (will live 20 years.)—3. *Cervus Canadensis*.

‡ Goldsmith says, “there is but very little difference between the European Elk and the American Moose-Deer.” 2 vol. 206. He also says, p. 213, the N. Americans hunt the rein-deer “under the name of the *Caribou*.” But he mistakes.

The most favourable time for hunting them is when there is a deep snow on the ground, bearing a hard crust. His skin makes soft beautiful leather, and is highly valued. The whole weight of a full grown male is from 800 to 1200 pounds. The food of these animals is grass, shrubs, buds, moss and the bark of trees, especially beech and moose-wood, a sort of maple. In summer they associate in families; and in companies during winter: the female generally brings forth two at a birth, in April, which follow the dam a year.

They were, for a century after Maine was first attempted to be settled, found and killed in great numbers; and in Nova Scotia, they were still more abundant; so that as late as during the American Revolution, they were in that province hunted by the loyalists merely for their skins, and four or five hundred killed in one year. They are now scarce in this State. A gentleman informs me, that in March, 1786 or 7, a male Moose was driven into Hallowell from the wilderness, by the hunters. He strove to herd among the cattle, but being discovered, fled to the river, then covered with ice; and when he found himself surrounded on all sides by his pursuers, he seemed to submit to his fate in despair. The first shots at him broke his under jaw, and he was dropped by a ball through his body. He had then no horns.

Deer.

The *Deer* is of a cinerous brown, has slender horns with shoots on the interior side, one for every year after the third of its age; and these horns, of three pounds weight, he casts every spring. The amorous season is September; and the modest doe separates from the buck into secret places to bring forth her young, bearing two, sometimes three, at a birth. The flesh and skin of the deer are highly valued; their weight of carcase is from 250 to 300 pounds. They are still plenty in this State, and have very lately been seen near the head of the tide in Penobscot river.

Caribou.

The *Caribou** is a large animal, about half way in size between the deer and the moose. It is seen about the upper branches of the river St. John, and in many other parts of the State. Within a few years one was killed in a farmer's barnyard in Hampden, herding among the cattle—probably chased

* *Buccaribou*.—*Sullivan*.—It is found also in Nova Scotia and N. Brunswick.

there by huntsmen or hounds. It has branching palmated horns with brow antlers. It is a neat beast, and is very fleet, but its flesh is not so good as that of the moose. Some call it the reindeer of North America.

It is believed that we have only two species of the *Dog kind*;^{* Dog kind.} 1. the *Fox*, and 2. the *Wolf*; and that the sorts of the former^{Fox. Wolf.} are not different species, but merely varieties of the same species: These are the *red*, the *silver-gray*, the *black*, and the *cross Foxes*. They intermix; and one full grown would weigh about 20 pounds.† The silver-grays are very beautiful animals. The fox is sometimes mischievous. But no wild creature has been more troublesome to the husbandman than the *Wolf*. Till the Separation, a bounty of four pounds currency was provided by law for every one killed. It weighs about 80 or 90 pounds‡.

The *Hare*§ and the *Rabbit*|| are two species of one genus,^{Hare and Rabbit.} which has an inner and outer row of fore teeth in the upper jaw; on each fore foot they have five toes, and four on each hind foot. The latter species wears a long silky silver-white coat of fur during the winter. Both feed on green vegetables, and their flesh is much esteemed. The female is capable of bearing at six months old, breeds six or seven times in the year and brings forth, in a month from gestation, some 4, 5, or 6 young at a time, which are often devoured by the male, as well as by foxes, wease's and other animals. The bed of her young is lined with down plucked from her own skin, and she never leaves them except when pressed with hunger.

On the branches of the Penobscot, and probably in other^{Moles.} places, are found in abundance, two species of the *Mole*;¶ one, called the digger, is very small, and has a peaked nose; the other is larger than a house-mouse, and has very short legs.

* 1. *Canis Alopex*, (will live 15 years.)—2. *Canis Lupus*, (will live 20 years.)

† In Nova Scotia, is the *black Fox*. It is probably the *Fisher*, or *Black Cat*, resembling a Martin. Its length 2 feet, circumference 1 foot; tail 12 inches long; yet rarely met with among us.

‡ The wolf is the same in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.—*N. A. Review*, 1826.

§ *Lepus Timidus*. || *Lepus Americanus*. In Maine the Hare and Rabbit are each about 7 or 8 pounds' weight, though the Hare is commonly the larger, but in Europe it is twofold larger.

¶ *Talpa*.

Mice.

The three species of the *Mouse kind*,* seen in our woodlands, are—1. the *shrew*,—2. the *ground*, and 3. the *field Mouse*. The first is the smallest of quadrupeds, with eyes exceedingly little; the second is slate-coloured, burrows in the ground, and frequently does damage to the roots of trees; the third is larger than the house mouse, its colour, on the back and sides, is of an orange-brown, and its belly of a dull white.

Porcupine.

The *Porcupine*, or Hedgehog, or more scientifically, the *Urchin*,† is a quadruped, slow in motion, of a gray colour, and of about ten or twelve pounds in weight. Its flesh is wholesome; it feeds on the roots and bark of plants. The female brings three or four at a birth, once a year; the time of gestation being about 40 days. What is most remarkable about this animal is its quills, which are its defence, and, like barbed darts, wound its assailant and stick fast in the flesh. The Indians dye them of various colours, and then work them into curious figures, on their moccasins, belts, and birchen vessels.

Rat.

The *Rat*‡ of the woods is a cunning, shy creature, about which hunters can give me but little information. It is dark coloured and burrows in the ground;—not often caught or seen.

Skunk.

The *Skunk*§ has been marked as of the cat kind, and a kindred of the polecat, though smaller; but it is certain that the two greatly differ. Its defence is the fluid it scatters and flirts on its assailant; and so intolerable is its scent, that never was armour more universally protective. A foreigner, after viewing this little harmless creature, gave it a switch, and, as he himself stated the case, ‘ere the whip touched its calico back, it turned up its posteriors towards me, and lifting up one hind leg, discharged a ‘stygian liquor, of a scent I shall never forget to my dying day. ‘In a moment, the place was filled with a most horrid stench, ‘which beggars all description. This infernal water made me so ‘offensive, I was for many days ashamed to go into a house, or ‘even to meet a person in the highway.’

Of the *Squirrel kind*|| we have five species,—viz. 1. the *black*;

* 1. *Sorex Cristatus*.—2. *Sorex Murinus*.—3. *Sorex Areneus*.

Goldsmith who follows Buffon considers every species of the *mouse* and *mole* as belonging to the “*Rat kind*,”—3 vol. chap. I.

† *Hystrix Dorsata*.
or Ground rat.

‡ *Mus* — — — ? *Sylvestris*?—*terrestris*
‡ *Viverra Zibethica*.

|| 1. *Sciurus Niger*.—2. *Sciurus Cinereus*.—3. *Sciurus Flavus*.—4. *Sciurus Striatus*.—5. *Sciurus Volans*. It is said a squirrel will live 7 years.

2. the *gray*; 3. the *red*; 4. the *striped*; 5. the *flying Squirrel*, all of which are too universally known to need description; except, perhaps, the last. The flying Squirrel is the least and most beautiful, being covered with a very fine and delicate fur. It has wings which enable it to fly from one tree to another, the distance of 40 feet. It is almost as large as a striped Squirrel, and feeds on buds and wild seeds.

There are in our woods, of the *Weasel kind*,* five very noted species:—1. *Ermine*; 2. *Martin*; 3. *Mink*; 4. *Otter*; and 5. *Weasel*, (*sui speciei*,) and, perhaps, 6. the *Polecat*.†

1. The *Ermine*, or *Sable*, resembles a Weasel, except that it is larger, weighing about 16 ounces; it has its tail tipped with a beautiful black. In summer, its colour is a darker orange-red than a fox, and almost as white as snow, in winter. Some have a lined back of dark brown, from head to tail; every one of them has a most fine and delicate fur: and it is the sprightliest animal in nature. Very many of them are caught in the north parts of the State every year.

2. The *Marten* is very shy and retiring; its colour is a brown, nearly approaching a black; it is about 18 inches in length, and weighs between four and five pounds. The female brings forth from three to six, at a litter.

3. The *Mink* is an amphibious animal, burrows generally in the banks of fresh water ponds, rivers, and lakes. Its legs are short, its colour brown, and its fur is valuable. The weight of one is about equal to that of a marten. If it frequents the salt water, its fur is of a poorer quality.‡ It looks much like a sable.

NOTE.—There is an animal in the woods by the name of *Wrescow*, formerly numerous about the heads of the Kennebec and the Androscoggin. It is of a dark brown colour, with long fur and a bushy tail. His body resembles that of a bear; it has a large flat foot, and is about the size of a common dog. This animal is very furious and troublesome to the hunters, often robbing their traps of game and their camps of provision.—To avoid being caught when pursued, it will ascend the highest trees.—*E. Chase, Esq.*

* 1. *Mustela Erminea*.—2. *Mustela Martes*.—3. *Mustela Canadensis*.—4. *Mustela Lutra*.—5. *Mustela Mustela*.

† The Polecat is larger than the Weasel, being 1 foot 5 inches long, of a deep chocolate colour.

‡ The Mink is not mentioned by Goldsmith.

Otter.

4. The *Otter* is fierce and voracious ; it feeds on fish, frogs, water-rats and other little animals ; has short legs with membranes between its toes, fitted either for running or swimming. It is not amphibious, though it can live a long time under water. Its colour is black, its fur is much esteemed, the length of its body five or six feet, its weight 20 pounds or more, and its strength and courage such, that it has ventured in its rage to attack a man in self-defence.

Weasel.

5. The *Weasel* is longer bodied, more slim and active than a squirrel ; its eyes are piercing ; motions very quick ; belly cream-coloured ; back brown ; length 12 or 14 inches ; and its weight 3-4ths of a pound or more. Its food is nuts, eggs, corn, and little animals, such as chickens and mice ; and no cat will clear a house of rats like a weasel. Its number at a birth is from three to five—still they are more scarce than most of this genus, except the Otter.*

Wood-chuck.

The *Woodchuck*† is about 14 inches in length, its legs short, with paws well-formed for digging its own burrows ; its body round, thick and fat, its colour brown ; and its fecundity is 4 or 5 at a birth. The flesh of the animal is eatable, but it is too greasy, and tastes too much of the ground to be palatable.



BIRDS.

Birds.

IN Natural History, no department is more truly engaging than that of the *Ornithologist*. The varieties, the plumage, the notes, the sprightliness, the region of the bird, are subjects upon which the mind dwells with pleasure. But so numerous are those in Maine, that nothing more can be done here than to mention their kinds and species, and make an occasional observation. One great division of them is into the *land* or *cleft-footed*, and the *web-footed*, or *waterfowl* ; another is that of the songsters and of those without a singing voice ; and it is observable, that the best singers sometimes leave the thickets of the forest for the open lands or fields of the cultivator, apparently ambitious of chanting their notes to his ear.

* A weasel-skin, worn around the throat, with the fur out, will relieve those afflicted with the asthma.

† *Ursivel Mustelae* species.—*Lin.* *Monax.*—*de Buffon.*

The *Boblincon** is a well known meadow bird, always full of life and chatter, called in the southern States the *Rice-bird*.

The *Cherry-bird*† is of a light blue colour, crested, and large as a barn-swallow. Flocks of this species are seen on black cherry-trees when the fruit is ripe, of which they are immoderately fond.

The *Creepert*‡ is a little woodland bird, very coy and harmless. Also the *Nuthatch*§ is a small bird of the pye sort.

Of the *Cuckoo kind*|| we have two species, viz. 1. the *Cuckoo* Cuckoo genus. itself, a brown coloured woodland bird, as large as a thrasher; it frequents orchards and the margin of woods: 2. The *Whetsaw*, which is a little larger and darker than a blue-jay; its notes are like the gratings in whetting a saw. It frequents logging camps; and is thought to be the same as the *Bird-hawk*, though as to this naturalists differ.

The *Cross-bill*¶ is larger than a sparrow, and is of an olive colour: the upper and lower parts of its beak cross each other like a pair of scissors, and thus enable it to cut off the stalks of wheat and rye; it then lays down its head sidewise to pick and take the kernels.

Of the *Dove kind*** we have two species, 1. the *Turtle Dove*, Dove genus. 2. the *wild Pigeon*. Those of the latter are very numerous; the male and female always pair, set alternately on the eggs, and hatch two at once, several times in the season. The wild Pigeons are excellent for the table: they come in the spring from the southern and western states, select beech and hemlock land, where they stay during the summer: several of their nests are often seen on the same tree, and their fecundity is supposed to exceed that of any other fowl.

On our coast is seen a much greater number of the *Duck kind*†† Duck genus.

* *Emberiza Oryzivora*.

† *Ampelis Garrulus*.

‡ *Certhia Pinus*.

§ *Sitta Canadensis*.

|| 1. *Cuculus Americanus*.—2. *Cuculus Olius*, *Lunirus*, *Canadensis*.

¶ *Loxia Curvirostra* or *Loxia Restrofoiscator*.

** 1. *Columba Turtur*?—2. *Columba Migratoria*.

†† *Duck*.—1. *Anas Bernicla*.—2. *Anas Fusca*.—3. *Anas Nigra*.—4. *Anas Spectabilis*.—5. *Anas Cinerea*.—6. *Anas Albeola*.—7. *Anas Mollissima*.—8. *Anas Penelope*.—9. *Anas Acuta*.—10. *Anas Arborea*.—11. *Anas Sponsa*.—12. *Anas Histrionica*?—13. *Anas Strepera*.—14. *Anas Bucephala*.—15. *Anas Ferina*.—16. *Anas Discors*.—17. *Anas Migratoria*.—18. *Anas Clangula*.—19. *Anas Moralia*.

Duck genus than of any other fowl; there being in all no less than nineteen species. 1. The *Brant*; 2. *brown Coot*; 3. *black Duck Coot*; 4. *white head Coot*; 5. *the river Coot, or ash coloured Duck*; 6. *the Dipper*; 7. *the sea Duck*; 8. *the gray Duck*; 9. *the sprig tail Duck, or Mallard*; 10. *the wood Duck*; 11. *the crested wood Duck*; 12. *Lord and Lady, or Noddy*; 13. *Old-wife*; 14. *Quindar*; 15. *red head Quindar*; 16. *blue wing Teal*; 17. *green wing Teal*; 18. *Whistler*; 19. *Widgeon*; all which are webfooted.

A *Brant* is a large bird of passage, of gray colour, and in size about half-way between a black duck and a wild goose; it is found around our bays, lakes and ponds.

The *white head Coot* is black, with some white on its head and midway of its wings; and each of the Coot species has a short tail, and lives about the shores of the salt water.

The *Dipper* is always diving and dipping for fish; and, when on the water, appears larger than the largest species of teal, and is nearly as good for the table as a duck.

The *Lord and Lady, or Noddy** is as large as a pigeon, good for food; has a brown back and cream-coloured breast, and feeds on small muscles, snails and insects. Its perpetual whiffles with the wings when flying, give it name.

Old-wife's notes are in sound like shrill scolding, as heard from this bird often in the night time. Its flesh is brown like beef, about as good as that of a duck, and is itself almost as large.

Of the two *Teals*, the green wing is the larger; both are very fine for the table, and about two-thirds the size of a domestic duck.

A *Whistler* is about as large as a Dipper: And the *Widgeon* is supposed to be the same as a wood duck; the female lays her eggs in some hollow tree, and when her young are hatched, she carries them to the water side, where she rears them up to full size.

We reckon two species of the *Falcon* kind;† 1. the *Bird-hawk*; and 2d, the *Kingbird*. The latter is a most active and courageous little creature, not fearing to make war even upon the hawk and crow.

* Some think this the *Sea-swallow*.

† 1. *Lanius Canadensis*.—2. *Lanius Tyrannus*: "the least of the falcon tribe."—*Rees' Encyclopedia*.

There seem to be two kinds of the *Finch* ;* one has with us ^{Two kinds of Finches.} these three species : 1. the *Goldfinch* or *Golden Robin* ; 2. the *Hang-bird* ; and 3. the *Redwing Blackbird*. The last is the male only of the same species ; the female is smaller, of a dirty brown, and has no red on its wings. The two former hang their nests under the limb, where it is forked. The *Goldfinch* is shorter bodied, but thicker than the yellow bird ; its plumage is of a beautiful bright orange colour, and its voice is quite melodious.

Of the *other Finch kind*† we have five species : 1. the *Cheeweeh*, or *Pewit* ; 2. the *Chipping Bird* ;‡ 3. the *Winter Sparrow* ; 4. the *Yellow Bird*, and 5. the *Spring Bird*. The *Pewit*, or *Cheeweeh*, lives in the summer months about barns and old buildings, where the swallows have nests, in which she lays her eggs with theirs. The *Spring Bird* is larger than a chipping bird, and is one of the very first to sing the vernal song. The other species are small, very pretty and well known.

There is a genus whose leading name seems to be that of ^{Genus of Fly-catchers.} *Fly-catcher*,§ of which there are five species ; 1. the *brown Fly-catcher* ; 2. the *crested Fly-catcher* ; 3. the *Cat-bird* ; 4. the *Hedge-bird*, and 5. the *Yellow crown*.

The *brown Fly-catcher* is as big as a swallow, of a dove-colour, with white on its belly. One of them, in July, entered a gentleman's chamber, who informed me, that though the flies were numerous, in consequence of sickness, the bird caught them or cleared them all out of the chamber in one day.

All untamed *Geese*,¶ with us, are birds of passage ; of which ^{Species of Geese.} kind we have seen three species,—1. the *wild*, or *black Goose* ; 2. the *bluish Goose*, and 3. the *white Goose*.

The several species of the *Goose* and the *Brant*, pass northward in March and southward in November. In their journies they travel in flocks from thirty to sixty together, and their

* Finches, 1st kind ; 1. *Oriolus Baltimorus* : But, query, if found in this State.—2. *Oriolus Icterus*.—3. *Oriolus Phaenicens*.

† Finches, 2d kind ; 1. *Fringilla Erythrophthalma* —2. *Fringilla* ?—or *Passer* genus.—3. *Fringilla Grisea*.—4. *Fringilla Tristis*.—5. *Fringilla* —.

‡ Quære, if the Chipping bird does not belong to the *Sparrow kind* ?

§ 1. *Muscicapa Fusca*.—2. *Muscicapa Crinita*.—3. *Muscicapa Carolinensis* ?—4. *Muscicapa Canadensis* ?—5. *Muscicapa Flava*.

¶ 1. *Anser Canadensis*.—2. *Anser Caerulescens*.—3. *Anser Crythropus*.

height, regularity, and swiftness in flight, are well known. Their summer habitations are about our great lakes, in this State and elsewhere, northward. Incredible numbers go to the "Great Bog," 200 miles northeastwardly of Quebec. George Bussick, who, about half an age since, was eight or nine years with the Penobscot tribe of Indians, and an interpreter, says he went to the latter place three successive years, after feathers, where he found wild Geese, Brants, black Ducks, and Curlews. The Great Bog is an extensive quagmire, on which the fowler cannot walk, but works along his canoe from one hummock to another, and smites the fowls on their nests. He has sometimes killed five with his paddle, without moving his canoe. About the year 1800, a broken flock of 8 or 9 white Geese, in the spring, lighted on the Island Metinicus, of which Mr. Young, one of the Islanders, killed three and his neighbours killed the residue. They were entirely white and as large as a gander of our domestic flocks.

Grouse genus.

Of the *Grouse kind** we have four species.—1. The *Grouse*; 2. the *Partridge*; 3. the *spruce Partridge*, and 4. the *Quail*.

The *Grouse* is seldom seen, except about our highest mountains, and is probably the same as the *Heath-cock* of Linneaus. Its head and neck is marked with alternate bars of red and black; it feeds on bilberries and other mountain-fruits, and weighs from two to four pounds. They never pair; but when the male, in the spring, from an eminence claps his wings and crows, all the females within hearing resort to him.

The *spruce Partridge* is of a dark brown, has a short tail, and the male has a heart-form upon his breast of two inches in length. The flesh of this species is equal in goodness to the other, though the body is not so large. *Quails* are not with us so plenty as in the other States of New-England: Indeed, they are very seldom if ever seen in the eastern parts, and many think the spruce Partridges are the same.

Gulls.

Gulls† are very common on our coast; their bill is straight, only hooked at the tip, and is destitute of teeth. They feed on fish and worms and are always about the water. Their body is

* 1. *Tetrao tetrix*.—2. *Tetrao Marilandicus*.—3. *Tetrao Canadensis*.—4. *Tetrao Virginianus*.

† 1. *Larus Candidus*.—2. *Larus Marinus*.—3. *Larus Ridibundus*.—4. *Sterna Hirundo*.

light and their wings long ; and when terrified, it is said, they will cast up all their indigested food. "Though the species of this genus are not very clearly discriminated," owing to the changes of plumage in different stages of their growth till the third year ; yet we suppose there are with us four, viz. 1. the *white Gull* ; 2. the *eagle Gull* ; 3. the *mackerel*, or *fishing Gull* ; 4. the *swallow-tail Gull*, or *Medrake*. The *mackerel Gull* is nearly as large as a goose ; and the *Medrake* is as large as a black duck and good for the table. The others are plenty about our seashores, and not poor food.

Of the *Hawk kind*,* we have six species, and two varieties : ^{Hawk genus.} 1 and 2. the *bald* and the *brown Eagle* ; † 3. the *great brown Hawk* ; 4. the *hen Hawk* ; 5. the *pigeon Hawk* ; and 6. the *fishing Hawk*. They are all rapacious ; and it is said to be a noted fact that all female birds of prey are much larger, stronger, and more courageous, than the males.

The character of the *Heron kind* consists in having the bill ^{Heron genus.} straight, pointed, long, sub-compressed, with a furrow from the nostrils towards the tip, the nostrils linear, tongue sharp, feet four-toed and cleft, and the toes connected at the base ; of which we reckon five species, ‡ 1 and 2. the *blue* and the *white Heron* ; 3. the *Crane* ; 4. the *Stork*, § and 5. the *Skouk*.

It is said, the *blue Heron* is crested. and has on its breast a large spot with two growths of feathers, the under one is soft and short as the down of geese, and is of an otter colour, and in the night time has a bright appearance like touchwood. The *Crane* has a long neck and long legs, and is of a lead-colour. The *Skouk* is as large bodied as a partridge, its legs blue, its back slate-coloured and ill shaped—and is vulgarly called a "shite-poke."

The *Humming bird*|| is the smallest and fleetest of the feath-

* 1. *Falco Leucocephalus*.—2. *Falco Fulvus*.—3. *Falco Hudsonius*.—4. *Falco Sparverius*.—5. *Falco Columbarius*.—6. *Falco Haliaetus*.

† It has been asserted that an eagle will live 100 years.

‡ 1. *Ardea Caerulea*.—2. *Ardea Alba*.—3. *Ardea Canadensis*.—4. *Ardea Ciconia*.—5. *Ardea Virescens*.

§ The *Stork* is a bird of passage, the white one has naked eyeballs, its beak and feet are of a blood-red colour ; it is a great enemy to reptiles ; its disposition is mild, neither very sly nor savage ; it is easily tamed. It has a mournful visage and grave air, though sagacious.

|| *Passer*———?—*Goldsmith*. *Trochilus colubris*.—*Lin*.

Heron genus.

ered race. It derives its name from the *hum* its wings make when it flies. Of a full grown one which I have carefully examined, the length from the crown to the end of the tail-feathers, is less than three inches; its body one inch long, and twice that in circumference, measuring around the wings. From the body to the end of the longest feather of the wing, is about one inch and 3-4th. Its feathers are of the softest down; their colour near the skin, on the back and sides, is of a dark bright brown, changing to a beautiful golden green towards and at their ends. Those on the belly are tipped with white, or lightbrown, and appear beautifully clouded. The bill of the Humming bird is black, 3-4ths of an inch in length, the upper and lower part about as large as a common sewing needle; its tongue is most peculiar, resembling towards its end a split hair, formed to sip sweets from the cups of the smallest flowers. Its legs are covered with down to the feet, which have severally four claws or toes, and which are curving and very sharp.

The *Kingfisher** is plenty. It stays all winter about fresh waters, and in the spring builds its nest in the banks. It is heavy as a plover, has a long bill, its head is crested with red, its back is of a blue colour; and though it is not webfooted, its toes grow near together, and it dives after fish.

Larks.

We have two species of the *Lark kind*,† 1. the *Skylark*, and 2. the *Marshlark*; well known elegant birds, and sweet songsters. It is said this kind will live 16 years.

The *red Linnet*,‡ is about as large as a Goldfinch but has longer feathers; and its wings and tail have some black, otherwise its plumage is a most beautiful dark scarlet. It nests in the margin of the woods.

Loons.

Loons§ are very common on the seaboard: they are of a bluish colour, have a large head and will weigh 12 or 15 pounds after being dressed. What is remarkable in them is, their hip-joints grow so fast to the body as to be immoveable, so that they cannot step on the land; they are of two species, 1. *brown throat Loon* and 2. *sea Loon*.

* Alcedo Alcyon.

† 1. Alauda Alpestris.—2. Alauda Magna.

‡ Tanagra Rubra.

§ 1. Colymbus Septentrionalis.—2. Colymbus Immer.

Of the *Owl*,* we have four species, viz. 1. the *horned*; 2. *Owls*. the *white*; 3. the *speckled*, and 4, the *barn*, or *screech Owl*.

The *Pelican*† *kind* is of two species, both webfooted, and birds of passage. 1. the *Pelican itself*, which is rarely seen; 2. the *Shag*, which is larger than a black duck, will weigh 3 pounds, —its colour is a dark gray.

The *Plovers*‡ are common on our shores, and have been class-^{Plover} ed in five species.—1. The *black breast Plover*; 2. *upland Plover*; 3. *large spotted Plover*; 4. the *Kildeer*; and 5. the *Oxeye*. The *third* species is large as a Teal, and has yellow legs; its flesh is fat and good for food. The upland Plover is larger than a robin. The *Kildeer* is a long-legged drooping bird, not seen often in this quarter. The *Oxeye* is a little tottering shore-bird, large as a martin.

The *Peep*§ is a little land-bird, with small body, wings long and large for its size.

The *Petrel*,|| or *Mother Carey's Chickens*, is as large as a black martin; its crying, or peeping, is considered by mariners as indicative of a storm.¶

Of the *Raven Kind*** are two species,—1. the *Crow*,†† and 2. the *Blue-jay*; both of which are common inhabitants of this State and well known.

* 1. Strix Bubo.—2. Strix Nyctea.—3. Strix Aluco.—4. Strix Passerina.

† 1. Pelicanus Onacratulus.—2. Pelicanus Occidentalis.—3. Pelicanus Graculus. A live Pelican about as large as a wild goose, was taken in the Kennebeck river in the spring of 1826, two miles above Bath. Its habits are indolent, it does not often migrate so far north.

‡ 1. Charadrius (Gr.) Apricarius.—2. Charadrius Tetractylus.—3. Charadrius Maculatus.—4. Charadrius Vociferus.—5. Charadrius Alexandrinus.

§ Rallus Carolinus.

|| Procellaria Pelagica.

¶ In one of the cluster, called North Seals and Mud Island, off Cape Sable, Nova Scotia, thousands of *Petrels*, or *Mother Carey's Chickens*, annually hatch their young. They burrow under ground diagonally, three or four feet deep, and sit on one egg; flitting about the surface, in astonishing numbers, searching for food and casting a sickly foetid effluvia. Naturalists have attributed to this little winged mariner the property of breeding its young on the water, by delivering its egg and diving to catch it under the wing, where the young one is said to be hatched.—*Lockwood's Nova Scotia*, p. 81.

** 1. Corvus Corax.—2. Corvus Cristatus.

†† Gracula quiscal. *Crow Blackbird*.

Species of
the Razor-
bill.

The family of the *Razor-bill*,* containing three species, which are seen here,—viz. 1. the *Penguin*;† 2. *Murr*, and 3. the *sea Parrot*, are all webfooted. The *Penguin* is as large as a domestic fowl; the *Murr* has a short neck; and is smaller.

Sheldrake

We have three species of the *Sheldrake*,‡ or *Water Raven*, 1. the *Cream-coloured*; 2. the *Red-bellied*, and 3. the *Pied Sheldrake*: all of which are webfooted, almost always in or on the water, large as a black duck, and good for the trencher.

Suipe genus

We have four species and two varieties of the *Suipe*:§ 1 and 2. the *Woodcock* and *Wood Suipe*; 3 and 4. the *gray* and *large speckled Curlew*: their flesh is fine flavoured, no woodland bird pleases the epicurean's taste better. The *Curlews* have long legs and crooked bills, are big as a partridge, and are birds of passage.

Sparrow
genus.

Of the *Sparrow tribe*,|| we will name three species, though the discriminating classis among naturalists is not very perfect. 1. the *Chipping bird*, or *domestic Sparrow*; 2. the *little field Sparrow*, or *Ground bird*; 3. the *Snow bird*. It is difficult to know where to class this latter species; it is certain no one is more hardy, for it stays with us from autumn to spring; no one serves so much to enliven the cold and stormy days of winter: for then they often appear in flocks of 30 or 40, all cheerful and sprightly. Their flesh is fine and delicate, but their bodies are too small to cook. Possibly the *Starling*,¶ a larger bird, is of the same species: though it may be one of another family; or taken for the red linnet.

Swallow
genus.

We have five species and two varieties of the *Swallow kind*,**

* 1. *Alca Impennis*.—2. *Alca Torda*.—3. *Alca Artica*.

† Our *Penguin* is another than the *Anser Magellaneus* not so large, and different. It lays a single egg, and burrows like a rabbit.

‡ 1. *Mergus Merganser*.—2. *Mergus Serrator*.—3. *Mergus Castor*.

§ 1. *Scolopax* (Gr.) *Rusticola*.—2. *Scolopax Fedoa*.—3. *Scolopax Totanus*.—4. *Scolopax Lapponica*.

|| 1. *Passer Domesticus*.—2. *Passer Agrestis*.—3. *Passer Nivalis*.—*Bart.*; alias *Emberiza Hyemalis*.—*Lin.*

¶ Of the *Sparrow-kind*.—*Goldsmith*. Quere, if the *Starling* be found in this State.

** 1. *Hirundo riparia*.—2. *Hirundo rustica*.—3. *Hirundo pelagica candaaculeata*.—4. *Hirundo purpurea*.—5. *Hirundo urbica*.—These appear

1, 2, and 3. the *bank*, the *barn*, and the *chimney Swallow*; and 4, and 5. the *black* and the *small Martin*. The coming of these birds is considered the indicative finale of spring. The *chimney Swallow* comes the first of either; and the *bank Swallow* is the smallest of the whole. Its hole into the sand banks of rivers, where it nests, is sometimes two feet in length. The *black Martin* is the largest of the Swallow race; it appears the latest and leaves the earliest. The Swallows are all torpid during the winter; some have been found in the bottoms of ponds, others in the hollows of large trees; and it is known, that they go into winter-quarters in considerable flocks and on a particular day.

It is understood that, 1. the *Fox-coloured Thrush*; 2. the *Thrasher*, or *Moc-bird*; and 3. the *Robin*, are species of the *Thrush genus*;* and few upland birds are more inoffensive or musical, or better known among us.

Of the *Titmouse tribe*,† we may mention these species: 1. *Titmouse* the *crested Titmouse*; 2. the *blue Titmouse*; 3. *Toomteet*; 4. *yellow rump Toomteet*; and 5. *Little Hang-bird*. These are all very small birds.

All the species of the *Tring kind*‡ are unwebbed, and not large bodied: they are, 1. the *Humility*; 2. the *Marsh-bird*; 3. the *Rock-bird*; and 4. the *Beach* or *Sand-bird*. The *Humility* has long yellow legs, long neck, is gray spotted, frequents the shores of ponds and of salt water, wades after small fish, and is nearly as large as a pigeon. The *Marsh-bird* is as large as a martin, has long wings and is very fat. A *Beach*, or *Sand-bird* is about the size of a swallow, coloured white and gray; its flesh is eatable, though of a fishy flavour.

We have several species of *Wagtails*;§—viz. 1. the *crested Wren*; 2. the *common Wren*; 3. the *Blue-bird*; 4. the *Grape-bird*, and 5. the *Water-wagtail*.

The *Waterwitch* is as large as a pigeon; its beak of a slate-

about the 25th of April, and depart the 20th of September. The martins depart earlier.

* 1. *Turdus Rufus*.—2. *Turdus Orpheus*.—3. *Turdus Migratorius*?

† 1. *Parus Bicolor*—2. *Parus Americanus*.—3. *Parus Atricapillus*.—4. *Parus Virginianus*—5. *Parus pendulinus*.

‡ 1. *Tringa Interpres*.—2. *Tringa Morinella*.—3. *Tringa Maculata*.—4. *Tringa Arenaria*.

§ 1. *Motacilla Regulus*.—2. *Motacilla Trochilus*.—3. *Motacilla Sialis*.—4. *Motacilla Icterocephala*.—5. *Motacilla* — ?

colour, and its breast of a cream-colour ; its hip-joint, like that of a loon, is fast ; its sight and motion is so exceedingly quick, that it will repeatedly catch the flash of the gun and avoid the shot.

Woodpeck-
ers.

The *Woodpecker-family** is so large with us, that we reckon seven species ;—viz. 1. the *great red crested*, 2. the *swallow-tailed*, 3. the *red head*, 4. the *white back*, 5. the *woolly back*, 6. the *white tail*, and 7 the *speckled Woodpecker*. The quills in the tail of this genus are about half an inch in length, without feathers, but sharp, like those of a porcupine. With these, pointed and thrust into the bark, they hold and rest themselves while drumming. The *Yellow-hammer* is also a Woodpecker.

Whip-poor-
will.

We have also the *Whip-poor-will*, and the *Night Hawk*, which certainly belong to the same genus,† and ornithologists have long doubted if they are not in fact one and the same bird. The celebrated Bartram thinks them so ; and I am told, that a fowler having killed one, while singing “ whip-poor-will,” was satisfied, on investigation, that the singer is the male and the Night Hawk is the female. It is said this bird lives 16 or 18 years.

Frog-catch-
er.
Hagdel.

Besides the 146 species mentioned, there are several others, the genus of which is not known ; as the *Frog-catcher*, also the *Hagdel*, of a dark brown colour, about as large as a Murr, though its feathers are longer. It is webfooted, follows vessels, and feeds on fish-offal and the refuse of cookery ; also, the *Moose-bird*, which feeds on the berries of the moose bush, and stays through the winter. Nor is it probable that the whole number has been mentioned in the preceding account ; and some, which are common in other parts of New-England, are seldom here ; particularly the *wild Turkey*. A few, however, have been shot in the western parts of this State.

Moose bird.



FISHES.

Fishes.

IN our salt and fresh waters are found about *sixty species of fish*, and, generally, they are abundant in numbers. Some are warm-blooded, some amphibious, some without bones, and some without

* 1. *Picus Pileatus*.—2. *Picus Pirundenaceus*.—3. *Picus Erythrocephalus*.—4. *Picus Auratus*.—5. *Picus Pubescens*.—6. *Picus Villosus*.—7. *Picus Maculosus*.

† 1. *Caprimulgus Europaeus*.—2. *Caprimulgus Americanus*, [Night Hawk]

scales—differently classed by different *Ichthyologists*. In the following arrangement, the genera are alphabetical, and in each are the several species found among us.

Of the *Blenny kind*,* we mention—1. the *Catfish*; 2. the *Snake-fish*, and 3. the *Wolf-fish*.† Blenny kind.
Snake-fish.

The *Catfish* has four teeth, two below and two above, which Catfish. set together like those of a rat or squirrel. Its colour is dark-brown, its head round, and, from its middle to its tail, its body tapers like that of an eel. It is two feet in length. It has large wing-fins like a sculpion; in other respects it looks much like a cusk. It has no scales, will bite at a hook, and will weigh from 5 to 15 pounds, but is too rank and strong for the table. It is found in our bays in abundance.

The body of the *Wolf-fish* is round and slender, the head large Wolf fish. and blunt, the foreteeth, above and below, conical; those in the palate, and the grinders, round; and the fin covering the gill has six rays.

Of the *Cod* [or *Gad*] kind of Fish,‡ we have seven *species*, Gad kind. viz. 1. the *Cod*; 2. the *Haddock*; 3. the *Pollock*; 4. the *small Pollock*; 5. the *Hake*; 6. the *Frost fish*; and 7. the *Cusk*.

The *Codfish* is caught abundantly in the waters off our Codfish. seaboard, from one corner of the State to the other, perhaps equal to 20,000 quintals in a year. They are generally found near the ground in the deep waters of bays, but have been taken in Marsh bay, [Penobscot,] though they are never found in fresh water. They feed on muscles, shrimps and clams; but the best bait for them is herring. They are without scales and their individual weight is from 5 to 75 pounds. They are said to spawn in coves and at the mouths of rivers, during the twelve days of Christmas.§

The *Haddock* are companions of the Codfish, and are found Haddock. in the salt water of our shores, as far eastward as Mount Desert.

* 1. *Blennius Chaetodon*.—2. *Blennius Anguillarius*.

† *Anarhichas lupus*—*Goldsmith*.

‡ 1. *Gadus Morhua*.—2. *Gadus aglesinus*.—3. *Gadus polachius*.—4. *Gadus virens*?—5. *Gadus molva*.—6. *Gadus luscus*.—7. *Gadus* —.

§ *Goldsmith says*, [4 vol. p. 220,] “when their provision [on the Grand Banks] is exhausted, or the season for propagation returns, they go off to the polar seas.”—But they are found on our coasts in all seasons of the year.

They are scaled, and are of a light brown colour, with black stripes from head to tail on each side of the back, commencing a little after the *nape*, or *gill* fins, in spots of black, shaped like the ball of a man's thumb. The Haddock is shaped like a codfish, though with a larger head, and two back fins towards the tail; it weighs from five to twelve pounds, is finer flavoured than a codfish, harder and less easy to break when dry, and consequently to be preferred for shipping.

Pollock.

The *Pollock* is plentiful, especially about the bays of Passamaquoddy and the Isle of Holt. It is shaped much like a Salmon and is scaled; its sides are of a bluish cast, its back is darker, its belly a muddy white, its length from 20 to 30 inches, and weight from 10 to 25 lbs. It is very good, dressed and dried, though not so good as a codfish when fresh, being of a coarser grain. It is excessively fond of herring, and will collect together and hem in shoals of them, in the eddies about the flats, and at slack tide feast upon them.

The *small Pollock* are generally found in our harbours, and are exactly the same as the other, only smaller, weighing from four ounces to three pounds. Some think they are the half-grown young of the true Pollock.

Hake.

The *Hake*, Cod and Haddock are often caught, cured and sold together. The *Hake* is a scaled fish; its length and weight are almost as great as those of a codfish; it is tougher than a haddock and not so fine flavoured. Its outside is coloured variously, some are rather of a dun-red, others are of a muddy brown with white bellies. Its head is much like that of a codfish, except that its mouth and jaws are formed like a crescent, full of fine teeth which are very sharp. Its body tapers from the head to the draught; thence to the tail-fin, the taper is much more gradual; and it is finned mostly like a cusk, both on the back and belly. Abundance of them has been taken within three leagues of Castine. They are caught with hooks; and the best hours for the business are in the fore and latter part of the night.

The *Frostfish*, sometimes called *Tom-cod*, are found about the bays and mouths of the rivers in the summer, and in the winter they inhabit fresh waters. They are shaped and finned like a codfish and coloured like a silver eel, scaled and fine flavoured. They are very small, weighing only from 8 to 18 ounces. They

are plenty every where, but found in the greatest abundance about Narraguagus, Pleasant river, and in that quarter. In places where they are so very plenty, they are caught and stacked in December and January, and afterwards cut and given fresh to cattle.

The *Cusk* deserved a place prior to the frostfish, for it is su-^{Cusk.}perior and found only in salt water—weighing from 5 to 20 pounds. It is shaped much like a catfish; its head is round, with jaws full of small teeth; its body is generally two feet in length, more or less, according to its size, very solid; its liver only is fat as in a codfish. Though not so pleasant to the taste as the cod, it makes good “chowder,” and no dry fish is better, especially when it is three years old. It dwells with the cod, though seldom found in so deep water. A fresh water *Cusk* is said to be plenty in Moosehead lake.

This is the family of the Codfish, and none other is so universally esteemed for the table.

The *Eels* are plenty in our waters; of which we have two ^{Eel kind.}*kinds*, and *two species* in each kind: the two species of one kind, viz. 1. *Lamprey*,* and 2. *Sea-sucker*,† are certainly amphibious; those of the other,—viz. 1. the *silver Eel*,‡ and 2. the *Conger Eel*§ are the best for food. The bat, the eel, the swallow, the turtle, the frog, the toad and the serpent have been commonly called “the seven sleepers.”||

The *Lamprey* is without bone; and one of three feet, a com-^{Lamprey}mon length, will weigh 3 pounds and will cleave so fast to a rock, ^{Eels.}when pulled, as to take one up of 4 pounds. It is darker coloured and less slimy than a silver eel; it is cylindrical and large as a man’s wrist to its bastard fins, which begin about midway of its length and continue to the tail. Its skin is so tightly ingrained with the flesh that it cannot be taken off; and it has 9 or 10 eye-let-holes, as large as a pea, on each side of its back. It has no teeth, but large gooms and sucker-mouth; with which some of the smaller ones often fasten themselves to a salmon, or shad, and are thus carried up the falls.

* *Petromyzon Fluvialis.*

† *Petromyzon Marinus.*

‡ *Muraena Anguilla.*

§ *Muraena Conger.*

|| The Blenny and Eel kind bring forth their young alive.

During the last ten years, they have not been found in such abundance in the main rivers as formerly, though they are now plenty in the Piscataquis;—they are taken in the spring and summer months. They spawn in May or June; and afterwards attach themselves to logs, roots and stones, near where they cast their spawn, and there gradually perish, mortifying from tail to head. From the back may be drawn a sinew which, when stretched, is thrice the length of the body, and makes as tough a counter-string for a violin as catgut. They are caught at the falls with spears, gafts, hooks without bait and even with the hands covered with mittens, to prevent their escape.

Silver Eels. The *Silver Eels*, found in both salt and fresh water, are taken at all seasons of the year, and are very good for food: They are speared in the winter and taken by hooks in the summer. They, like the Lamprey, are without bones and scales, and are about the same size, though some of them will weigh 6 pounds. They have two fins near their gills, another on the back, which runs to the tail, as on a cusk or catfish. Their young is seen about the first of June, two inches in length and about as large as a small wire, and almost transparent. But how do they procreate their species, since neither spawn, eggs, nor young, are found in them at any season of the year?

Conger Eels. The *Conger Eels* are caught in our bays and salt waters of our rivers. They have a round head, also teeth, and otherwise look much like a catfish, only slimmer; one of two feet is a common length, being only as large as a man's wrist. They bed in the mud like other eels, and when well cooked, they are received into the stomach with a good relish. Their natural colour is yellowish, but what is remarkable, they will, when dying, change their hues, or shades, to a pale green or faint purple.

Not long before the close of the last century, a French merchantman, in the autumn, grounded on the flats, a league below Backsport, in Eastern river; and as she settled down with the ebb, her sides rested on a large bed of Conger eels, which being thus ousted of their settlements, were taken by the mariners and found to be very grateful to the taste and stomach.

Flounder ind. The *Flounder family*,* embraces five species, 1. the flat

* 1. *Pleuronectes Flesus*.—2. *Pleuronectes Platessa*.—3. *Pleuronectes Hippoglassus*.—4. *Pleuronectes Papillosus*.—5. *Pleuronectes Squatma*.

Flounder, 2. the *Plaice*, 3. the *Halibut*, 4. the *Dab*, and 5. the *Skate*.

The *Flounder* is exclusively a scaled salt water fish, and is Flounder. found near the bottoms in coves and rivers, and consequently tastes too much of their muddy beds to be palatable. It has a black back and a very white belly; one of a common size is about 12 inches in length and 1 and 1-4th of an inch thick; it has two black fins on its sidewise back, near its head, and a white one near the throat: and 4 inches from the head, on the back and belly, are the roots of its tail-fins, running nearly to the roots of the fan-fin at the end of the tail, which is in length and width about two inches. The peculiarity of this family is its mouth. The Flounder's is not horizontal, but about half way between that and a perpendicular; that is, an angle of 45° from the ground; and hence it seems to lie on one side.

The *Plaice* is such another, though without scales, smaller and Plaice. too strong to be fit for the table. It is lighter coloured than a flounder and less plenty, and dwells in the same places. One of a common size will weigh a pound.

The *Halibut* is a large scale fish, weighing from 10 to 200 Halibut. pounds, commonly about 75 pounds. It is found in considerable abundance off our coasts, about the bays and Islands, and especially on the Grand Banks, but only in salt water. The colour of its back is a dark slate, its belly white, and extending only one foot from the gills, is very short, inclosing a small quantum of entrails. One of 75 pounds is six feet long, between 2 and 3 feet across, as it lies like a flounder apparently on one side, and only 6 inches through the junk in thickness. Its mouth makes an angle of 70° with the horizon; its fins are on each of its sides, extending two inches into the body to the joint, and terminating 6 inches above the roots of the tail: the flesh, on those called "Halibut-fins," are fat and when fresh very palatable; as are also its head and nape. They are taken with hooks, but are difficult to handle owing to their flat shape.

The *Skate* swims like a flounder, is without scales and quite Skate. short, being not more than three feet in length; yet it is two feet or more in breadth, and will weigh 30 pounds; though their sizes are variable,—from 5 to 50 pounds. Its tail, two feet in length like that of a land tortoise, is very rough and full of

prickles ; near which, on each side, it has something like two legs, 8 inches or more in length, with which it can clasp hold of substances : it has fins on both sides like the skirts of a saddle ; it is seldom eaten.

Lumpfish,

The *Lumpfish** is naturally a clumsy creature and is found only in salt water, mostly about the westerly coast of the State. It has a prominence on the back like that of a camel, and as large in propotion to the creature ; also two gill, or nape fins, and a small tail, somewhat like that of a flounder, and a very small mouth.

Of this sort, are two varieties, if not species ; the *mud* or *green*, and the *red lump* ; both are good to eat, though the latter is the best ; they are shaped alike : the larger sizes are 20 inches in length, 15 in depth, up and down, also about 10 in thickness, and may weigh 20 pounds or more. From head to tail, on each side of the back, are three rows of hard substances as large, severally, as a finger nail ; and each, half an inch from the other. The green Lump is transparent, so that the finger on its opposite side from the eye can be easily seen. On the breast, each has a sort of sucker mouth, by which it can hold fast to any substance.

Mackerel.

The *Mackerel*† is a very elastic fish, of which we reckon three species :—1. the *Mackerel* : 2. the *horse Mackerel* : and 3. the *Bill-fish* : all of which dwell in salt water.

The real Mackerel is very handsome in shape and colour ; is fat and palatable, and one of a middle size will weigh two pounds ; it is very long and cylindrical, with bright clouded back, (black and green,) white teeth, and nape and centre fins : they are taken in great plenty off Mount Desert rock and in other places on our coast. Its scales, which are small and thin, it sheds in the agonies of dying.

Horse
mackerel.

The *Horse Mackerel*, or *Mackerel Shark*, is coloured, shaped, and finned like the other, but it is too coarse grained, dry, and rank to be fit for the table. They differ very much in size, being from 20 to 200 pounds in weight ; the smaller are taken with hooks and the larger are harpooned.—Capt. Lowell caught one

* *Clydopterus Lumpus*.

† 1. *Scomber scombus*.—2. *Scomber lanis*.—3. *Scomber rostratus*. It is said, a Mackerel will produce 5 hundred thousand eggs in one season.

which weighed about 300 pounds. They are often seen, though not very plenty in our waters.

The *Bill-fish* is a small, rare salt water fish, weighing only Bill-fish. about half a pound; and though so light, it is, from the end of the bill to that of the tail, 15 inches in length. Its head, except its bill, which is two inches long, is like a herring, the residue like a mackerel; its flesh is dark coloured, and in flavour rather rank to the taste.

Of the *Minnow*, or *Menow** kind, are two species:—1. the Menow. *Menow*; and 2. the *Sucker*.

The *Minnow* is a very small, slim fresh water fish, with silvery scales, is from two to three inches in length, and is used alive as bait to catch pickerel. When in perfect trim, immediately after spawning, its back is almost black, its belly a milkwhite, and its sides dappled like a panther's, inclining to a grayish sky colour.

The *Sucker* is found in plenty in fresh waters only; it is rather Sucker. more yellowish than a chub; weighs from 1 to 3 pounds, being from 12 to 18 inches in length, and when taken in cold weather, is eaten.

Monk-fish† is very plenty about Owl's-head and other bays; Monk-fish. its length about three feet, its weight 15 or 20 pounds; its head is great, being in weight about a third part of the whole fish; and its mouth and jaws, of a half-moon form, are proportionably large, whence the proverb, of one who opens wide a large mouth like a monk-fish, "we can see what he ate for breakfast." Its belly, as it swims, is partly on one side, like a flounder's; and thus situated, its horizontal width is 12 or 15 inches and more than three times its perpendicular thickness. It is not eaten.

The species of the *Perch family*‡ are eight:—1, 2, and 3. the Perch. *Perch*; 4. the *Whiting*; 5. the *Bass*; 6. the *Shiner*; 7. the *Chub*; and 8. the *Bream*.

The *red Perch* is so called, because its under fins are of a palish red:—It is from 6 to 10 inches in length, is good for the table, and weighs from 10 to 20 ounces. It has a horn fin on its back, like a bass; and, perpendicularly, up and down its sides, it is handsomely striped and clouded with black and yellow.

* 1. *Cyprinus*.—2. *Cyprinus castostomus* forster. † *Lophius*‡ *piscatorius*.

‡ 1. *Perca fluviatilis*.—2. *Perca lucioperca*.—3. *Perca undulata*.—4. *Perca alburnus*.—5. *Perca ocellata*.—6. *Perca nobilis*.—7. *Perca philadelphica*.—8. *Perca chrysoptera*.

Perch.

The *white* and *sea Perch*, as I am informed by fishermen, are so nearly alike, as to render it difficult to trace a difference. These are found in salt and fresh water ponds, coves and rivers: they are larger and deeper coloured than the red Perch, and their sides are as light as an alewife's.

Whiting.

The *Whiting* is a small but wholesome fish, a companion of the preceding—seldom seen.

Bass.

The *Bass* is a large scale fish, variable in its size from 10 to 60 pounds. They are striped with black, have bright scales and horned backs, and are caught about the coasts. They ascend into the fresh water to cast their spawn, in May or June, being lean afterwards and fat in the autumn. In June, 1807, there were taken at the mouth of the Kenduskeag, 7,000 of these fishes, which were of a large size—a shoal, either pursued up the river by sharks, or ascended in prospect of their prey, or to cast their spawn. Bass is good for food when fresh, but poor when salted. *Mungo Bass* is both smaller and much better fish;—fat and fine flavoured as a salmon. Its exterior is bright as an alewife, and is found in our interior lakes; one of them will weigh a pound.

Shiner.

The *Shiner* is very plenty in our fresh waters, where there are no pickerel:—also very small, being only about 4 or 5 inches in length, and weighing no more than 4 or 5 ounces. Its name is taken from the bright silver *shining* of its scales; and there are two or three varieties, one is like the minnow, another “the shad-shiner.”

Chub.

The *Chub* has fins like a sucker; is exceedingly well shapen, with a fan-tail, and its scales are as bright as polished silver. One of 5lbs. is 20 inches in length; it is eaten, though rather muddy and rank to the taste.

Bream.

The *Bream* is a scaled fresh water horn-back fish, five inches in length and of only 8 or 10 ounces in weight. The back is elliptical, crested with a back-fin, an inch and an half upwards; is as good to the taste as the perch and less bony: it is found plentifully in our ponds and mill-streams. In May or June, each pair will sweep round and form in the sand, a cavity, one or two feet in diameter, and 6 or 8 inches in depth, within which they cast their spawn.

Of *Pickereel** we have only one species; and of *Pike*, I am *Pickereel*. not informed, we have any in our waters.

The *Pickereel* is excellent for the table; one of a middle size will weigh 3lbs. and measure more than 18 inches in length. Its back is black, its belly white, and its sides are clouded with black and yellow. This species of fish, which is plenty in the Kennebec waters, was first brought to Penobscot, A. D. 1819, and put into Davis' pond, in Eddington, where they have increased surprisingly: but they devour the white perch, which is of as much, or more value, and their emigration has not received much welcome. Where they are plenty, they are speared and also caught with a hook.

The *Pout*† is found in almost all our fresh water ponds; it *Pout*. has nape-fins, on each of which are straight sharp horns an inch in length, which give great pain, when they perforate the flesh. The spawning season is in May, and the old one keeps the brood around her, as the hen does hers, and will as boldly fight for their safety. Pouts have five or six smellers, or feelers, jutting out from their under jaw, as large as wire and an inch in length; such as the hake and sturgeon have below their gills. Pouts are skinned when cooked, and eatable when baked.

The *Roach*,‡ though rather scarce, is found in fresh ponds, is *Roach*. pleasant for food, and one may weigh from 6 to 20 ounces. It is shaped much like a chub, with sides, belly and fins of a reddish tincture.

Of the *Salmon kind*§ we have three species, viz. 1. the *Salmon*, *Salmon*, 2. *Salmon Trout*, and 3. *Smelt*.

The *Salmon*, a most excellent fish, is now or has been caught in the Saco, Androscoggin, Kennebec, Penobscot and Machias rivers, into which they ascend from the salt water, in the spring and summer months, to cast their spawn in October. They then stay till the next May, when they return with their young to the sea; these are "the racers" so called. In the males is a substance, as hard and white as clear pork newly killed, which is easily distinguishable from the spawn of the females; but the

* *Esox lucius*.

† *Silurus Felis*.

‡ *Rubellio Fluvialis*.—Has been called the "water-sheep for its simplicity.

§ 1. *Salmo Salar*.—2. *Salmo Trutta*.—3. *Salmo Eperlanus*.

peculiar fellowship or connexion at the time of spawning remains unsolved. The circular spawn-mounts, formed of sand, are from 4 to 6 feet in diameter and 12 inches in height; and if any chub or other fish comes near, the Salmon will bite them to death and leave them. A Salmon weighs from 10 to 40 pounds.

Of this species, there are three varieties; the *black* Salmon, which is the smallest; the *hawkbill*, which is the largest and lightest coloured; and the *smoothnosed*, which is the fattest and best, with sides bright as an alewife.

Salmon
Trout.

The *Salmon Trout* are found in all our larger lakes and ponds, and are excellent for food: they often weigh from 15 to 20 pounds each, though they differ in size and appearances; and are more slim and less fat than the salmon; their sides are spotted with red and yellow.

Smelt.

The *Smelt* is a small salt and fresh water fish, from 4 to 8 inches in length, with brown back, light sides and belly, weighing 4 or 5 ounces; they are caught in abundance, after March, in our rivers; 20 barrels of them have been taken at the mouth of the Kenduskeag at a sweep, and sometimes they are worth no more than half a dollar by the bushel.

Shad.

We have no less than six, perhaps, seven species of the *Shad* tribe,* viz. 1. *Shad*, 2. *Alewife*, 3. *Herring*, 4. *Hardhead*, 5. *Bret*, and 6. *Manhaden*, and 7. *Atherine*.†

The *Shad*, taken in all our rivers,‡ till their spring-runs were checked by dams, are too well known to require a particular description. They are three years in coming to maturity, when they will weigh from 3 to 5 pounds. The *Alewife* is also very common.

Herrings.

Herrings§ are of various sizes, from 10 to 20 ounces in weight and are good for the table. They are scaled, finned and shaped like an alewife; their backs are of a bright green, and their sides and bellies lighter. They are caught plentifully along our coast, especially about *Herring-gut* and eastward. They are the best

* 1. *Clupea Alosa*.—2. *Clupea Serrata*.—3. *Clupea Harengus*.—4. *Clupea Dura Mystax*.—5. *Clupea Minima*?—6. *Clupea Menida*?

† *Atherine*. *Atherina*, may belong to another family.

‡ On the 2d of May, 1794, at the mouth of the Kenduskeag, (of the Penobscot,) were taken at one draft 1,000 shad and 30 barrels of alewives.

§ "Of all migrating fish the *Herring* and *Pilchard* take the most adventurous voyages."

of bait for codfish, and are so fat, before they spawn in August or September, that it is difficult to save them even with salt.

The *Hardhead* is shaped and finned like a shad, except that its head, which is smaller, looks like that of a perch. Its back is of a yellowish cast; it will in general weigh from one to three pounds, and is very fine flavoured. The *Hardhead* are mostly taken in salt water, with nets and wares and sometimes with hooks; though a few have been caught at the mouth of the Ken-duskeag and other fresh rivers.

*Manhaden** are likewise found mostly in salt water, though they are seen sometimes as high up in rivers, as where the fresh and salt water mix. One's head is almost as large as that of a shad, and is equal in size and weight to one third part of the whole fish; its length is from 8 to 12 inches; its weight from 1 to 2 pounds; its appearance is like that of a shad, except that its head is larger, itself shorter; its back is green, and its belly a light yellowish colour, like a hardhead. It is plentifully taken on our coast, and much used for bait to catch haddock, pollock, halibut, and mackerel; but too oily and strong for the table. This is, in grade, about the fourth family of fishes, put upon the table, and abundant in our waters.

Of the *Squalid* tribe† we may mention three species. 1. the *Squalid* Shark; 2. the *Dogfish*; and 3. the *Swordfish*. genus.

The *Shark*, among fishermen, is called the "maneater," "the *Shark*. shovel-nose," and "the swingle-tail;" these being varieties of the species. The latter is caught in our bays, though not often. Its length is from 4 to 14 feet, half of which is tail, perpendicularly flat, like a sword, tapering from the draught, where it is about 16 inches in circumference, to the end, and where it is only an inch in diameter, turning or curving downwards. Its mouth, head, and body, are like those of a dogfish. One of common size will weigh 150 pounds; yet one was caught eastward of Metinicus, in 1811, which was supposed to weigh more than 500 pounds.

The *Dogfish*, found only in salt water, is about 3 or 4 feet in length and weighs about 20 or 25 pounds. It has a peaked nose, and from its end, 3 inches back, is its mouth, very small, Dogfish.

* Vulgarly called "*pogeys*."

† 1. *Squalus Stellaris*.—2. *Squalus Acanthias*.—3. *Squalus Xiphius*.

resembling that of a sturgeon, but full of small sharp teeth with which it bites spitefully. Its back is not scaled, but so exceedingly rough as to be used by cabinet-makers to smooth their boards : and to educe the proverb, "as rough as the skin of a Dogfish." But the great peculiarity of this fish consists in that of procreation. It never spawns, but the female has often in its belly an hundred eggs at one time, to which severally are attached a young one, in a state of greater or less maturity. Its eggs are from the bigness of a pea to that of a partridge's egg ; and when the young are cast from the dam, one at a time, it is slim and more than half a foot in length and if one be cut out before entire maturity, and thrown into the water, it has been known to swim off with the broken egg hanging by a string two inches in length.

Swordfish. The *Swordfish* is not frequent, but has been seen off Mount Desert and other places, ten leagues at sea. Its whole length is about 8 or 10 feet ; it has two fins on the back, which are apt to be out of the water, as it usually swims near the surface. Its sword, from the point of its nose, is two feet long and so hard that the fish can wield it through the hull of a vessel.

Sticklers. Of the *Sticklers** we have two species ;—1. *Skip-jack*, and 2. *Stickle-back*.

Skip-jack. The *Skip-jack* is a scaled small salt water fish, good to eat, weighing from 10 to 16 ounces, and shaped like a pumpkin seed. It is only about an inch through, measured horizontally ; while its perpendicular depth is from 4 to 6 inches, and three fourths as much as its length.

Stickle-back. The body of the *Stickle-back* is broadest towards the tail ; the head is oblong, a fin covers the gills with three spines ; and prickles start backward, before the back fins and those of the draught.

Sturgeon. The *Sturgeon*† is commonly 6 or 8 feet in length and weighs from 20 to 30 pounds, though some have been caught which would weigh 200 pounds. It migrates from the salt water, during the spring, into almost all our rivers and returns in the autumn. It has a long head and prominent nose, beneath which it has a sucker-mouth without jaws or teeth. It has gills

* 1. *Gasterosteus Solatrix*.—2. *Gasterosteus Aculeatus*.

† *Acipenser sturio*.

shaped exactly like an officer's epaulett; and on its back to its tail, and on each side of the back, including the belly, there are in all, four rows of hard bony substances, pungent to the touch, like a grater. It frequently leaps from the rivers, to wash off the slime which gathers upon it in still water and hot weather.

The *Sculpion** is common about the mouths and salt water *Sculpion.* harbours of our rivers—is fond of fish-offal and the refuse of ship-cookery. Its length is from 12 to 14 inches; its head is ugly and large, and its mouth opens like that of a monkfish. About its gills and head it has horns, sharp and short; and near the gills it has also, on each side, two large wing-fins and a fin on the back, all which have horns half an inch in length, very sharp and poisonous to the flesh: when caught it will bristle up and make a dull hostile humming. From the lower extremity of the body, it falls off in shape very abruptly, and thence to the end of the tail is small and cylindrical, this part being the only one ever eatable.

The *Sunfish*† is a large ugly looking creature, sometimes weigh- *Sunfish.* ing 300 pounds, but never eaten. It is 6 feet in length, 30 inches in diameter, and very solid. It is not scaled; its exterior is rough as that of a dogfish and as thick as a sheepskin, beneath which is a substance all over the body, from one inch to an inch and an half in thickness, which is light, transparent and very elastic, so that when it is pared into balls, it will, on being thrust upon the floor, bound 40 or 50 feet. The oil of its liver is said to be good to cure the rheumatism.

The *Thornback*,‡ or *Cunner*, is a brown coloured, scaled *Thornback.* salt water fish, as large as a white perch, and is a good pan-fish. It has a horny, or thorned back, and is found in Casco bay and westward; and weighs from 1 to 6 pounds.

The *Toadfish*§ is an ugly shaped creature, about as large as a *Toadfish.* sculpion, and shaped somewhat like it; and is probably a member of the same family. It appears about the head and mouth like an old toad, with the addition of a coarse mossy beard; has a large potbelly and small tail: feeds on plaice, flounders, and other small fish, and is found in our salt water harbours.

The *Trout*,|| also, must be mentioned as a fish of our fresh *Trout.* waters, particularly those of the Androscoggin.

* *Cottus quadricornis.*

† *Clydopterus?*

‡ *Raja Fullonica.*

§ *Pisces rana.*

|| *Troeta.*

The warm blooded, or cetaceous mammillary inhabitants of our waters are three, the *Whale*,* the *Porpoise*,† and the *Seal*.‡ All these suckle their young.

Whale. *Whales*, two centuries ago, were common in our waters, when Capt. Smith fished for them about our great bays. Such as we now see, are the *Humpback*,§ which are the most common, being from 30 to 35 feet in length, severally yielding from 15 to 25 barrels of oil. The others, are the *Grampus* Whales, shorter, smaller, of less value and more frequently seen.

Black-fish. The *Black-fish*, is from 15 to 30 feet in length; from 10 to 12 feet in circumference; and shaped like a whale, and has a large fin upon the back. One of a common size will yield half a dozen barrels of oil. It is a warm blooded fish, resembling the whale. When harpooned, it has been seen to take its young under its fluke, and carry it down into the depths of water.

Porpoise. The *Porpoise* has always been common in our waters, and one of a middle size will weigh from 75 to 100 pounds, and measure from 5 to 7 feet in length. It has no gills; but receives air through a single nostril, or "puffer," which is between its eyes. Its outside is without scales and smooth as velvet. The liver and lights, which are like those of a swine, are the only parts usually eaten, though the savages, with stouter stomachs, do not stop there.

Seal. The *Seal*|| is found among the Islands and in the rivers of Maine, and was formerly very plenty. It has been taken at the head of tide-waters in the Penobscot; and seen as high up as the Grand-falls. It is an amphibious animal, with flukes like fore paws, and with webbed feet near its hinder extremity; its head, mouth and teeth are like those of a dog, its body is round and from 9 to 12 inches in diameter; it brings forth and suckles its young like a land animal, and seems designed to form the connecting link between the two kingdoms, as the bat connects those of the beast and bird.

* Cete Balaona?

† Thursio.

‡ Phoca.

§ 'The New-England whale has a hump on the back.'—*Goldsmith*.

|| Phoca. Vitulina.

SHELLFISH.

AMONG the numerous inhabitants of our waters, the *Shellfish* Shellfish. seem to be formed under an inverted law of nature; for they, contrary to other animals, have their bony parts outside and their muscles within. Of these we have two classes, which the naturalists call *crustaceous* and *testaceous*, or the *soft* and the *hard shelled*. Belonging to the *former** are,—1. the *Lobster*; 2. the *Crab*; 3. the *Shrimp*; and 4. the *Cray-fish*, which are of Hard and soft. the *Crab* kind; and 5. the *Tortoise*, whereof there are among us *three species*. Of those called *hard shelled*,† are, 1. the *Oysters*, 2. *Muscles*, 3. *Cockles*,‡ 4. *Limpets*, 5. *Sea-snails*:—*Clams* of several species, or rather several varieties, as, 6. *Sea*, 7. *Hog*, 8. *Razor-shell*, 9. *Long-shell*, and 10. *Land-shell*, *Clams*.

Lobsters generate in salt water. They have claws, feelers, Lobsters. and teeth. Like insects, their mouth opens the long way of the body; and like some plants, both sexes are in the same creature; also, if a joint of the claw be broken off, another will grow out. They propagate by spawn; and change their shell annually. *Lobsters* suit many palates;—on our coast they are plenty.

The *Crab* is less in size than the lobster, and though like Crab. flavoured to the taste, it is much less esteemed by epicureans. Of this creature, we reckon three varieties: the *sea Crab*, the *hermit*, and the *slender Crab*.

Of the *Shrimp*, owing to its smallness, little or no use is made, Shrimp. except for fishermen's bait. It is taken on our shores. It is shaped like a lobster.§

The *Crayfish*, or *Crawfish*|| differs so little from the lobster as Crawfish. to be called sometimes, the river lobster: since it will live comfortably in fresh water, whereas the lobster's element is the sea. The best of *Crawfish* are found in considerable quantities in Moosehead lake.

The *Tortoises* are all amphibious; “a land *Tortoise* will live Tortoise, and Turtle.

* 1. *Cancer Astacus*. 2. *Cancer Piscinus*.—3. *Cancer Squillus*.—4. *Cancer* ———. 5. *Testudo Denticulata*.—6. *Testudo Carolina*.—7. *Testudo* ———.

† 1. *Ostrea*.—2. *Mytilus edulis*.—3. *Nerita littoralis*.—4. *Patella fusca*.—5. *Matriculus*, or *Nautillus*.—6. *Holothuria*, *phantaphus*.—7. *Mya-arenaria*.—8. *Solen ensis*.—9. *Solen radiatis*.—10. *Sabella granulata*.

‡ *Cockles* look like a snail, and are found on the flats.

§ *A shrimp* has a tough skin but no shell.

|| *Cancer astagus*.

Tortoise,
and Turtle.

in the water, and a sea Turtle can be kept upon the land," yet they are divided into those of each element, where they prefer to stay. Our largest species is from the sea; it is sometimes made into soups, which are considered a treat, though it is a creature rarely taken in our waters. The *mud Turtle* and *speckled land Turtle* are too common to need description. But it is to be remarked of this animal, whatever be its size, that its scales or chequers on the back are always 13 in number: it has no teeth, its long jaws are more like knives, and when irritated it so fastens them upon its disturber, that the part seized is the tribute infallibly taken. It lives on vegetable food, seasoned and variegated with small insects. Its propagation is by eggs, which it lays in the sand, in large numbers, and which the genial warmth of the sun hatches. Tortoises, or turtles, like the frog, serpent, bat and swallow, lie torpid through the winter; yet it is ascertained their respiration is not wholly suspended, for in a close vessel without air, they in their torpor have been known to stifle, though not so soon as those in a state of vigour. They have been known to live a century, and not to die till several days after their head was cut off.

Oysters.

Oysters were originally plenty on our seaboard and on our salt water flats, as is fully evident from the great quantities of their shells seen remaining on the banks of Damariscotta river, St. George's river and in other places; yet they are quite scarce at the present period. They are a harmless and pleasant food, except about spawning time in May, and will live many weeks after being taken from the water. The spawn when cast, looks like candle-drops, fastens to every thing it touches, and in three days is covered with a shell, and in three years, the creature is large enough for market.

Muscles.

Muscles are innumerable in our salt waters; perhaps from these little creatures, the Muscle ridges took their name—a notable cluster of Islands at the mouth of the Penobscot bay. It is well known the muscle consists of two equal shells, joined at the back by a strong nervy ligament, forming a kind of hinge. It has a muscular fibre resembling a tongue, by which it can furrow the sand and make shifts to get along edgewise, till it reaches its object; and then, with a glewy substance which it possesses, it can fasten itself there. Muscles are taken to eat (if ever) be-

tween June and October. Like the Oyster, they are formed with the organs of life and respiration.

Clams, which, according to naturalists, belong, like muscles to *Clams*. the tri-valvular kind of shellfish, are plenty about our shores, and are often made an article of food, especially by the Indians. Of the three varieties mentioned, the one most peculiar is the *razor-shell*, or *pivot*, whose shape is like the haft of a razor, spotted *Pivot*. as a turtle-shell. All its motion consists in its ability to sink, or rise a foot down or up in the soft sand. There is a small funnel hole over the place where it buries itself, through which it breathes, or imbibes seawater. When the tide is out, a little salt put into the hole, will as it melts, induce it to rise above the ground half its length; it must be instantly seized, for it will not be drawn out any more the same tide.

“All oysters and most shellfish are found to contain *pearls** *Pearls*. larger or smaller.” They are formed of matter connected with the shell, which is soft at first and hardens rapidly, exhibiting successive coats, layer over layer, not unlike the consistence of the onion. The pearl-oyster however, as such, has a large strong white shell, of a silver colour within, and elegant pearly appearance.†



VERMES.

OF these, many might be mentioned which belong to both *Vermes*. elements, land and water; though they are not sufficiently known to be classified with much precision.

IN THE SEA—We find the *Horseshoe*, or *King-crab*,‡ of which there are three species; and all of them are small ill-shapen creatures inhabiting the salt water, and designed for the food of larger fish. The *Squid*, or *Cuttle-fish*§ is from 4 to 16 inches in length; its tail shaped like the top of a coffee-pot; its head is joined to its body by a kind of swivel, like that of a grasshopper, and it has a bill resembling that of a parrot. It has large smel-

* 1. M. de Buffon, p. 57. This is doubted.

† The other shell-fish found in our waters are the *nipple-fish*, *quahog*, *scallop*, *sea-spider*, and *perriwinkle*.

‡ *Monoculus Polyphemus* [one eyed-genus].—*Monoculus Piscinus*.—*Monoculus Pulex*.—*Monoculus Quodricornus*.

§ *Sephia Media*.—*Sephia Caligo*.

Vermes.

lers, or feelers ; its back is covered with spots which have in their appearance the colour of iron-rust ; and it possesses the singular power of changing its hue from an olive-brown to a dull white. Its flesh resembles, in its looks, beef tripe ; and it is well furnished by nature for self-defence or protection, for it possesses a jet black liquid, which, when alarmed, it squirts into the water, and with which it thus darkens it to such a degree as to screen itself from its pursuer. We find two species of this Cuttle-fish, as a Squid is sometimes called.

The *Sea-urchin** resembles a chesnut burr, its back is covered with bony prickles ; its mouth is underneath ; the number of its horns and spines are very great ; its shell is hard, and its movements very slow. The *Sea-egg*† has a great affinity to it.

Of the *Starfish*‡ we have three or four species ; each has a common centre resembling a wheel-hub, and from three to five branches like the fingers, in shape and colour of a man's hand ; and hence they are sometimes called "*Fingerfish*." The *Sea-lungs* are of like nature, only of different shape, taking their name from their appearance.

The *Barnacle*§ is much less than an oyster, and sticks fast to rocks and sometimes to the hulls of vessels : a cluster of them looks like a bunch of grapes. When the sea is calm, they will open the lids of their shells and seem to take a momentary look and then re-enclose themselves for a period of stupor.

ON LAND—We have two or three species of *Snails*,|| one is without any shell ; and that of the other is curious. They are propagated by eggs, and the young of the latter have shells on their first appearance. A *Slug*¶ is of the same nature.

We have among us, in summer, a variety of native *Worms*, a few of which we may mention, though they are seldom very troublesome. These are the *Grub* ;** the *Earthworm* ;†† the *Brandling* ;‡‡ the *Angleworm* ;§§ the *Glowworm* ;||| the *Earwig* ;¶¶ the *Millepedes*, or *thousand legs* ; *timber Worm* ; and others. These differ essentially from caterpillars ; for they continue to be worms

* *Erinaceus marinus*, or *whore's egg*.

† *Asterias-caput-medusa*.

‡ *Echinus*.

§ *Lepas anatifera*.

|| *Helix*.

¶ *Limax*.

** *Lumbricus*.

†† *Vermis terrostris*.

‡‡ ——— ?

§§ *Vermis piscatorius*.

||| *Cicindela*.

¶¶ *Forsicula aurelia*.

during life, whereas, all caterpillars pass a *chrysalis* state and at length become insects.

We find several species of *Leeches*,* common here. They live in fresh ponds, though they are amphibious and will live on land. The mouth of each one is armed with an instrument like the body of a pump; and the tongue, or fleshy nipple, is like the sucker—with this it draws blood.



REPTILES.

UNDER the name of *Reptiles*, we may mention three *families*; *Reptiles*. the *Frog*, the *Lizard*, and the *Snake*; which are not numerous in Maine, and generally harmless; all except the Rattlesnake being free of venom.

Of the *Frog kind*† are six species:—1. the *Toad*; 2. the *pond Frog*; 3. the *speckled Frog*; 4. the *tree Toad*; 5. the *bull Frog*; and 6. the *green Frog*.

This race lives about 10 or 12 years, and comes to maturity in four. It is propagated by eggs in spawn, impregnated by the male at the time they are cast; and a female will produce from 500 to 1000 eggs at a time. The young, which are tadpoles at first, have legs in 95 days, and ever afterwards live on those insects and worms only which have motion. They always jump to seize their prey, for they touch no lifeless insect. The tongue, as in the lizard and serpent, is extremely long, and lays its point down the throat. The male only croaks, and the music of this species has been ludicrously called the singing of “Dutch Nightingales.” The *Toad* is harmless, never venomous; always seeking obscure retreats for the sake of safety.

We sometimes see two species of the *Lizard kind*:‡ the *Newt*, or *brown Lizard*, and the *Swift*.—Of a compound form between a snake and a frog, they are in aspect exceedingly forbidding.

* *Hirudo*. † 1. *Rana bufo*.—2. *Rana ocelata*.—3. *Rana maculata*?—4. *Rana arborea*.—5. *Rana boans*.—6. *Rana esculanta*.

‡ 1. *Lacerta punctata*.—2. *Lacerta fuscata*.—N. B. The Crocodile is a species of this genus.

Reptiles.

Eight species of *Serpents** have been seen among us : viz. 1. the *Rattlesnake* ; 2 the *black Snake* ; 3. the *House* ; 4. the *Water* ; 5. the *little brown Snake* : 6. the *Adder* ; 7. the *green* and 8. the *striped Snake*.

Nothing need be said of either, so often are they seen and so entirely harmless are they all, except the *Rattlesnake*.

This creature is from 4 to 6 feet in length, and the venom it communicates when it bites is often mortal. Before it jumps to strike its prey, it gives a loud buzzing with a tremulous motion of the rattles on its tail, not unlike in sound, the singing of the locusts. In this way an alarm is taken and the danger avoided. They den in the winter, and lie torpid till spring. The first rattle grows when they are three years old ; to which another is added every year of their lives. Its wonderful ability to *charm*, or *fascinate* small animals, is too well attested at this day, to be any longer doubted.† Great numbers of the Rattlesnake have been taken on a hill of that name in Raymond, and in some other places in Maine ; but none have ever been seen east of Kennebeck river. The oil, or grease they yield is of great value for sprains ; and the slough, or shed-skin of these, or the others, when put into the ear, will make the head and the hearing extremely clear. The Rattlesnake is said to be the only creature found in the State which carries venom.



INSECTS.

Insects.

THE little animals usually called *Insects*, are those which have a joint, or swivel, in the middle of their bodies, and thus the fore and back parts are holden together by a strong ligament. No other order in nature, not all the plants themselves the earth produces, can bear any just comparison in numbers, with the innumerable myriads of *this Insect-creation*. Sometimes they are with us troublesome and destructive ; yet in general they are neither so large, greedy, nor numerous in this State as in southern latitudes. *Entomology*, which is truly a curious science, has

* 1. *Crotalus horridus*.—2. *Coluber constrictor*.—3. *Coluber punctatus*. 4. *Coluber fasciatus*.—5. *Coluber striatulus*.—6. *Coluber saureta*.—7. *Anguis eryx*.—8. *Coluber sipedon*, [Brown Snake.] sometimes seen.

† 2 *William's Hist of Vermont*, appendix No. IV. It is not found in Europe, Asia, nor Africa.

hitherto received too little attention from the scholars of our ^{Insects.} country : For what can be more interesting than the history of the bee, the ant, the butterfly and the spider ?*

All we can do here, is to classify a few of this innumerable race of mortals ; and we suppose those found in Maine, may be arranged under these *generic heads*, viz. 1. *Beetles* ; 2. *Chirpers* ; 3. *Bugs* ; 4. *Caterpillars* ; 5. *Butterflies* ; 6. *Bees* ; 7. *Ants* ; 8. *Spiders* ; and 9. *Flies* ; and still there are others, such as the *deathwatch*, the *mite* and the *father-long-legs*, which are not sufficiently known to be correctly classified.

The *Beetle* is a flying insect, furnished with a case which it draws over its wings, to secure them from injury whenever it is digging holes in the ground or in rotten wood. The whole race have a great aversion to roses ; and make a humming noise when on the wing.

Of the *Beetle* class,† 1. the *horned Beetle* has dark brown

* The Spider's web is considered a remedy for the Asthma, and possibly for the hydrophobia—taken in quantity, a scruple at a time.—*Dr. Thacker's Dispensatory*, p. 396—399.

BEETLES.

† 1. *Scarabaeus* Simson.—2. *Scarabaeus* Carolinus.—3. *Scarabaeus* Stercorarius.—4. *Scarabaeus* Horticola.—5. *Scarabaeus* Lanigerus ?—6. *Scarabaeus* Ahineus ?—7. *Lucanus* Cervus.—8. *Lucanus* Interruptus.

Meloe Proscarabaeus ; *Oile Beetle*.—*Dermestes* Lardarius ; *Bacon Beetle*.—*Dermestes* Typographus ; *Print Beetle*.—*Gyrinus* natalor ; *Water flea*.—*Dytiscus* piceus ; *Water Beetle*.—*Selpha* vespillo ; *Fetid Beetle*.—*Coccinella* ; *Lady-fly*, *Lady Cow*, (or *Lady Bird*.)—*Bruchus* pisi ; *Weevil*.—*Curculio* quircus ; *Snouted Weevil*.—*Cerambyx* Coriarius ; *Capricorn Beetle* or *Goat Chaffer*.—*Lampyris* Lucida ; *Firefly* or *Lightning bug*.—*Buprestis* mariana ; *Cantharides*, or *Burn Cow*.—*Moleo* nigra ; *Blossom eater*.—*Fornicula* ; *Earwig*.—*Blatta* ; *Mill beetle*.—*Staphylinus* ; several species, *black*, *blue*, or *striped beetle*, &c.—*Cassida* ; *Shield beetle*.

CHIRPERS.

Gryllus ; *Cricket*, *House cricket*.—*Gryllus* Gryllotalpa ; *Mole Cricket*.—*Gryllus* Aquaticus. *Water Cricket*.—*Locusta* ; *Locust*.—*Cicada* ; *Grasshopper*, several species.—*Cicada* ; *Balm Cricket*.

BUGS.

Cinex ; *Bugs of several species*.—*Chermes* ; *Bugs on plants and trees*.—*Aphis* ; *Louse on plants and leaves*.

CATERPILLARS.

Campe ; Naturalist suppose there are as many species of *Caterpillars* as there are plants, each feeding on its favourite one.

wings and horns, turning in towards each other; sometimes vulgarly called the horn-bug: 2. the *Carolina*; 3. the *Dung-hill*; 4. *Apple*; 5. *Golden*; and 6. *brass Beetles*, are all of one genus; and 7. the *Stag*, and 8. the *fluted Beetle*, belong to another. The stag Beetle is the largest of the whole race among us, has six feet, coral coloured horns, and is more than an inch in length.

Of the *chirping* race, are the *Locusts* and *Crickets*, which are never numerous and always harmless. In dry seasons, the *Grasshoppers* however, often appear in great multitudes, and are the greedy destroyers of the half-parched herbage. This was particularly the case in the years 1743 and 1756, when they threatened to destroy every thing green.

With *Bugs*, *Lice*, and *Worms*, on trees and plants, the husbandman is oftentimes seriously troubled, especially in gardens. Our wheat and pea fields have been injured by a devouring *Maggot*;* and, in the war upon these kinds of voracious crea-

BUTTERFLIES.

Papilio magnus; *Great Butterfly*.—*Papilio Communis*; *Common Butterfly*.—*Sphinx*: *Burnet Moth*, and other species.—*Phalaena*.—*Night Flutterer*, or *Miller*.

BEEES.

Apis; two species, *Bumble* and *Wild Bee*: (The white-head Bumble [Humble] Bee carries no sting.)—*Vespa*; *Wasp*; of which there are three species, *black*, *yellow* and *blue*.—*Vespa Crabo*; *Hornet*.

ANTS.

Formica; the *Ant*; of which there are several species, as the *great Pismire*, the *small*, *yellow*, and *black Emmets*.

SPIDERS.

Aranea; *Spider*; several species, such as *black*, *gray*, *wandering*, *garden*, *water*, *jumping*, *rose Spiders*.—Linnæus takes notice of only six Spiders; 1. the greatest; 2. the house; 3. the bag-bearing; 4. the water; 5. the bud Spiders; and 6. the *Tarantula*; But in this he is evidently too limited.

FLIES.

Oestrus; *Ox-Gadfly*, (size of a common bee.)—*Lytta bittata*; *Potato fly*, (looks like a Spanish Fly.)—*Notonecta*; *Waterfly*.—*Libellula*; *Dragonfly*, or *Horse-stinger*.—*Cynids*; *Oakapple Fly*.—*Tenthredo betulae*; *Saw Fly*.—*Musca*; *black*, and *brown Fly*.—*Tabanus*; *Horsefly*.—*Conops citrans*; *Stinging fly*.—*Culex pipiens*, *Musquito*.—*Pulex*; a *Flea*.—*Podura nivalis*; a *Snow Flea*.—Linnæus mentions more than thirty species of *Fies*, many of which are unknown in this State.

* At maturity, it has been called the *Hessian fly*.

tures, different expedients have been adopted to kill or check ^{Insects.} them. It has been said, that soaking the seed intended for sowing, or planting, in copperas water, or lime water, will be of much service.

Butterflies, especially in the eastern parts of Maine, are not numerous; and, of course, we may infer as to the countless tribe of *Caterpillars* noticed by Linnæus, which become *Butterflies* and other insects, the numbers among us are not great. One kind of *Caterpillar*, has done our orchards in some seasons, great damage. This lays its eggs in the branches of the trees, early in the spring, from which are hatched a black insect called the *Canker-worm*, about an inch in length. Such are sometimes the troops of these ravagers, that by the 21st of June, when they disappear, they give the trees the appearance of having been stripped of their foliage by fire. They do not come every year; and their ascent is prevented by girdling the trees with tar.

It is doubted if the *Honey-bee* is a native of this State, or of North-America. Joscelyn supposes hives of them were introduced into this country from Europe. They flourish exceedingly well amongst us; and a bee-master is able to tell curious and entertaining stories, equally about their propagation, industry, and self-government.

The *Humblebee*, the *Hornet*, the *black* and *yellow Wasps*, are indigenous; and seem to brave our cold winters without many fatal losses in their respective families.

Of the *Fly class*, the *black Fly* and the *Musquito* are the most troublesome. The former by day, and the latter by night, especially near the borders of our woods, come forth in great numbers to sate their greedy appetite, by extracts from the human body.

NOTE.—Naturalists say, as to the fecundity of animal nature, that in a year, a common fly will lay 144 eggs; a spider 170; a moth 1000; a frog or a tortoise 1000; a shrimp 6,000; a lobster 10,000; and a crab 100,000. So in different kinds of fish, there have been found in the milt of a hering, or a smelt, 35,000; in a roach 100,000; in a carp, a perch, or a mackerel, 300,000; in a flounder 100,000 and more:—and two naturalists have computed that a codfish produces 9,000,000 of eggs in a single season.

SECTION VI.

MINERALS.

Minerals in
in general.

IN the mineral, as well as in the animal and vegetable departments of nature, are noticed the most evident impresses and traces of the Divine wisdom, power and goodness. Around us and under our feet, are various qualities of matter, which are, by discriminating knowledge and skilful management, wrought into articles of most extensive use and exquisite beauty. If, therefore, we were well acquainted with what is placed within our immediate control or observation, as the resources of our own State; we should probably find far less occasion to visit other countries, for obtaining what is either useful or curious.

The object of the present Section is to give a short account of the *Minerals** found in this State—the science of which is highly interesting and important; for it deals in materials near at hand, worthy of research and examination, and fraught with great benefits to the mechanic arts, and consequently to common life.

Kinds of
Rocks.

According to *geologists*, we may mention as among us, *eight* kinds of Rocks,† viz. *Granite*, *Gneiss*, and *Mica-slate*, which are primitive Rocks; *Argillite*, *Limestone* and *Greenstone*, which occur in primitive, transition and secondary Rocks; *Gray-wacke* and *Sandstone*, the one of which is transition and the other secondary rocks. These two, however, are rarely found in this State.

Granite.

1. *Granite*, composed of feldspar, quartz and mica, is in its structure granular, and its usual colour is gray. It is a very valuable and handsome building stone; and in Bowdoinham the *graphic* variety is peculiarly beautiful.

Gneiss.

2. The *Gneiss* is constituted of the same minerals as the granite; though the former has less feldspar and more mica than the latter. Its structure is slaty, its colours more delicate than those of the granite, and is more easily split into regular-formed masses. Mountains of it are more rounded and less steep.

* Shells and other organic substances petrified are called *Fossils*.

† The ancients supposed the exterior of the globe, was a *fluid*; and transferred the idea of water *crystalized* to ice—to *primitive* rocks which are *below* all others and are more or less *crystalline*. *Secondary* rocks were evidently formed afterwards as they often exhibit marine shells, and other petrifications.

3. *Mica-slate* is composed essentially of mica and quartz, the *Mica-slate*. former of which usually predominates. Of course it exhibits a bluish-gray hue, and in the sunbeams reflects a dazzling lustre. It is not plenty like the other two, and when all occur together, it is uppermost, and in point of originality supposed therefore to be secondary rock.

4. *Argillite* covers all three when they occur together; and *Argillite*. its colour and formation are both slaty. It never possesses a chrystalline structure. It is used, when sufficiently soft, for writing-slates, and also for roof-slatting when it splits well. It is found on the banks of the Kennebec river at Winslow and Waterville.

5. *Limestone* is a mineral rock which abounds in this State, *Limestone*. at Thomaston, and will be hereafter described.

6. *Greenstone* is composed of hornblende and feldspar, either *Greenstone* in grains or small chrystals; and, because the hornblende predominates, it assumes a *greenish tinge*. It is sometimes so very hard and fine grained as to admit of a beautiful polish.

Upon the mountains about the heads of Kennebec river, the *Greenstone* presents itself in prisms of several sides and straight edges, and an aspect not unlike bricks standing endwise. In Harpswell it is found to contain numerous balls, or globules, apparently of garnet, as large as bullets, and easily separated from the mass. *Greenstone*, when a secondary rock, is observed to be in detached masses, abounding or marked with fossils. It occurs on the height of land between the Kennebec and Penobscot, and also at Belfast and Brownville. This may be useful in building, and when pulverized, it may be employed to form a water-proof mortar for cellars, docks, and piers.

Besides these various kinds of rocks, a large portion of the earth's crust is constituted of *Alluvial Deposites*, in which are *Alluvial Deposites*. found clay, sand, gravel, pebbles, fragments of rocks, loam, coal, bog-ore, intermixed with organic remains, shells, bones, and even trunks of trees. Among these have appeared precious stones and precious metals, which through their hardness were found little affected by attrition. *Alluvial* appearances are very manifest in many places, upon the banks of the Androscoggin and Kennebec, and particularly in Pittston.

Mines and
Minerals.

Minerals,* are inorganic substances as they naturally exist; and large quantities of them are commonly called *Mines*. Such of each as are found among us, are now to be mentioned; according as they have been arranged by *Mineralogists*, and made to submit to a fourfold classification, and subordinate orders, genera and species. They class minerals according as they partake *materially* of an ACID—an EARTHY—a COMBUSTIBLE—or a METALLIC—*ingredient* or *integral* property.

The Classi-
fication.

1st CLASS.

The *first Class* embraces the different *Acids*; also the *Alkalis*—Ammonia, Potash, and Soda; and the five *primitive Earths*—Barytes, Strontian, Lime, Magnesia, and Allumine.—But we have to remark only upon *Lime* and its species; for we have no native beds, or mines of the others; nor of common Salt; nor of Nitre, or Saltpetre, so necessary in medicine, in chemistry, in the manufacture of gunpowder, and in the cure of the heavy meats. A spontaneous production of Nitre might however be easily effected, by artificial layers of earth in a dry atmospheric air, with animal or vegetable substances embedded in a state of decomposition.†

Lime.
Apatite.
Gypsum.

Of *Lime*, a primitive earth, there are several species. *Apatite*, in pale green crystals, is found in Topsham, disseminated in granite; and *Gypsum*, or plaster, has been found and extensively used by husbandmen, in manuring their grounds.‡ It is imported in large quantities from Nova-Scotia for that purpose.

Limestones

Limestone is abundant in this State, especially in Thomaston and Camden, and also in Brunswick, and on Johnson's mountains. Like all the stratified rocks in the vicinity, its general direction is from southwest to northeast, and inclined at an angle of 45°. This mineral is both foliated and granular; the grains are sometimes very fine and compact; and if whole, the mass resembles leaf sugar. It is commonly white or gray, shaded often with blue, green or yellow. It is found in large masses,

* In compiling this section, a particular acknowledgment is due to PARKER CLEVELAND, Esq., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Lecturer on Chemistry and Mineralogy in Bowdoin College, and to his excellent *Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology*.

† There were once, *Salt works*, on the Isle of Shoals.

‡ Its action on the soil and the plant, is not satisfactorily explained; when put on a piece of earthen near the vegetable, its effect has been the same as when laid on the ground at its root.

and usually in primitive rocks. It occurs with hornblende, mica, and quartz, and sometimes gneiss. When burnt into Lime, it is in great demand for plastering rooms. Thomaston lime commands a higher price and quicker market than that of Camden, owing probably to a superiour granular fineness, in the rock of the former place.

The *Marble* is exceedingly fine grained, its predominant colour is a grayish, or bluish-white, diversified with veins of a different colour, enlivened by silver clouds or deepened with blue shades, and exhibits the beauties of a well finished engraving. It receives an exquisitely fine polish, and is already used extensively for gravestones, for the tabulars of side boards, for chimney pieces and other ornamental works.

‘In 1809—10, Col. William Dwight built, in Thomaston, a mill for sawing blocks of lime-rock into slabs for the manufacturer’s use. Another mill was afterwards erected, and in them about 200 saws are kept constantly going; 10 or 12 hands are employed in the works, and between 4 and 5,000 feet of marble are annually prepared for market.*

The *second Class* of Minerals, which embraces principally curious *Stones* and *Clays*, exhibits a greater list than all the three others.

A little *Cyanite* has been found at Brunswick, in primitive rocks, crystalized and in a prismatic form. It scratches glass, is sometimes transparent; its colour ranges between sky and Prussian blue, and its lustre is pearly.

Staurotide occurs abundantly, in mica-slate, at Winthrop, and is also an inhabitant of Sidney and Hallowell. It is hard, though it will not strike fire with steel. Its integral parts are prismatic crystals, either opaque or pellucid; its colour is a reddish brown, and its lustre somewhat shining.

Quartz is a celebrated mineral, common in this State. It appears in amorphous or indefinite masses, as well as in beautiful crystals. It scratches glass, elicits sparks with steel, is not quite so hard as flint, and in its varieties exhibits itself differently. Sometimes it is limpid as “Rock Crystal” and transparent as the purest glass; or *smoky* and *rose-red*, both of which have

* Limestone is found in Buckfield, Foxcroft, &c.

been found in Topsham, and the Amethyst, which is violet-blue. Quartz is used for watch seals and ornamental jewelry.

Flint. Few minerals are better known and more necessary, especially in time of war, than *Flint*: for, though it is employed in the manufacture of glass and porcelain, its greatest use is in the locks of firearms. It has been found in beds of chalk, and even limestone; but Mount Kineo, on the eastern margin of Moosehead lake is said to be composed entirely of massy flint. It is found also in Orono. So easily are gun flints made in England and France, by hammering and striking the broken pieces with repeated small blows upon the edge of a chisel, that a skilful artisan will give to 300 a finished form in one day.

Hornstone. *Hornstone* is a rare mineral; a little mass was found near Belfast; also in Topsham. It is not so hard as quartz; its colour is a dull-white, shaded, or clouded with blue, green, or yellow. When thin, it exhibits transparent curves, like horns, and thence assumes its name.

Basanite. Some rolled pieces of *Basanite*, a species of the Silicious Slate, have been found on the banks of the Androscoggin, black, and as hard as quartz. It ranks among the best touchstones to test the purity of gold.

Mica. *Mica*, [commonly called Isinglass,*] appears in thin, flexible, elastic laminæ, or leaves, with high polish, and glassy lustre. Dr. Belknap mentions its abounding appearance in Grafton, N. H.;† and it is seen in different parts of Maine.‡ Anciently it was much used for window glass, particularly in war-ships, as being proof in the discharge of cannon.

Schorl. Common *Schorl* in this State, is abundant, especially in Hallowell, Gardiner, Bowdoinham, Litchfield, and Parker's Island. It appears in long prismatic crystals, scratches glass, is very brittle, and exhibits a shining velvet-black. It is often transparent, especially at the edges.

Andalusite. A specimen of *Andalusite* was found in Readfield; its colours vary between red and brown.

Fel'spar. *Feldspar*, which is an important mineral, is nearly as hard as quartz, and its structure is distinctly foliated. When in crystal

* *Acipenser Sturio*—*Ichthyocola*.—*Dr. Thacher*.

† His Hist. of New Hampshire, 3d vol. p. 111.

‡ In Rumford, Paris, and Topsham.

masses, it may be easily divided at natural joints. Only that of an apple-green colour has been found in this State.

Axestone took its name from the circumstance of being used ^{Axestone.} by the natives in lieu of iron, for edge-tools, such as axes, chisels and gouges : several of these articles are in my possession. The fracture of the mineral is somewhat splintery ; and its colour is of a greenish hue, but it is opaque and hard as quartz.

Several *Emeralds* have been found in Topsham and Paris, ^{Emeralds.} which in the lively and beautiful green they exhibit, are almost equal to the finest Peruvian. They are exceedingly pleasing to the eye, and when set in gold, form the richest jewels.

Of the same rich and beautiful family, is the *Beryl* ; found in ^{Beryl.} coarse grained granite, in and between the towns of Bath and North-Yarmouth. Its crystals are large and its green paler than the precious emerald. It exhibits hexedral transparent prisms, perfectly resembling the Siberian Beryl.

At Topsham have been found both the precious and common ^{Garnet.} *Garnet* ;* its crystals are variable from the size of a pin-head to that of an apple ; and in colour, varies from an opaque reddish-brown, to a pellucid lively red.

Two varieties of *Epidote* occur upon the banks of the An- ^{Epidote.} droscoggin ; it is commonly granular, sometimes crystalline : and frequently found in primitive rocks ; it is some shade of green, and as hard as quartz. This is a rare stone.

Hornblende is frequently found ; two varieties of which occur ^{Hornblende} in Brunswick, contiguous to a bed of primitive lime-stone. With difficulty it gives a few sparks with steel ; and its prevailing colours are black and green, frequently intermixed.

The *Macle*, a curious mineral is found in small quantities at ^{The Macle.} Georgetown and Brunswick. It occurs in chrystals, whose forms are four-sided prisms, with natural cracks or joints. Its colour is either gray or white, shaded with green or red. It is not so hard as quartz.

But *Talc* is altogether softer than any of the preceding, and ^{Talc.} may be scratched with the finger-nail. Rubbed on cloth, it leaves a whitish trace which is often pearly. Its prevailing colours are apple-green and silver-white with intermediate shades ;

*The Carbuncle of the Ancients was probably a Garnet.—*Cleveland.* Garnet is found in Bath, Brunswick, New-Gloucester, and Paris.—*Robinson.*

as a specimen of it found in Brunswick appears. It may be used as chalk.

Chlorite. Common *Chlorite* is considerably harder, and may be formed into inkstands; the old Indians used it to make their pipes, though it reluctantly yields to the knife. Its colour is a shade of green. It is found in veins or cavities of feldspar.

Slate. *Slate* appears to be the result of decomposition, for it never possesses so much as a chrystalline structure. Its uses and appearances are well known. It is found on the branches of the Kennebec, at Houlton, at Williamsburgh, at the Grand falls of the river Penobscot,* and other places.

CLAYS. Our Clays are common and various; they have been arranged into twelve varieties.

Potter's Clay. One is *potter's clay*, whose colour is grayish-white, shaded with blue, green, or yellow. It is smooth, a little unctuous to the touch, and when moistened, forms a ductile tenaceous paste, called "long paste;" and the purest of this clay is called "*pipe clay*."

Loam. *Loam* is only potter's clay mingled with sand and the oxide, or rust of iron, and, perhaps, the carbonate of lime. Mixed with particles of decomposed, or rotted vegetables, it is denominated *Mould*. Both of these are found abundantly with us.

Clay articles. Domestic vessels and other articles are moulded of Clay; and when washed and made into paste, and baked, they are enamelled, or glazed, to preserve them from soiling, or absorbing the inward liquid. But the oxide, or rust of lead with which this glazing is done, is often perilous to health; because acids and oils easily act upon it, to poison the contents of the vessels, such as porcelain, stone-ware, common earthen-ware and crucibles. Stone-ware, however, is formed of pipe-clay and pulverized flint intermixed. A great manufacture, particularly of bricks, tiles, and some earthen-ware, has been long and successfully pursued in this State.

Fuller's earth. *Fuller's earth*, another variety of Clay, is a very useful ingredient in fulling cloth, as it thoroughly cleanses it of all grease. It is easily diffused in water without forming a paste. It occurs in Newfield, in veins, twenty feet below the surface of the earth.

* J. Bennock, Esq. produced to me a mineral, soft as Talc, in globular forms, large as bullets and pigeon's eggs, of a dull white colour, tinged with yellow—and each one appears to have been perforated.

Umber is of a brown colour, with a lively tinge of yellow. *Umber*. Its texture is fine and compact, feels dry, and receives a polish from the finger. When heated it becomes reddish.* The natives paint with this; and a quantity was found in Bangor, buried with an Indian's spears, and other implements of flint and axe-stone. By way of experiment, it was used as paint, and exhibited a lively red, of a shade between vermilion and Spanish-brown.

The *third Class* embraces such minerals as are susceptible of ^{3d CLASS.} *combustion*. They are seldom crystallized, and in their specific ^{COMBUSTI-} ^{BLES.} gravity, they are light.

The species to be mentioned are only four,—*Anthracite*, *Graphite*, *Coal*, and *Peat*; and hitherto these have been found among us in small quantities. *Anthracite* occurs at Hebron and Thomaston, entirely opaque and grayish-black, strongly resembling coal, though harder and heavier. It burns slowly without flame, smoke or odour. *Graphite* is found at Bath, Gorham, Paris, and Freeport, in granite; at Brunswick, in limestone; and alluvial, on the banks of the Androscoggin. It consists of minute grains, is nearly iron-black, and is easily scraped with a knife. Pulverized, mixed with oil, and applied to stoves, it secures them from rust and gives them a gloss; and compounded with clay, it is formed into the best crucibles: The purest kind is manufactured into lead pencils. *Coal* and *Peat*, though ^{Coal,} ^{Peat,} supposed to be abundant in our swamps and bogs, have not yet been the objects of much search, inasmuch as they have not been needed for fuel.

The *fourth Class* embraces *metallic substances*, or *Ores*,† of ^{4th CLASS.} ^{METALS.} which, few species have been yet discovered among us.

A species of *Copper* has been found at Brunswick—a metal ^{Copper.} highly useful in ship building and brass foundries, as well as in forming a very necessary and convenient currency. Alloyed with zinc, it becomes *brass* and *pinchbeck*; and compounded with tin it is the principal ingredient of *bronze*. The oxides

* Red Ochre is found in large quantities on the west branch of Penobscot, Pleasant river, and in Buckfield.

† A mineral spring, 16 miles from Stillwater, on and near the Bennock road, has been discovered; it is evidently impregnated with iron.

and salts of copper are quite poisonous, and therefore vessels made of that metal ought not to be used in kitchen cookery.

Iron. *Iron* is the hardest, the most common and useful, of all the metals. Different species of it have been found at Hallowell and Winthrop: and the native magnet, or loadstone, has occurred, it is said, at Topsham. The magnetic oxide of iron, found at Paris, Clinton, Sunkhaze, and Buckfield, yields the best bar-iron—the ore from which the Swedish iron, so much esteemed, is forged.

Bog-ore. *Bog-ore* is not rare among us, in low grounds, and will produce $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. of cast iron.

Lead. One species of *Lead* has been found at Topsham and Exeter; it is a mineral much used: but it is unsuitable for aqueducts; for when constantly wet, or moist, it is gradually oxidated and poisons the water.

Molybdena. *Molybdena* is silver-white, brittle, and so hard as to be melted with difficulty in a furnace. Specimens of it occur on the banks of the Androscoggin.

Although the precious metals were among the principal objects of the first voyagers to this country; it is certain neither gold nor silver has been discovered in this State; nor yet mercury, tin, zinc, nor platina. Indeed, no minerals have been extensively wrought among us, except the limestone.

NOTE.—According to the treatise on *American Minerals and their Localities* by SAMUEL ROBINSON, M. D., there has been found at Phippsburg, *Chalcedony*; at Belfast and on the Penobscot, *Jasper*; at Paris, *Rubellite*, *Lepidulite*, of great beauty, and *Tourmaline*, green and blue; and at Rumford, *yellow Ochre*.

HISTORY OF MAINE.



CHAPTER I.

The Spaniards, English and French in America—Gosnold's and Pring's Voyages—The claims of the English and French—Patent of Acadia to de Monts—His visit to Port-Royal, Passamaquoddy and Penobscot—Weymouth's View of Penobscot and other places—North and South-Virginia Patent and Council—Chalon's and Hanham's Voyages—The Settlement of a Colony attempted at Sagadahoc—The Government—Intercourse with the Natives—Difficulties with them—Disasters—The Colonists return to England.

At the close of the 16th century, the northern coasts of the A. D. 1600 American continent, had become generally known to the nations of Europe ; several parts having been frequently visited for the purposes of discovery, fishing and traffic ; and attempts made at a few places, to establish settlements. Newfoundland, about this time, was attracting particular notice. Its surrounding waters, were already, in a single season, visited by three or four hundred fishing vessels, under English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese flags ; and on the shores were seen more than one hundred habitations, or stages, constructed for the accommodation of Fishermen.*

Newfoundland Fishery.

The Spaniards had selected the region about and below the equator ; and were acquiring rich and extensive possessions in those parts of the hemisphere. Its northern sections very early attracted the attention of the French ; and their adventurers had long since explored the St. Lawrence, and taken formal possession of its borders. Yet the project of forming permanent settlements upon its banks, which had been delayed fifty years,

The Spanish, French and English Adventurers.

* These were not permanent settlements: the first birth on the Island, of European parents, was March 27, 1613.—*Prince's Annals*, p. 37.

A. D. 1600. by the civil wars, appeared, at this period, merely to be reviving. Certainly that people had hitherto done nothing more, than to engross its lucrative trade, and make extensive claims to its territory. The intermediate Latitudes presented strong invitations to British enterprize; several Englishmen, influenced by hopes of discovery, and motives of gain had been already concerned in expensive voyages hither; and some of them, particularly Sir Walter Raleigh, having been assiduously labouring for several years, to plant a Colony in the vicinity of Chesapeake-bay. But this and all the other efforts and expeditions were productive of no considerable benefits to the adventurers, nor lasting good to their country; otherwise than being promotive of the political establishments which have since risen into independent States. For, as a correct writer says, though "110 years had elapsed since the new world had been known to the old;" and though a few emigrant fishermen had a temporary residence at Newfoundland; "neither the French, the Dutch, the English, nor any but Spaniards had made the smallest effectual settlements in the new-discovered regions."*

No Colonies
in N. America.

The geography of the
Country unknown.

All knowledge of the interior country, its geography and resources was exceedingly limited; and all acquaintance with its bays, inlets, shores, rivers and highlands, was quite imperfect. The best charts, then extant, were rude sketches of the coasts and harbours; and few men were bold enough to explore a land clothed with heavy forests, and filled with ignorant savages. Therefore in compiling the History of this State, it is necessary to commence among the shades of nature; and thence trace the progress of that improvement, which has gradually laid deep and strong the foundations of our present liberty and prosperity. —In the several adventures and voyages, to this Continent, we find no account of any one, who visited the waters or shores of Maine, before A. D. 1602.

B. Gosnold's
Voyage,
1602.

Bartholomew Gosnold, an English navigator, of skill and experience, who had previously crossed the Atlantic in the usual route, by the Canaries and the West-Indies, entertained a belief, that a course direct from England was practicable, and would probably shorten the distance an hundred leagues, Furnished

* *Prince's Annals*, p. 1, 2, 5, 11.—Canada and Nova Scotia, were under the English crown till A. D. 1600; when the French did possess themselves of L'acadia.—1 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 232—3d series.

with a small bark to try the experiment, he sailed from Falmouth, A. D. 1602. March 26th, 1602, attended by 32 persons, of whom eight only were mariners; and proceeding west by the compass, as directly as the winds would permit, made land, May 4th, at or about the 43d degree of north latitude. It is not fully ascertained what land he first discovered.—It might have been Mount Desert or Agamenticus; for a skilful navigator, three years afterwards, found that Capt. Gosnold had marked places in this region, at half a degree below the true latitude; and it is certain that the central Isle of Shoals, which is in lat. 42° 29 *—is south of the land he first saw. ‘Meeting with a shallop of European fabric, in which were eight savages, and seeing one of them dressed in European clothes, Gosnold and his associates were led to conclude, that some unfortunate fishermen of Biscay, or Brittany, had been wrecked on the coast.’ They immediately sailed to the southerly side of Cape Cod; and on the 18th of June, re-embarked for England.†

But though we have doubts, whether Gosnold ever saw any lands of ours; it is certain our shores were actually visited the following year, by another voyager, *Martin Pring*. Through the influence and generosity of the city-officers and several merchants of Bristol, in England, Richard Hackluyt, Prebendary of St. Augustine Church, Robert Aldsworth, and others; £1000 sterling were raised, and two vessels procured, equipped and victualled for a western voyage of eight months. The *Speedwell*, one of them, a ship of 50 tons, with a crew of 30 men and boys, was commanded by Pring himself. The master of the other, a bark of 26 tons, called the *Discoverer*, carrying 13 men and a boy, was William Browne; and Robert Salterns, who had attended Gosnold to America three years before, was appointed supercargo, or principal agent of the expedition. The adventurers were furnished with various kinds of clothing, hardwares,

Martin Pring's Voyage, 1603.

* 7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 243.—Weymouth, in 1608, found the chart of this coast “erroneous.”

† 5 *Purchas*, p. 1647, 1651.—Gosnold was afterwards one of the Council in Virginia, where he died, Aug. 22, 1607.—*Purchas*, 1690.—Capt. Smith, [in his *Hist.* p. 18.] says, Robert Salterns was Gosnold's pilot.—1 *Belknap's Biog.* p. 231—239;—corrected, 2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 100—123.—1 *Holmes' Ann.* p. 142. n. 3, 4.

A. D. 1603, and trinkets, for the purpose of trading with the Natives, and procuring a cargo of sassafras* and furs.

Penobscot
bay and
Fox Islands.

The two vessels left Milford-Haven, April 10, 1603, a few days after the death of queen Elizabeth; and, passing in sight of the Azores, fell in with the American coast, June 7th, between the 43d and 44th degrees of north latitude, among a multitude of Islands, in the waters since called *Penobscot bay*.† Pring and his companions were highly pleased with the view they had of “a high country full of great woods;” and happy to find good mooring and fishing among the Islands. Upon one of these, they saw silver gray *foxes*; whose name they gave to the whole cluster,‡ the principal of which are the north and south Fox-Islands,§ The cod and haddock, which they took in great plenty, were esteemed by them superior to those usually taken at Newfoundland.

Saco, Ken-
nebunk,
York, and
Piscataqua
rivers.

From this place, they sailed along the coast, southerly; and passing the Islands of Casco bay, entered the mouth of a river, over a bar, probably the Saco,|| which they ascended, in a good depth of water, about two leagues. They proceeded next, to visit the other two nearest inlets, which must have been the rivers Kennebunk and York; but these, the Narrator says, they “did not pierce so far into the land.” The westerly one, [evidently the Piscataqua,] they found to be the most important of the four; and a party of them examined its channel for three or four leagues.

They made particular mention of “the very goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts” seen by them. But being unable to procure sassafras, or to find any of the natives with whom to traffic; and concluding from the appearances of recent fires, and the vestiges of habitations, that they must have lately gone from the shores, and might not soon return, Pring and Browne sailed to places farther southward; and, leaving the coast in August, carried home valuable cargoes, and among other curiosities,

* *Sassafras* principally; (1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 146,)—for it was esteemed highly medicinal, and celebrated as a sovereign remedy for the plague, the strangury, the stone, the scurvy and other maladies. One of Gosnold's men had been cured by it in 12 hours, of a surfeit, occasioned by excessively eating of dogfish, then considered a delicious dish.—2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 126—7. Also the Voyage of Carter to Canada.—1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 176. in note (*). † Called by the French “*Pentagoet*.”

‡ 2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 125.

§ Incorporated June 25, 1789, *Vinalhaven*.

|| “*Shawakotock*”—*French*.—*Chouakoct*—2 *Belk. Biog.* 149.

a canoe, as a specimen of aboriginal ingenuity. Gorges, in his A.D. 1603. History, says, Pring made a perfect discovery of all these eastern rivers and harbours; and brought the most exact account of the coast that had ever come to hand.*

The French as well as the English were repeating their visits† The French and English in N. America. to this northern country every year; and making it, at home, a favourite topic of conversation and enquiry. Both were highly elated with ideas of extensive foreign dominions; and the prospect of an abounding commerce; yet the means and measures best fitted for their attainment, were altogether unknown, as well to the sage as to the speculator. More of plan, organization and vigor, was necessary; for past experience had rendered it certain, that rights to territory arising from mere discovery, nominal possession, or royal commission, were too slender to be seriously defended. Nothing short of actual well-organized settlements under the auspices of their respective governments, could give to enterprize success and permanency.

But it was a great misfortune to those nations, and no less to this country, that they both coveted the same territories; and were using all practicable means for establishing severally in themselves, the most plausible titles to their claims. Twenty years before, Humphry Gilbert, in behalf of queen Elizabeth, had taken formal possession of Newfoundland, and the region 200 leagues about it; and there promulgated sundry laws.‡ The Marquis de la Roche fifteen years afterwards, was commissioned by his master, the IVth Henry of France, to conquer and colonize all the regions bordering upon the St. Lawrence, denominated *Canada*, and unlimited in extent; and three years after his death, another of similar import was granted, or the same renewed to M. de Chauvin, who immediately carried colonists 90 leagues up the St. Lawrence, and settled them at *Tadoussac*.§ These are instances only of preliminary transactions.—The people of both nations were resolved in their purposes; and with such objects in view, and the rival feelings, which each indulged to

* 5 *Purchas*, p. 1654—6—Pring made a second voyage in 1606.—2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 149.—*Prince's Ann.* p. 19, note [10].—*Smith's Hist.* p. 18.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 145.

† One Savelet, an old mariner had, before 1609, made no less than 42 voyages to these parts.—*Parchas*, p. 1640.

‡ 1 *Belknap's Biog.* p. 200.

§ 1 *Charlevoix N. France.* 109—111.

A. D. 1603. wards the other, it might have been easily foreseen that ultimately, these counter possessory claims would produce the severest excitements, if not war.

Nov. 8th.
De Monts'
patent of
Acadie.

By a royal patent,* November 8th, A. D. 1603, the same Henry, granted to *Pierre de Gast Sieure de Monts*, all the American territory between the 40th and 46th degrees of northern latitude; and appointed him Lieutenant-general of this extensive region, with authority to colonize and rule it according to his discretion; and to subdue and christianize its native inhabitants. The name given it in the patent was "*Acadia*," or *Acadie*, an abbreviation or corruption of *Arcadia* in Greece.† This charter or patent, having no other boundaries or confines, than the degrees of latitude mentioned, was found to embrace the American coast between the Island Cape Breton, south of Newfoundland, and the shores below the mouth of the river Manhattan, now Hudson; and was soon published in all the maritime towns in France. To him and his associates were afterwards conceded an exclusive peltry trade, not only throughout his colony but around the gulf of St. Lawrence.‡

March 7.
1604. His
Voyage.

De Monts, in the course of the winter, procured and equipped two vessels; and, furnishing them with suitable necessities, sailed for America, March 7th, 1604. His familiar companion was M. de Poutrincourt, who had been, a long time desirous of visiting this country; and his pilot was Samuel Champlain, a gentleman of noble birth and of skill in navigation, who had, the preceding year, explored the St. Lawrence. Of the adventurers in the retinue of de Monts, some were Catholics and some Protestants;—his own tenets however were of the latter order.

May 6. He
visits his
province.

Arriving, May 6th, at Cape de la Heve, in Lat. 44° 5, on the southerly side of the Acadian Peninsula, they came to anchor opposite the present Liverpool in Nova Scotia. But they soon left this place; and sailing northerly around Cape Sable into the bay of Fundy, and eastwardly along the northern shores of the

*See this Patent entire in French.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 45: Also Appendix, post, translated.—The orthography of the name is varied much by different writers as, "*Lacadie*"—"Acadie"—"*Accady*"—"Accadia." "*L'Acadie*"—"Nous etant" des long temps a informes de la situation, des bays et territoire de *L'Acadia*—is the language of the patent, whence it would seem the country might have been previously called in France by that name.

† *Brit. Dom. in America*, bk. 3d. pt. II. p. 246.

‡ 1. *Helmes A. Ann.* p. 147.

peninsula, entered a spacious basin, environed by hills and meadows, and anchored in a good harbour. Poutrincourt was so charmed with the beautiful appearance of the place, that he chose it for his future residence. Obtaining readily a grant of it from de Monts, which the King afterwards confirmed, he gave it the name of *Port Royal*, now Annapolis; and here his party dwelt for several years.*

In exploring the bay of Fundy, de Monts visited the river *St. John*, and gave it the name, it has ever since borne. Thence he proceeded into the waters of *Passamaquoddy* bay, ascended the *Schoodic* to a small island, which Champlain selected for a resting place, and a fortification.

As Passamaquoddy Bay and the Schoodic river now form a part of the Eastern boundary of this State, a more particular account of its first discovery and situation may not be uninteresting. De Monts and his men called the bay a sea of salt water; and in ascending the river found it an inconsiderable one, admitting vessels even on the tide to no great distance. The Island itself, containing 12 or 15 acres, they called *St. Croix*, because two leagues higher, there were brooks which came "*crosswise*, to fall within this large branch of the sea;"—a circumstance which has given to the Schoodic the same name. The Island is situated just above the northeast corner of Robbinston. Its soil is fertile; and it is usually the residence of one family. The Inhabitants often call it "*Neutral Island*."†

L'Escarbot says, "it was half a league in circuit, seated in the "*midst* of the river; the ground most excellent, and abundantly "fruitful; strong by nature and easy of defence, but difficult to "be found. For [says he] there are so many isles and great "bays to pass, [from the *St. John*] before we come to it, I wonder how one ever pierced so far as to find it. The woods of "the main land are fair and admirably high and well grown, as "in like manner is the grass. There is right over against the "island fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where "divers of Mons. de Monts' men transacted their business and "builded certain cabins."

* 1. *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 148. *Note 5.*—the settlement at Port Royal commenced the next year. L'Escarbot—5 Purchas, 1622.

† This character and account is according to a late map of N. Scotia, and a plan and letter from a gentleman in that section.

A. D. 1604.

His Fortification at the St. Croix.

The season being far advanced, de Monts concluded to pass the winter upon the island. Apprehending danger from the savages, he erected a fortification on the north part of it, which entirely commanded the river. The fort was sheltered by trees, which he directed not to be felled; and within its walls he planted his cannon and constructed a chapel, after the Indian manner of building. "Hoary snow-father being come," (as L'Escarbot expresses himself,) "they were forced to keep much within the doors of their dwellings during the winter. But as there was not plenty of wood, which had been too prodigally used in building; and a want of fresh water, which was found on the banks of the river strongly enclosed under locks of ice; they were under the necessity of procuring both from the shores every day." Some of the savages were occasionally bespoken; and through fear of surprize or assault from them, who had a lodgement at the foot of the Island, and appeared to be jealous, de Monts kept a constant watch night and day.

The winter was severe, and the sufferings of the people from the scurvy very grievous; not one wholly escaped it; and 36 out of 70* actually died before spring. At the usual seed-time, they prepared a piece of ground and sowed it with rye; and being absent in the first season of reaping, they gathered in the second year a growth of it, in the narrator's words "as fair, big and weighty as in France."—This, being a mere temporary residence, could never have assumed any considerable importance; had it not been the first pretension of a settlement in Acadie.†

* *Ogilby* says, "ninety-seven."

† See *Mark L'Escarbot's Hist. of d'Monts' Voyages*, translated in 3 *Churchill's Coll.* 796; abridged in 5. *Purcha's Pilgrims* p. 1619. (*Harv. Coll. Library.*) L'Escarbot was himself with de Monts in this voyage. "The people (he says) that be from St. John's river to Kennibeki, wherein are the rivers *St. Croix* and *Norombegua* are called *Etechemins*."—The river *St. Croix* was made a part of the boundary line in the treaty of 1733 between England and the United States; and afterwards a dispute arose which of the two was that river, the *Schoodic* or the *Magaguad-orick* [Magadavi,] both emptying into Passamaquoddy-bay.—the mouth of the former being 3 or 4 leagues distant from that of the latter. To settle the controversy, Commissioners were appointed by the two governments; and in 1798, they visited those places; and found an *Island* in the *Schoodic*-river which corresponded, with the description given of that where de Monts and his party passed the winter 1604—5. Near its upper end were the remains of an ancient fortification "overgrown with

When the survivors of the party had sufficiently recovered A.D. 1605. their strength; de Monts put his provisions and arms on board his pinnace, and about the middle of May [1605] he and his ^{de Monts leaves the} men embarked in search of a more convenient station, and a ^{St. Croix.} warmer climate. In ranging the coast westwardly, they entered the bay of Penobscot, which with the neighbouring country, some European adventurers had previously understood by the Natives, was called *Norombegua*.* At Kennebec, they erected a cross, and took possession in the name of their king; and after visiting Casco bay and Saco river proceeded to Cape Cod. Some of the places they passed, appeared inviting and suitable for settlement; but their company was small; the savages numerous, unfriendly, and thievish;—therefore they returned to St. Croix, and soon proceeded to Port Royal,

Here he met M. Dupont and an accession of 40 men, with fresh supplies, in a ship from France; and removing the remainder of his property from the Island St. Croix, across the bay, he lodged it with his other stores at the mouth of the river emptying into the basin of Port Royal. At this place he proceeded to construct a fort and a few habitations; and when he had made due disposition of his affairs, he and Poutrincourt, in September, sailed for France; leaving Dupont, Champlain, and Chauvin, to explore the country and perfect the settlement.

To avoid the jealousy of the French, and at the same time to secure the advantages of prior possession, and continual claim; several English gentlemen,—the Earl of Southampton, Thomas [lord] Arundel and their associates, despatched ^{George Weymouth's} *George Weymouth* across the Atlantic, on a pretended discovery of a north-west passage, which, it was still believed, might be found. ^{Voyage.} *Weymouth* sailed March 31st, from the Downs; and, probably, he was not disappointed, May 11th, when he came in sight of the ^{March 31.}

large trees," the foundation stones of which were traced to a considerable extent. 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 149, Note 3. These were among the facts and reasons which induced the Commissioners to determine, that the *Schoodic* is the *St. Croix*. See *post A. D.* 1798.

* 1 *Belknap's Biog.* p. 328.—2 *H.* 149. "Norombega was a part of the same district comprehending Penobscot bay and river, but its eastern and western limits are not described."—See 5 *Purchas*, p. 1625, 1632.—See 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* 74, note 4th and his quotations. *Purchas* says, "Pemptegoet is that place so famous under the name of *Norombega*."

A. D. 1603. American coast, as far south] as in latitude $41^{\circ} 30'$, near Cape Cod. Being embayed among shoals, he ran northwardly from the 14th to the 17th of the month, a distance of 50 leagues, and anchored about noon on the north side of a prominent Island, in 40 fathoms of water.

Revisits
Monhegan
and St.
Georges.

This Island he found to be situated about 3 leagues from the main land, and to lie in an oblong shape from northeast to southwest. It was, as fair land to fall in with, (he said) as could be desired; having a good land fall and bold shore, free of sands and rocks; and though of "no great compass," it contained, probably, 1000 acres. Seafowl here were plenty; and the mariners, in fishing, caught "30 large cod and haddock." Weymouth called the Island "*St. George*;" but it was afterwards ascertained to be *Monhegan*; "as no other Island hereabouts answers the description."* Since that time, it has been a most noted station, or landmark for mariners; and was early inhabited.

According to Capt. Weymouth's journal, he sailed, May 19th, about two or three leagues northward, among the Islands, towards the highlands and mountains in sight; and, finding good anchorage, "defended (as he says) from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, upon a clay ooze, very tough, where was good mooring even near the rocks by the cliff side," he named the place "*Pentecost harbour*,"—now *George's Island-harbour*, a well known haven at the mouth of St. George's river.

Here the master and men regaled themselves several days and recruited their strength. Before being visited by the Natives, he and a party properly armed, explored the islands and shores; while his sailors, engaged in fishery, readily took "plenty of salmon and other fishes of great bigness; good lobsters, rock-fish, "plaice and lumps;" "and with two or three hooks, caught "enough of cod and haddock, to supply the ship's company for "three days. Upon the lands they found various sorts of trees, besides vines, currents, spruce, yew, angelica and divers gums;" and about the shores," abundance of great muscles, some of which contained pearls; fourteen being taken from a single one.

* 2 *Belk. Biog.* 137—150 [Capt Williams' observations.] The orthography of *Monhegan*, a word of Indian extraction, is various in different authors—"Monhiggon"—"Munhiggon," 8 *Coll. Mass. H. Soc.* p. 225. 227.—*Hubbard's Indian Wars*, p. 280, "Monhiggon."—*Prince's Annals*, 127. 161.

On the 22d, says the Journalist, "we digged a garden, sowed A. D 1605. "peas and barley and garden-seeds, which in 16 days grew up "eight inches ; although this was but the crust of the ground, and "much inferior to the mould we afterwards found on the main." *These were the first fruits of culture on these Islands or shores.*

The discovery of a great bay and river, the Penobscot, diverted their attention from a trade with the Indians, for 5 or 6 days ; ^{He explores the Penobscot in June,} which were passed in exploring those waters and the contiguous lands. Leaving, for that purpose, Pentecost-harbour, on the 10th or 11th of June, they proceeded northwardly, by estimation, sixty miles. In their progress up Penobscot bay, they came to anchor on the 12th, not far from the land, abreast the mountains, since called Penobscot-hills, [now Camden heights] ; and ten of them went ashore and amused themselves in hunting.

'The next day,' says the account, 'we ascended in our pinnace, 'that part of the river which inclines more to the westward, [probably Belfast bay,* or possibly the waters between the lower part of Orphan Island and the main,] carrying with us a cross— 'a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers, which we 'erected at the ultimate end of our route.'†

These adventurers were much delighted, the whole way, with the novel and picturesque scenery, which the verdant country presented at this season. For they not only listened to the notes of the wood birds among the branches with delight, but they found the waters of the river to be wide, deep and glassy ;—its margin adorned with coves and green borders of grass ; and, "many (says "the Journal) who had been travellers in sundry countries and in "most famous rivers, affirmed them not comparable to this—the "most beautiful, rich, large, secure harbouring river that the "world affordeth." These were the enthusiastic expressions, this tour inspired, as the visitants departed reluctantly, on their return to St. Georges.‡

* In 1 *Purchas*, 753, it is said, Weymouth "discovered three score miles up a most excellent river;"—and the Journal, (in 2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 144,) says, "we passed six or seven miles in altogether fresh water, whereof we all drank;"—this must have been above Marsh bay ; for in this bay the waters are always salt.

† In one author, (1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 150,) it is said, he "set up crosses in several places."

‡ See James Rosier's account of this voyage—5 *Purchas*, 1659.—1676 ; abridged,—2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 140.

A. D. 1605. Their intercourse with the natives was in the end unfortunate, though at first attended with mutual friendship and satisfaction.

His inter-
course with
the Natives.

The annalist says, § ‘they visited us on board, lying upon deck ‘with us, and we ashore with them, changing man for man as ‘hostages.—We treated them very kindly, because we intended ‘to inhabit their country ;—and they readily traded with us—the ‘exchange of their furs for our knives, glasses, combs and toys,— ‘being of great profit to us ;—for instance, one gave 40 skins of ‘beaver, otter and sable, for articles of five shillings’ value.’

It seems, however, that a rupture happened between the parties about the first of June, after which, Capt. Weymouth seized five of the savages, whom he had confined in the hold of his vessel. To rescue the unhappy prisoners, or avenge the wrong, their countrymen discovered no great determination, as they appeared only to seek for an opportunity to effect it by means of artifice. At one time, coming and pointing eastward to the main, they “signified, that the Bashaba, their king, had plenty of furs “and much tobacco.” Indeed, during the late excursion up the Penobscot, three Indians came in a canoe to the pinnace, and were earnest to have one of the crew “go with them to the Bashaba, and the next morning he would return with furs and tobacco.” But the stratagems thus used to draw the men away from the ship, were too flimsy to be successful ; and not long after the middle of June, Weymouth weighed anchor and bore off his booty to England.

Smith, in his History, thus relates the above incident.*—‘The ‘natives came and desired the captain to go and trade with their ‘Bashaba, on the main, who was their chief lord ; and he accordingly manned the yawl with 14 men for the purpose.’ ‘Yet,’ says he, ‘would they row faster with five oars in their canoes, ‘than our men could their boat with eight. At the shore was ‘exchanged one Owen Griffin, for a young fellow of the savages. ‘—Griffin discovered their treachery, finding 283 savages, armed ‘with bows and arrows, without any such articles of traffic as they ‘had pretended to have.’ These suspicious circumstances gave umbrage ; and the first who afterwards came on board were three whom Capt. Weymouth kept ; and two others were with ‘much ado seized on the shore. There were also two canoes

* Smith’s Hist. p. 18—20.—Prince’s Ann. 14.

† Smith’s Hist. p. 18.

‘taken, and several bows and arrows.’ Four of these unhappy A. D. 1605. men were *Tisquantum*, *Manida*, *Shetwarroes* and *Assecomoit*,* one being a Sagamore and three of the others, persons of rank. The first three, Capt. Weymouth delivered to Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, Governor of Plymouth, as soon as he arrived in that seaport; who kept them in his family three years.† After learning to speak the English language, they amused him with numerous legendary tales, and imparted to him many things as facts, which he was strongly inclined to credit.

But neither the fruits of this voyage, nor yet the possession taken of the country, could counterbalance the ill effects of Weymouth’s treatment of the Natives. For the forfeiture of trade and of their hospitality; the hatred of the English name; revenge and cruelties, were the consequences which might be expected for this offence. Surely never were men’s conduct more impolitic, since it was full half of their errand to pave the way for a colonial establishment and future trade.

These, and much baser improprieties, however, appear not to have been much regarded at home. But the descriptions given of this country by voyagers, fishermen and tradesmen; the profits of its commerce; the sight of the natives carried across the Atlantic; the propagation of “Christianity in the dark corners of the earth;” and the claims of the French to the country, had their several and full effects, to excite the attention of the English public, and to inspire influential individuals with fresh ardour in the prosecution of American enterprizes. The grant to Sir Walter Raleigh, 22 years before, had become void by his attainder; and no obstacle seemed to lie in the way of another grant to any person, who had influence with the crown.

An association of English gentlemen, therefore was now formed, for the purpose of planting colonists on the American coasts; and of bringing the infidel savages to a knowledge of the

North and
South Vir-
ginia pa-
tent.

*1 *Belk. Biog.* 347.—*Prince’s Ann.* 15. 18.

†2 *Belk. Biog.* 135—150.—*Sir Ferdinando Gorges* is, now first introduced to us, a gentleman of great energy, and in the prime of life, only 30 years of age. He died A. D. 1646. The savages seized, Gorges says, “were all of one nation, but of several parts and several families. This accident must be acknowledged, the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations.”

A. D. 1606 Christian religion ; to the true worship of God ;* to civilized life ; and to a settled government. These men, so associated, king James I. by Patent, April 10, 1606, incorporated agreeably to their own choice, into *two Companies*, under one and the same *General Council of Government* : wherein Messrs. Gates, Somers, Hackluyt, Wingfield and their associates, belonging to the city of London, and called the London Company, or *first COLONY OF VIRGINIA*, formed one branch ; and Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham and others of Plymouth, in the county of Devon or “ elsewhere, who might associate,” formed the other, and were called the Plymouth Company, or the “ *SECOND COLONY*.” The country granted, extended from the 34th, to the 45th degree of north latitude, and included all the islands within 100 miles of the coast ; the whole being known by the general name of ‘ *North and South Virginia*.’† The *first Colony* was permitted to begin a plantation, at any place below the 41st degree of north latitude ; and the *second Colony*, any where above the 38th degree. There was also provided a judicious precaution against any unhappy interference ; for it was further stipulated, that the colony which might be planted the last of the two, should not begin a settlement within 100 miles of the other.

Councils of
Govern-
ment.

The government ordained, was this, viz :—A general “ *Council of Virginia*,” consisting of thirteen men appointed by the crown, and residents in England ; who were vested with a paramount jurisdiction, to be exercised according to such ordinances, as should be given them under the royal sign manual : And also two *Subordinate Councils*, each of thirteen members, living in America, named in the same way, were created, for ruling, and managing the interior affairs of each colony, agreeably to the king’s instructions.

This was a Charter of rights as well as a patent of territory ; though all sales of lands by the Colonial councils were to be confirmed by the crown,—to pass the fee. Every colonist, and his children, were to be citizens of the realm ;—the coinage of money was authorized ;—and importations of “ all useful chattels, armor, and furniture from the British dominions” into the Colonies, were granted and allowed for seven years, duty free. The

* The declared intent of the adventurers was to propagate God’s holy Church.—*Hubbard’s His. N. E.* 14.

† 1 Douglas Summ. p. 5.

Colonists were moreover fully empowered to seize or expel intruders ; and to exact taxes and duties for their own benefit. A. D. 1606.

Such is the outline of this important patent ;* which without any other boundaries than the parallels of latitude mentioned, embraced at the eastward, most of the Acadian peninsula. Impatient to found a plantation upon these northern shores, Lord Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and other members of the Plymouth company, or second Colony, despatched hither Capt. Henry Chalons, in August, with a ship carrying 31 men, and two of Weymouth's captives, Manida and Assecomoit. Shortly afterwards, Thomas Hanham, one of the patentees, and Martin Pring, before mentioned, were sent with auxiliaries and fresh supplies, to join Chalons in beginning a colony within the patent. But Chalons was taken, Nov. 10th, by a Spanish fleet, and carried to Spain, where his vessel was condemned ; and Hanham did nothing more than to new-vamp and repeat the encouraging accounts of the country, and thereby enliven, or perhaps invigorate the spirit of adventure.†

Next under the auspicious patronage of the London Company, three ships, with an hundred colonists, including the members of a Colonial Council, sailed December 20th, for the coasts of South Virginia ; and in April [1607] a permanent settlement was originally effected, and at length established on James' river ; and there the earliest administration of government was now commenced. Settlement of South Virginia. 1607, April 26.

A similar enterprize, projected by the Plymouth Company, was matured, about the same time, for settling another colony in North Virginia. In this branch of the Corporation, the leaders were Lord John Popham, Chief Justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, already become a conspicuous member. An hundred emigrants, besides mariners, were engaged in the enterprize ; and all necessary ordnance, utensils, and supplies were speedily procured. The outlines of a colonial government were drawn ; and the several members of the Council, and the officers, who were all colonists, were designated by name. It was intended to have taken into employment three ships,‡ and by no means to be outrivalled by those of the other company. But Emigrant's to North Virginia.

* See this Patent entire, 1 *Hazard's Coll.* p. 51—53.

† *Prince's Annals*, p. 13, 19. Note 10.

‡ *Gorges* says, there were " three ships." *Prince's Ann.* 21, [11.]

A. D. 1607. through disappointment in procuring one, the expedition was retarded, and two only were equiped, and despatched on the interesting expedition.

Popham
and Gilbert,
command-
ers.
May 31st.

The command of them was given to two of the patentees, George Popham, his lordship's brother, and Raleigh Gilbert, a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh. They left Plymouth on the 31st of May; and according to their destination* steered directly for the North Virginia coast, where, after a favourable passage, they arrived August 8th, in safety. They first touched at Monhegan, and then proceeded "to the mouth of a fair navigable river," called by the Natives *Sagadahock*.

Arrival,
Aug. 8th.

Although, according to some accounts, they first went ashore upon *Erascohegan*,† or the western *Peninsula*‡; yet it is believed they finally disembarked upon an Island 200 rods eastward, called Stage Island;—supposed by them to be better situated for all the conveniences of trade with the natives, and of navigation through the year. They probably landed on the north part of the Island, which is level and easy of access—the southerly end being high, bleak and rocky.

August 11.
Govern-
ment or-
ganized.

They left the ships, August the 11th; and, assembling on shore, returned public thanks to Almighty God, and listened to a sermon adapted to the occasion. Their patent was then read; and their ordinances, laws and instructions promulgated. The form of civil government, although aristocratic and simple, was evidently drafted for a great State. The Colony Council consisted of *eight* members, who were severally appointed to hold particular offices: *George Popham*, senior captain of the voyage, being President; *Raleigh Gilbert*, admiral; *Edward Harlow*, master of the ordnance; *Robert Davis*, sergeant-major and commander of the militia; *Ellis Best*, marshal; *John Scammon*,* secretary of the colony; *James Davis*, commander of the fort, and *Gome Carew*, searcher.

Sagada-
hock Colo-
ny located
and fortifi-
ed.

These adventurous planters erected on the Island some slight habitations, or cottages; sunk two or three wells; and commenced an intercourse with the Indians. But they were soon convinced, that the wells, owing to their contiguity to the sea, would

* The original object was to begin near Monhegan, some where about the mouth of Sagadahock. *Hub. N. E.* 36—*Indian*, "Sagadahoke." —*Smith's Hist.* 216.

† Now Parker's Island.

‡ "On a peninsula." 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* 160.

never yield sweet water ; that the Island* containing only 8 or 10 A. D. 1607. acres, was too small for the permanent foundation of a colony ; and that it was situated too far from other lands to form a free intercourse with the country. Therefore they concluded to change their situation ; and passing across the river, to the western bank, they selected a pleasant and convenient site on the southeast side of a creek,† near what is now called Atkin's bay ; which stretches west into the land half a league, and forms a peninsula at the southerly corner of the present Phipsburg. To this place they themselves removed, and during the autumn, located and established a settlement ; which was subsequently denominated the SAGADAHOCK COLONY. A commodious house and barn, and a few slender cabins were built, and a fortification erected, which they named fort St. George, from the Christian name of the President ; but it was afterwards called *Popham's fort*. A block house likewise with a store-room was erected and roughly finished ; where the people kept their provisions and might in case of danger find protection.‡

All practicable preparations being made for winter ; the two ships, December 5th, sailed for England, leaving only 45 colo-^{Dec. 5.}
^{Departure}
^{of the ships.} nists, situated between an unbroken wilderness on the one hand, and a waste of waters on the other ;—in an untried climate, and in the vicinity of savages. This plantation was undertaken by its patrons with a determination worthy of great and enterprising minds ; resolved upon the accomplishment of their purposes ; and sure of the greatest advantages to be derived from its establishment and prosperity.§

Through the friendly assistance of two natives, Shetwarroes,^{The Na-}
^{tives.} and Dehamida, sent hither in the ships by Gorges and Popham, the adventurers received from the natives a cordial welcome, and afterwards testimonies of particular respect and hospitality. Some of the Sagamores even offered to go with the English to the Bashaba, their Great Chief ; whose residence they repre-

* On Stage Island are the remains of a fort ; brick chimneys and some wells of water ; several cellars ;—the bricks must have come from Europe.—*Sullivan* p. 170.

† From this creek to the mouth of the Kennebec river is 10 miles.—*Coll. M. His. Soc.* p. 254.

‡ *Prince's Ann.* p. 53.—The fort is on the S. E. side of Cape Small Point Peninsula.
§ *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 37.

A. D. 1607. sented to be about Pemaquid. They signified to the President, that he was a mighty prince, holding in obedience all the sachems from Penobscot to Piscataqua,* and that he expected all the strangers, coming into his dominions, to pay him their court, as a customary usage. Yielding at last to their importunities, the President proceeded along the coast eastward, several leagues, till obliged by adverse winds and inclement weather to return;—equally to the disappointment of himself, of the great Chief and the Sagamores.

Trade with
the Natives.

When the Bashaba was informed of what had taken place; he sent his own son to visit the president, and make an arrangement with the company, for opening a trade in furs and peltry. Such was the conduct of this frank and forbearing people; though several of them, but a short time before, and in this vicinity, had been forcibly carried away to places unknown to their tribe. As an instance of manly generosity, an Indian named Amenquin, to reward the strangers for a straw hat and knife “given him,” stripped himself of a beaver mantle worth 50 or 60 shillings sterling, and presented it to the President.†

The winter months were fraught with various trials. The season was extremely severe in England as well as in this country; their habitations were poor; and they before spring suffered much from the cold. For though they had left a country in a higher latitude than this, they were nevertheless strangers to an atmosphere equally keen, and to unrelenting snow and ice, through five months in succession.

Events of
the Winter.

Still they might have enjoyed security and peace in their fortification, and lived comfortably upon the provisions brought from home, together with the fish and game taken by themselves or purchased of the Indians, had they met with no misfortunes, and been guided, at all times, by the maxims of prudence and economy. But a traditional story is related and transmitted to us, as coming from the old Indians,—that at some time in the winter, “a quarrel fell out between the colonists and the natives,” wherein one of the former was killed, and the rest all driven out of the fort, leaving their provisions, arms, and several “barrels of pow-

* *Belk. Biog.* p. 351.

† From this creek to the mouth of Kennebec river is 10 miles.—*1 Coll.*

M. Hist. Soc. 254.

‡ *Purchas Pil.* p. 939.

der." The Indians opened the casks; and being unacquainted with the peculiar properties of their contents, carelessly scattered the kernels, which, taking fire, blew to pieces the most of what was in the fort, and "destroyed several of the Indians" themselves. Struck half dead by the report, and the disasters witnessed, they supposed the Great Spirit was angry with them for doing harm to the strangers; and made immediate proposals for a restoration of mutual friendship.———Another tale, which comes to us in the form of a memoir*, is also worthy to be told:—Being collected at the fort to traffic, the Indians, it is said, were requested to draw a small mounted cannon by the dragropes. They laid hold, and when in an attitude most exposed, it was discharged, giving them all a frightful shock, and actually killing and wounding some of them.

Whether these stories have any connection, or foundation in truth, we cannot at this distance of time ascertain with certainty: and we might especially wish the latter one for the credit of the colonists to be a fable; yet both were believed to be true, by the ancient and well-informed inhabitants on Sagadahock river. It is, moreover, certain, that their store-house took fire in mid-winter, and was, with a great part of their provisions, reduced to ashes.

As soon as the ships returned to England, Lord Popham persuaded his associates of the Plymouth Council, to provide another immediate outfit and send them back without delay. But, while waiting for a wind, the mariners of one ship heard of his Lordship's sudden death; and the master of the other, before he sailed, was informed that Sir John, the brother of Raleigh Gilbert, was likewise dead;—and thus became the bearers of these melancholy tidings to the plantation.

Besides these deaths, happened that of George Popham, President of the colony, who had also lately deceased; and who was succeeded in that office by Gilbert, the official admiral. Being his brother's heir, he believed the estate required his immediate attention; and therefore he concluded to return home. The resolution at this crisis, and the deaths of the two Pophams and Gilbert, three principal patrons of the enterprize, together with some additional disappointments, proved fatal to the colony. The cli-

Deaths of
Lord Pop-
ham and J.
Gilbert.

Return of
the emi-
grants and
end of the
colony.

* *Supplement to King Philip's wars, A. D., 1675—p. 75.*

A. D. 1608. mate was cold ; the wilderness appeared to them impervious ; the land wholly unyielding to the toils and arts of cultivation ; and probably the Indians had become again unfriendly. Nay, one account represents, that in consequence of the resentments of the natives, occasioned by the gun powder plot, or some ill treatment ; the emigrants were induced to re-embark, for the sake of their own safety, and durst not return.

Having resolved to quit the country, whatever the cause might have been, they all entered, with their effects, on board the returning ships, that brought them, and cheerfully departed ; taking with them, as the only fruits of their winter's enterprize, several kinds of fur, a small vessel built by them, and some native products of the place.—To Gorges and others, the promoters and patrons of this colony, the return of the planters was altogether unexpected and extremely unwelcome.

In vindication of their conduct, they framed excuses with what ingenuity they possessed ; and though they had lost only one of their number by natural death,* they told very unfavourable stories of the country, its climate, soil, and healthfulness ; representing it to be an intolerably cold and sterile region “not inhabitable (they said) by our English nation.”†

This colony, the first ever attempted to be established by the English in North-Virginia, was planned and begun with the courage, zeal and beneficence which do not fear to encounter difficulties, or hazard expense. Its projectors and friends believed a colonial establishment, well organized and prosperous, would be the common resort and asylum of all adventurers to this country ; and the means of promoting and spreading other settlements to a wide extent. But its untimely end, some further deaths, and additional discouragements, gave a deadly check to the spirit of colonization for several years.‡ Yet Sir Francis Popham, son of the late “baronet,” sent a ship annually into these waters, for several years ; in anticipation of benefits from the fishery and fur trade, and, possibly, from his father's advancements ; till over-

* *Prince's Ann.* p. 23.—Though “they ascribed it to a prevailing sickness, occasioned by the severity of the winter.”—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 252.

† *Prince's Ann.* p. 25.

‡ But “of plantations we have no more speeches.”—*Smith's Hist.* p. 18, 19, 24.

come by discouragements and losses, he was obliged at last to A. D. 1608. give up the pursuit.* Some adventurers may have met with better success; for it is confidently asserted, that the coasts were never afterwards, for any considerable length of time, entirely deserted by Europeans, until the country became settled.

* *Hubbard's N. E.* 37.—He says, 'the French were here soon after Popham's party left the place.'—*Gorges' Hist.* 19.—5 *Purchas*, 1828.—*Prince's Ann.* 25,

CHAPTER II.

The settlement of Port-Royal abandoned by the French—Resumed—Mount Desert visited by them—It is the abode of two jesuits—Gorges sends Vines to Saco—South-Virginia—Newfoundland—Argal's, Somers' and Harlow's visits—Natives carried to England—The French settle Mount Desert—Argal removes them—He takes Port-Royal—Capt. John Smith—His character—His voyage to Sagadahock—His Map and History of New-England—Hawkins' voyage—War and pestilence among the eastern natives—Vines at Saco—Smith, Admiral of New-England—Rocroft's and Dermer's voyages—Settlement of New-Plymouth.

A. D. 1606. THE infant colony at Port-Royal, in the winter of 1605—6, after its affairs were committed, by de Monts to Dupont, was plentifully supplied with corn and venison by the Mickmak Indians; and carried on with them quite a profitable fur trade. To encourage them, de Monts and Poutrincourt returned, in July, (1606) with fresh supplies. The former then took Dupont with him and sailed again for France, committing to Poutrincourt the management of the colony, and the survey of the country.

Acadia.

The latter proceeded as far as Cape Cod; where he had a skirmish with the savages, in which they killed two of his men and wounded others. From this circumstance he conceived a most unfavourable opinion of their dispositions; and in retaliating their wrongs he committed wrong himself, by seizing five of them, who came to trade with him, and then cruelly putting them to death. Returning, he and his companions passed the ensuing time at Port-Royal, in a social and festive manner; till intelligence was received, by an early arrival in the spring, (1607,) of a transaction which proved fatal to the colony. This was an official report, that the Hollanders, piloted by a treacherous Frenchman, had obtruded themselves into the Canada fur trade; that the king had revoked the exclusive right, a privilege previously given* to de Monts, by which he was entitled for ten years, to that kind of traffic in Acadia and the Gulf of St. Law-

* See A. D. 1603, ante.

rence; and that even the vessel which brought the news, was A. D. 1608. forbidden to purchase any furs or skins; being allowed only a fishery about Canseau—in the waters between the peninsula and Cape Breton. Poutrincourt was so much disheartened by these and some other discouragements, that he with his party left Port-Royal, Aug. 11th, and returned to France.

The king, to recompense de Monts, gave him, the next year, ^{De Monts quits the province.} a patent of the fur trade for twelve months in the St. Lawrence, without restriction; merely upon his agreement to settle a colony in that region. He now quitted all connexion with Acadia, and, procuring three ships and several families, furnished them with supplies and gave the whole in charge to Samuel Champlain, who had been his companion and agent in Acadia. In the execution of his trust, Champlain selected the site, early in July of this year, and laid the foundations of *Quebec*;^{*}—and after this period we hear no more of de Monts.

Poutrincourt, wishing to revive his plantation at Port-Royal, ^{Poutrincourt at Port-Royal.} procured the king's confirmation of the grant, upon condition of his endeavours to convert the natives to the Catholic faith. In view of both purposes, this adventurer, his son Biencourt and two jesuits, Biard and Masse, with several families, intending to become settlers, embarked for America. While on the passage, a severe controversy arose between him and the Ecclesiastics; in which he boldly told them,—“it was his part to *rule* them on earth, and theirs only to *guide* him to heaven.”

He tarried a short time at Port-Royal; and returning to France left his son in command. Disdaining to be under the control of these priests, who were merely invited by his father to reside in the plantation, Biencourt threatened them with corporeal punishment, in return for their spiritual anathemas. In such a state of society, the three could hardly continue together until the spring. At an early day, therefore, the jesuits bade him farewell and proceeded westward to *Mount Desert*.†

* *Quebec* was the *Indian* name.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 163.—1 *Charlevoix N. F.* 121.—5 *Purchas*, 1640.—1.—*L'Escarbot's Account*.

† “*Monts Desert*”—so named by *Champlain*.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* 178, and *Note*.—Here were taken various kinds of fish and game; and on the margin of the sound grew abundance of cranberries—500 bushels in a year.—[*Mount Desert* was incorporated into a town by that name Feb. 17. 1789, divided, and Eden incorporated, Feb. 23, 1796.] “*Mount Desert*.”—2 *Belk' Biog* 52.

A. D. 1609. This was the highest, largest, and consequently the most noted Island upon the coast. It was "so named by the French," perhaps by Champlain, "on account of the thirteen high mountains," it exhibited; which were the first lands seen from sea. It is supposed, the place of residence selected by the Missionaries was on the western side of the Pool—a part of the sound which stretches from the south easterly side to the heart of the Island. Here they constructed and fortified an habitation, planted a garden, and dwelt five years; entering with great zeal and untiring perseverance upon the work of converting the natives to Christianity.

Sir F. Gorges sends
hither Richard
Vines.

Meanwhile, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a man never overcome by discouragements, was equally bold, and ardent in his pursuits, though of a different character. "As to the coldness of the climate, (says he) I have had too much experience in the world to be frightened with such a blast. Many great kingdoms, and large territories, more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder, are plentifully inhabited;—divers of them being stored with no better commodities than these parts afford—if like industry, art, and labour be used."* He was confident; yet so strangely had the passion for adventures abated, that he could find nobody willing to engage with him either in making settlements, or discovery. He however purchased a ship with his own money, and procured a master and crew to make a voyage hither, possibly to keep possession of the country against the French; though avowedly for the purposes of fishing and traffic,—the only objects, supposed to be sufficient, at this time to induce them to cross the Atlantic. On board the ship, he sent *Richard Vines*, and some others of his servants, in whom he had the most confidence;—and this was the course he pursued, several years.†

South-Virginia.

Nor was the South-Virginian or first Colony flourishing; the Indians were hostile, and the charter itself was full of defects. The king, therefore, on the 22d of May, 1609, granted a new one to the patentees, which enlarged their privileges, and vested in them the fee-simple of the country, 200 miles northward and southward from old Point Comfort. He also gave them, three years afterwards, a third patent embracing all the lands between the 30th and

* Gorges' Narrative, p. 22. † Gorges, p. 22—27 —Prince's Ann. p. 25.

41st degrees of Northern latitude,* with a further guaranty of A. D. 1610. very extensive civil powers.

Newfoundland had made the most progress of any place towards becoming a Plantation,† the king acquainted with that fact, incorporated 46 English gentlemen, into a body politic, April 27, 1610, denominated “the treasurer, and company of Adventurers, “and Planters in the cities of London and Bristol, for the colony, “or plantation of Newfoundland.” Under their patronage about 40 permanent planters emigrated in June, and commenced a settlement at Conception bay. In the following year, the colony was increased to 60 persons; and afterwards a court was established, and juries empaneled.‡

Among the visitants to these Northern coasts, at this period, one was *Samuel Argal*,§ subsequently governour of South-Virginia. Driven by a violent storm, he bore away for Sagadahock; and coming in sight of a small rocky Island out of Penobscot bay, in latitude 43° 44', he approached it as the winds abated, and on the 28th of July landed upon it. Here he found a great store “of seals, and therefore called it *Seal Rock*, a name it still retains. Another visiter was *Sir George Somers*, who landed at Sagadahock in September, on his way to Bermuda. A third was *Capt. Edward Harlow*. In his voyage, projected for the purpose of making more particular discoveries about Cape Cod, he fell in with Monhegan, which had now become a noted mart for trade with the natives, as well as a land-mark for seamen. But the memorials, we have of his conduct, justly load him with censure; for, like many unprincipled men of this age, he was guilty of the sin of manstealing without any pretence of provocation; seizing three natives, *Peckmo*, *Monopet*, and *Peckenime*, who came civilly on board to barter with him. But *Peckmo*, leaped overboard, and being a good swimmer, as most Indians are, escaped.|| Aroused by him, the bowmen of the tribe assailed

Newfoundland made a Colony.

Argal's, Somer's, and Harlow's visits.

A. D. 1611.

* That is, from Florida to Manhattan. 1 *Haz. Coll.* 72—81.

† Prince's Ann. p. 30, 32, 35, 43.

‡ See this Charter entire, 1 *Haz. Coll.* 58—72.

§ “Argal discovered a more direct and shorter passage to Virginia, and “left the tract of ancient navigators, who first directed their course southward to the tropic, sailed westward by means of the trade winds, and “then northward till they reached the English settlements.”—4 *Hume's Hist.* 341.

|| Prince's Ann. p. 23.

A. D. 1612. Harlow with great fury, for his audacity and crime, and ‘sorely wounded three of his men with arrows.’ Nevertheless he carried away the two captives to Cape Cod, where he kidnapped three others, *Sackaweston*, *Coneconum* and *Epenow*; and thence proceeded with them all to England.

The Indians kidnapped.

Epenow was shown in London as a sight; the others being distributed to different places. Capt. Harley one of the unsuccessful planters at Sagadahock, knowing of Gorges’ benevolence to these natives, and the interest he took in their welfare, brought Epenow to him; and soon afterwards, Gorges recovered Assacomit,* one of the Indians who had been carried away seven years before, by Weymouth, from St. Georges’ river. These Indians at first could not in conversation understand each other.† But when better acquainted, Epenow amused his fellow with a very artful story. Having sagacity enough to learn in what high estimation the English always held the precious metals, he had the ingenuity to fabricate a tale, that *a mine of gold had been found in his country, very great*. Assacomit related the same to Gorges, as Epenow wished; who was hoping, when the report should spread abroad, that he might be employed as a pilot in some ship bound to his native country.

Gorges.

Since the Charter was obtained, Gorges had been viewing the American coast between Piscataqua and Passamaquoddy with peculiar intensity and predilection; and continually drawing from voyagers, from the natives, and in particular, from Richard Vines, a great variety of facts about its situation, its inhabitants, and its resources. So, without doubt, other Englishmen, as well as he, had before this, noticed with jealousy and displeasure the progressive French settlement at Port-Royal, and the residence of the Jesuits at Mount Desert.

Madame Gourcheville’s Charter.

Meanwhile, an opportune transaction gave fresh vigour to the enterprizes of the French in this region. Madame de Guercheville, a Catholic lady of France, zealous for the conversion of the American natives, after procuring of de Monts a surrender of his patent, had it all confirmed to her by a Charter from the King, excepting Port-Royal, previously granted to Poutrincourt. She

* 1 Belknap’s Biography, p. 356.

† Indeed their native abodes were wide apart one at Cape Cod, and the other at St. George’s River.

appointed one Suassaye, her agent, who set up at Port le Hive, in Acadia, where he arrived, May 16th, the arms of his mistress, in token of possession taken; and at Port-Royal, he made a visit, where he found only five persons, of whom two were Jesuit missionaries.* Suassaye, producing his pious credentials, took both monks into the service of the mission, and sailed for Mount Desert. Here 25 colonists were landed on the south side of the river; a small fort was built; the ship's crew of 35 men helped fit up the habitations; and here they set up a cross, celebrated mass, and called the place *St. Saviour*. Whether this was on the eastern end of the Island, as one account states, or in the southerly part, as others report, where Biard and Massè were residing, we have no means at this time to determine.

A. D. 1613.
March 12.
Madame
Gourche-
ville's
Agent, Su-
assaye,
takes pos-
session of
Acadia.

But scarcely had these emigrants provided themselves with some few accommodations, when they had to encounter new, and unexpected troubles from the English. Capt. Argal, of Virginia, in a fishing trip to these waters, being cast ashore at Pentagoet, or Penobscot bay, was there fully informed by the natives what the French were doing at *St. Saviour*, sometimes called *Mount Mansel*.†

This intelligence he immediately communicated to the Virginia magistrates, and they at once determined to expel these catholic Frenchmen, as obtruders within the limits of the first Charter granted to the patentees of North and South Virginia. Eleven fishing vessels were speedily equipped, carrying 60 soldiers and 14 pieces of cannon;—and of this little armament, Argal was appointed the commodore. His first approach completely surprized the French; yet having a ship and a barque in the harbour, and “a small entrenchment” on shore, they made a show

The French
subdued by
Argal.

* It seems that *Biard* and *Masse* arrived at Port-Royal on the 12th June, 1611, and were probably the missionaries found here in the spring of 1613. —1 *Charleroix*, p. 209. He supposes *St. Saviour* was at Pentagoet.

† In lat. 44° 20' according to their observations:—this would be on the northerly part of the Island. “*Mount Mansel*” was the first land discovered by the fleet of the Massachusetts emigrants, A. D. 1630. *Winthrop's Journal*, p. 17.—See *Hub. In. Wars*, p. 286—*J. Palairer*, p. 16, says, in 1613 the French established “a fort at the mouth of the river Pentagoet or Penobscot, and Argal drove them away!”—So also *Ogilby*, p. 137, says two Jesuits excommunicated *Poutrincourt's* son, gained a party in France, received arms, brass guns, &c. from Louis 13th, became masters of Port-Royal, and began a fort at Pentagoet.

A. D. 1613. of resistance. This was all they were able to do, for the cannon were not in a situation to be used; and the men were mostly absent from the fort, engaged in their respective employments.

Argal, in his attack upon the vessels, found the capture of them to be no difficult task, even with musketry. Gilbert du Thet, one of the Jesuits, was killed by a musket ball, while in the act of levelling a ship's gun against the assailants; others were wounded; and those on board, except 4 or 5, were taken prisoners. Argal then landed and summoned the fort. The commander requested time for a consultation; but through fear of his being reinforced, his request was not granted. The garrison then abandoning the fort, through a private passage, escaped to the woods. After breaking in pieces the cross which the Jesuits had erected, Argal reared another inscribed with the name of his king and in this way, took formal possession of the place.

The people came in the next day and surrendered themselves, their patent, and their stores. Argal treated them with kindness, and gave them their choice, either to return home in such French vessels, as might perchance resort to the coast, or to go with him to Virginia.*

To complete the reduction of Acadia, the fleet sailed farther eastward, piloted, as some say, by the Jesuit, Father Biard, who was glad of an opportunity to avenge himself of Biencourt; or, as others affirm, by an Indian, whom Argal had pressed into his service. At *St. Croix* Island, he "took one vessel," destroyed what remained of de Monts' settlement;† and crossing the Bay of Fundy, came to anchor before *Port-Royal*.

The French at the time, were mostly absent from the fort;‡ Biencourt, being employed in exploring the country, and others differently engaged. Argal, therefore, lost no time; and in two hours after he had landed his men, he reduced the entire settlement to ashes.

The two commanders afterwards had a meeting in a neighbour-

* Argal took 15 of them and the Jesuits to Virginia. He seems to have made two voyages this year.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 179. Note 1.

† 39 *Universal Hist.* p. 255.

‡ It is remarkable that both places were so little on their guard;—since the coast was haunted by pirates. The famous Peter Easton, in 1612, commanded 10 pirate ships; and in June took 100 men from the fishing vessels about Newfoundland.—*Prince's Ann.* p. 35.

ing meadow, and discussed the subjects of their rights and claims, when Biencourt made proposals to negotiate; but Argal in return, said, his only orders were to dispossess the French; and if they should be found there again, they would be treated as enemies. In this mood they parted; and Argal carried the French ship, pinnace, cattle and provisions to Jamestown. A. D. 1613.

The two crowns being at that time in a state of profound peace, the reason assigned for this hostile expedition, was the encroachments of the French upon the territories of the English,—their right to which they rested on three grounds—the discovery by Cabot;—the formal possession taken of the country by Gilbert;—and the original North and South Virginia patents, from their sovereign;—to which might be added, a continued claim by repeated visits, and by attempts to settle the country.*

A View of
Argal's
Conquests.

The expedition, was, in the opinion of some writers, “contrary to the law of nations, because inconsistent with their peace;”† yet the transaction does not appear either to have been approved by England, or resented by France.—Four years after this, Biencourt was resident at Port-Royal; “and it seems, that by “some connivance of the English ministry, a small plantation of “the French, was suffered to continue at that place, after its reduction by Argal.”‡

The celebrated JOHN SMITH|| has so much connexion with this history, as to deserve some particular notice. He was a native of England, bold and magnanimous in mind; and in talents, integrity and perseverance, not a whit behind Sir Ferdinando Gorges himself. Though now only thirty five, or six years of age, he had been a great traveller; was a most conspicuous adventurer to South-Virginia; and in 1608, made president of the Col-

Capt. John
Smith.

* By the patent, authority was given to make the seizure. *Vide Charter*, 1606. It is said, Port-Royal settlement had cost the French 100,000 crowns.—1 *Charlevoix N. F.* 137. † Chalmers, p. 82.

‡ *Prince's Ann.* p. 94. Note [13.].—See *Smith's Hist.* p. 115.—See also other authorities as to the Expeditions of Argal.—5 *Purchas*, 1828. *Brit. Dom. in N. America*, b. 14, p. 246. 2 *Belknap's Biog.* p. 51—54.

|| See, in *Belk. Biog.* p. 240-320, the interesting Biography of Capt. Smith. In A. D. 1596, when he was 17 years old, he made the tour of Europe,—killed three Turkish champions in single combat; and was honoured with a triumphal procession. He was a prisoner in Turkey. His life was saved in Virginia by the celebrated Pocahontas. He died in London, A. D. 1631, aged 52.

A. D. 1614. only Council. So much had his virtues and a spirit of adventure, given his name celebrity among his countrymen, especially the merchants trading to America, that, on his leaving Virginia, they readily took him into service, for the treble purposes of discovery, traffic, and settlement.

March 3d.
Capt.
Smith's
Voyage to
Sagadahock.

With an outfit of two vessels, a ship and barque, carrying 45 men, he sailed from London, March 3d, 1614, having instructions to remain in the northern country, and found a colonial settlement, or at least keep possession.* He shaped his course for the river, or vicinity of Sagadahock; and he himself says, "I was to have staid there with only sixteen men."† He arrived at Monhegan, the last of April; and immediately entered upon the business of his voyage, at the mouth of the river Sagadahock; and upon the neighbouring lands and waters.

He built seven boats, in some of which himself and 8 men explored the coast east and west, to Penobscot and Cape Cod; trading with the natives for beaver, and other furs, and making observations on the rivers, shores, harbours, promontories and islands. His men employed themselves in taking whales found in these waters; by pursuing which, however, they lost the best part of the fishing season; nor were they when caught of the kind expected, "which yields fins and oil." Still more futile was the visionary story reported about a gold and copper mine; it being ascertained, on a little inquiry, to be the baseless fabric of fiction.

The fruits of this voyage were of great value and variety. Within 20 leagues of Monhegan, says Capt. Smith, we "got for trifles, 11,000 beaver, 100 martens, and as many otters:"—and we took and cured '40,000 dry fish;' and '7,000 cod fish,' corned or in pickle. The net amount of gains, to those interested, was about £1,500 sterling. Eastward, and about Penobscot, he adds, "our commodities were not so much esteemed;" because 'the French traders bartered their articles on better terms.'‡

* The West-India Company, under their charter from James I. gave positive orders to ships in their service, "to hinder any foreigner from settling there upon any pretence whatever."—*J. Palairét*, p. 14-16.

† Smith's Hist. p. 221.

‡ *Smith's Hist.* p. 213.—This year, 25,000 skins were brought from these northern parts into France.

In exploring the coast, and contiguous country, Capt. Smith A. D. 1614. obtained considerable knowledge of the natives. He says he saw upon the land between Penobscot and Cape Cod, "forty several habitations," or "Indian villages;" and enumerates *twelve* different people by name, residing east of Piscataqua. Of those seen along the coast from Sagadahock, southerly, as far as Naumkeag, [Salem,] he says—they "all, for any thing I could perceive, differ little in language, fashion, or government;" but others scattered upon the coast to Cape Cod, (he adds) "I found "to differ somewhat in language, custom, and condition." He had only one skirmish with them, and in this some of them were killed.

Smith sailed for England, July 8, leaving his companion, Thom- T. Hunt kidnaps 24 as Hunt, master of the other vessel, who was bound with his Savages. freight to Spain.* Smith says, "Hunt purposely tarried behind, to prevent me from making a plantation, to monopolize the trade, and to steal savages." Indeed, Hunt's appetite was insatiate; for before he left Patuxet [Plymouth] he seized 24, whom he carried to Malaga and sold for slaves, to the Spaniards, at £20 a man.†

The more important discoveries, and observations made by Smith's Map and History of NEW-ENGLAND. Capt. Smith in his late voyage, he committed to paper; and afterwards, at intervals of leisure, he formed a *Map* of the coast, and compiled a short *History*‡ of the country; to which Prince Charles prefixed the name NEW-ENGLAND. It was supposed to comprehend the region between *Manhattan*, [New-York] and *Newfoundland*.

About the time when Capt. Smith was surveying and exploring this coast, a most destructive war broke out among the savage tribes, which raged two or three years. Smith does not mention it, nor yet *Harley*, who was despatched this summer to Sagadahock by Gorges, with the artful *Epenow* and other natives for the purpose of learning more about the gold mine, and of adding new facts to his stock of knowledge. *Epenow* escaped by jump-

* Some names of the savages, Hunt took, were Squanto, or Tisquantum, Wanape, or Wanawet; and Samoset. The latter said, in 1621 after his return, he was a Sagamore about Monhegan.—*Prince*, p. 99.

† *Prince in his Annals*, says he took twenty seven. p. 40. 100. At Gibraltar, the friars took those that were unsold, to christianize them.—*1 Holmes' Am. Ann.* p. 184.

‡ It was first published in 4to London 1616. *Prince's Ann.* p. 459.

A. D. 1614. ing overboard, not far from Martha's Vineyard ; and with him vanished his glittering visions of gold.

Attempt
to plant a 2d
Colony in
Mavoshen,
or Maine.

The Plymouth Company at this period were so remiss, that no considerations seemed able to arouse them from their inactivity. As a body they disregarded the encroachments of the French ; neither were they excited by motives of gain or emulation, though they saw vessels in the employ of the London Company return home in the midst of winter from the coast of New-England, with rich cargoes. Hence Gorges, and his friends, as individuals, uniting, equipped two ships, gave to Capt. Smith the command of them and sent him in March 1615, with sixteen planters, to begin a colony at some place within the Patent. But he was captured by the French ; his companions accomplished nothing ; wherefore Sir Richard Hawkins, the President of the Plymouth Company, in October, afterward undertook another voyage for their benefit. On his arrival, he discovered that the eastern natives were engaged in a bloody war ; therefore he passed along the coast as far as to Virginia ; and returned to England with a cargo of fish only.

A. D. 1615.
March.

War, fam-
ine and pes-
tilence
among the
Eastern Na-
tives.

The parties to this savage war, and its causes are not fully known ; though Mr. Hubbard says, that "on account of some treachery committed by the western tributaries of the Bashaba, a great Indian prince, towards the Tarratines ; there had,* arisen a deadly feud ; and the latter began the war." Ogilby, from Samson d'Abbeville, and Capt. Smith, both suppose the great Sagamore lived towards or near Penobscot ; and Gorges says, "his chief abode was not far from Pemaquid." His place of immediate residence was probably between that river and Penobscot bay. Yet, according to Purchas and Smith, his political dominions included, at least, all the Indians upon the Kennebec, the Androscoggin, and probably the Saco. Capt. Smith farther states, that though the tribes as far westward as Naumkeag [or Salem,] have their own sachems, or lords, "they hold the Bashaba to be chief, and the greatest among them." Nay, Gorges, Smith and Prince agree, that even the Massachusetts' Indians and their friends, were sometimes the Bashaba's allies, though at other times, his enemies. It is also certain that the *Tarratines* dwelt upon the bay and waters of the Penobscot ; and

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 30.

that they, and those on the Passamaquoddy and the river St. A. D. 1616 John, considered themselves as brothers, or branches of the same political family.*

Hostilities were probably commenced early in the spring, A. D. 1615;† and for two years, violence, revenge, and extermination, seem to give character to this war. In its progress, the Tarratines “presumed upon the hopes of being favoured by the French,” with whom they are represented as being on terms of very intimate intercourse.

At length, the arbiter of war decided in favour of the Tarratines; who, as we are told, were more “brave, wise, lofty-spirited and industrious, than many others;” and might possibly have been somewhat assisted by the French.‡ Most evidently, their successes were equal to their wishes; for these Tarratine warriors and their eastern allies cut their way to the residence of the Bashaba; and when they had killed him and his adherents, they carried away his women and all his valuable effects, in triumph; laying waste his immediate territories. These were thought by some old writers, to have been the ruins of what the Europeans or natives have called the ancient *Arambeck*,§ or the remote parts of *Norombegua*; to which the victors, as far at least as to the western banks of Penobscot, or even to St. Georges, might perhaps now have succeeded.

This war, not only in its course, but consequences, was, we are told, uncommonly destructive.|| The vanquished sufferers had been called from their hunting grounds, and prevented likewise from planting and fishing; their habitations were destroyed, and famine and distress soon filled the country with misery. Add to these, the calamities of a civil war; for the subordinate sachems having no federal head or superiour to control and unite them,

* See, for authorities—*Ogilby*, p. 130, 150; *Smith's Hist.* p. 213, 215; *Gorges' Nar.* p. 12, 22, 53—54; *Prince's Ann.* p. 112.—“To the easternmost of Sagadahock”—“this is the Bashaba's dominion.” *Purchas' Pil.* p. 939.

† *Prince's Ann.* p. 43. He says, Oct. 1615, Hawkins found “the war at the height, and the principal natives almost destroyed.”

‡ *Prince's Ann.* p. 112. The Massachusetts Indians and the “Squaw Sachems,” feared the Tarratines. § *Ogilby*, 139. 5 *Parchas*, 1632.

|| The enmity of the Tarratines continued after the war. In A. D. 1632, 100 of them in 30 canoes attacked the Sagamores of Agawam [*Ipswich*],—and killed and took captive 10 or 12. *Hubbard's N. E.* 145. *Winthrop's Journ.* 28.—29.

A. D. 1617. after the death of the Bashaba many of the chief men fell into bloody feuds among themselves.

To these distresses succeeded a pestilence, which spread far and wide, and was exceedingly fatal. It has been called the plague. It raged in the years 1617 and 1618;* and its wasting effects extended from the borders of the Tarratines, through the whole country, to the Narragansetts. The people died suddenly, and in great numbers, through the whole intermediate coast. It is said, some native tribes became extinct; and their bones were seen years afterward by the English, bleaching above ground, at and around the places of their former habitations.† The specific disease is not certainly known. Some have thought it was probably the *Small pox*: others have believed it must have been the *Yellow fever*, from the circumstance, that the surviving Indians represented the bodies of the sick, and dead, to have assumed an appearance resembling a yellow-coloured garment.

R. Vines and others winter at Saco.

It happened that Richard Vines and his companions, whom Gorges hired to remain during the winter in this country, passed that season, probably in the vicinity of Saco, when this wasting pestilence was at its height. Nevertheless, though ‘the mortality’ “was the greatest that ever happened within the memory of man,” yet “Vines and the men with him, who lay in the cabins, with these people, that died, some more, some less, not one of them, ever felt their heads to ache, so long as they staid there.”‡

Attempts to colonize the Eastern Country by Smith and Rocroft.

While Providence by these destructive agencies of war, famine and pestilence, seemed to be thus opening this country to the entrance of Christian settlers; a spirit for colonizing it was extensively reviving again in England. Capt. Smith indefatigably espoused the cause; and in his solicitude to unite and animate the English nobility, gentry and merchants in the undertaking,

* Though writers differ as to the time. *Prince* says [in Jan. 1616.] *Ann.* p. 46. 4 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* 108. *Neal's N. E.* p. 37. This pestilence was known in England before Nov. 3, 1620. See N. E. charter of that year. See 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* 217—8. Note 4.

† This plague slew most of the Mass. Tribe. 1 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* 145 8 *H.* 226—204.

‡ *Gorges' Nar.* p. 12. 22. 27. He says the country was sorely afflicted, by the plague so that “in a manner it was left void of inhabitants.”—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 195, represents the disease as very loathsome; many of the dead were left unburied “as appeared by the multitude of carcasses found up and down the country.”—1 *Belk. Biog.* 355.

he travelled through the kingdom, for that purpose ; making the subject a favourite topic, and distributing copies of his history and map. Besides receiving promises and other encouragements, he was at last provided with three ships at Plymouth, and presented with 15 settlers ready to embark. He was prepared to sail early in the spring (1617), with full intent to begin a plantation upon this coast. But being windbound three months, he abandoned the voyage ; receiving nothing more for all his labours, losses and disappointments, than a commission from the Plymouth Company, as Admiral of New England.*

Never were attempts to accomplish an attainable object more uniformly thwarted ; and at the same time with greater perseverance renewed. It was represented that one Thomas Dermer, then in Newfoundland was an active friend to the cause of settlement and discovery : and therefore the Plymouth Company through the persuasions of Gorges sent out Edward Rocroft in a ship to North America to assist Dermer. Though missing him, Rocroft had the good fortune, in April, to seize a French barque, obtrusively fishing and trading upon the coast ; and finding her a valuable prize, he sent the master and crew in his own ship to England ; determined to retain possession of her himself, and with a part of his men to keep or guard the coast through the winter.

But ascertaining that several of his men had conspired to assassinate him and run away with the prize, he set them ashore at Saco ;† and in December sailed for Virginia, where he was killed. The wretched men, he left, having some knowledge of Monhegan, as a noted station, succeeded in reaching that Island, where they passed a tedious winter. This, and the winter previously spent by Vines and his companions at Saco, are the earliest, in which any Englishmen, except the Sagadahock colonists, are known to have remained during the winter season, in the territories of this State.

Dermer, being a man of great prudence, and industry, embarked at Plymouth in February, to find and assist Rocroft ; also to bring about if possible, a reconciliation of the savages towards the English.‡ For the treacherous management of Hunt and

1619. Feb.
Dermer's
Voyage.

* 1 Belk. Biog. 314.

† "Sawguatock"—15 Leagues from Monhegan.—*Princes' Ann.* 55.

‡ "About Kennebeck."—*Hubb. Narra.* p. 288—9.

A. D. 1619. others, had so highly exasperated the natives, that the business of trade and settlement was greatly interrupted. At Monhegan, he was informed by the Islanders, that Rocroft left the coast six months before for Virginia. He then took an exploring survey of the country, and found southwestwardly, "some ancient plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void." Other places were not yet free from the sickness; where only a remnant of people with some stores had escaped. At Patuxet, [Plymouth,] Squanto's native country, all were dead."*

In performing the trust of reconciling the hostile Indians, Dermer had *Squanto's* generous help, whom he had brought with him, from England, and whose heart he had won with kindness. He had also with him *Samoset*, a native of Sagadahock, whom Capt. John Mason, governour of Newfoundland, had lately sent home, and whose friendly feelings Dermer had secured. These were two of Hunt's captives, and had probably learned to speak the English tongue. Having succeeded in his mission, he put Squanto, (as he wished) ashore at Saco; sent some dispatches to England by a Capt. Ward;† and June 23, left Monhegan for Virginia.

Dermer's
Death.

Landing, on his way at Martha's Vineyard, he and his men were assailed by Epenow and his countrymen, and in the affray, several of his crew were killed, and himself was so severely wounded, that he died in September, soon after his arrival in Virginia. The untimely death of this worthy man so exceedingly discouraged Gorges, that he declared, it "made him almost resolve "never to intermeddle again in any of these undertakings."‡

The Ply-
mouth Pil-
grims' settle-
ment at Patuxet.

Unexpectedly at length, the first settlement in New-England was established by a people and in a manner, very few if any had previously contemplated. The English Puritans who resided in Holland, having resolved upon a removal to America, procured of the Virginian Company, in Sept. 1619, a Patent; and im-

* Prince's Ann. 63. Smith's Hist. 127. 229.

† It is said Dermer loaded a ship of 200 tons with fish and furs at Monhegan and dispatched it for England; and each sailor had £16. 10s. for seven months.—*Hol. A. Ann.* p. 196.

‡ Hubbard, says (*Hist. N. E.* p. 40.) Dermer was employed "to settle "the affairs of the plantation now a *third time* revived again about Kennebec in the year 1619."—See *Hubbard's Narrative of Indian Wars*, p. 289, *Ed. Worcester*, 1307.—*Smith's Hist.* 228—9.

mediately made preparations for leaving Europe to locate themselves on or near the river Hudson. Neither the dangers of the ocean, nor a wilderness of savages, could extinguish their heaven-born courage; for God and truth, religion and liberty, inspired their resolution and enterprize. Led on by hopes from above, though filled with anxieties, they embarked at Plymouth, Sept. 6, in the following year, 1620. But they were treated with treachery. The Dutch, desirous of possessing the same country which these pious pilgrims were seeking for their refuge, bribed their captain; and he brought them in November, to the shores of Patuxet. They knew their patent would now avail them nothing, for they were entirely without the limits of the Virginian territory: therefore they formed a social compact and a temporary government, and resolutely entered upon a country as they viewed it, provided for their abode by the allotment of Providence.

CHAPTER III.

New-England patent granted—Its extent and government—Patent to Mason—Charter of N. Scotia to Alexander—Its civil powers and management—Laconia, a province, a company—Monhegan and other places on the eastern coast settled—Intruders—Saco, New-Hampshire, and Pemaquid settled—Robert Gorges, and his council—Free fishery discussed—Agamenticus settled—The rights to Acadia, and of the Plymouth Council discussed—N. Scotia confirmed to Alexander—Monhegan sold—Trade to Kennebec—Massachusetts patent and charter—Canada taken by the Kirks—Peace—New-Hampshire, Commocks, Kennebec, Saco, Lygonia, Muscongus and Pemaquid patents—Settlements at Sagadahock and Piscataqua.

A. D. 1620.
Settlements
promoted,

AN era now opens which was far more favourable to the settlement of North America, than that of any preceding period. The country was perpetually growing in importance; and adventurers, through the increase of their knowledge and experience, became more judicious and prudent in their enterprizes. In 1620, after our Pilgrim Fathers had founded the colony of New Plymouth, seven English ships made voyages to New England for fish and fur, and eight others carried 1,095 settlers to the Virginia plantation.

Patent to
Plymouth
Council.

Observing that colony to flourish under new patents* with more ample privileges, the Plymouth Company, or the other branch in the corporation of 1606, petitioned the crown, through Gorges for a new Patent, which might prescribe a definite extent of territory, with the necessary powers and privileges; and give an exclusive right to the soil, fishery, and trade, within its limits. The king was easily moved by the entreaty; and accordingly ordered† one to be drafted which should compare with that previously “granted to the present company in Virginia.”

Granted.

This charter was dated Nov. 3, 1620. Its corporate members

* 1st second Patent 23d May 1609—3d Patent March 12th 1621.—1 Haz. Coll. 58, 72, 81.

† 1 Haz. Coll. 99—where the order of council is entire.

consisted of forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen,* who were A. D. 1620. collectively denominated, "*The Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for planting, ruling and governing* ^{New-Eng-} *NEW-ENGLAND in America.*" The extensive country, now grant-land. ed in fee-simple, was situated between the 40th and 48th degrees of northern latitude, in breadth ; and in length by the same breadth "throughout the main land from sea to sea ;"—extending in fact, from the bay of Chaleur, and the north line of Maine, southerly, to a parallel of latitude, more than a degree below Long Island, or the mouth of the river Hudson.

After expressly recognizing the patent to Hanham, Gilbert and others in 1606, and the possessions acquired, and settlements undertaken, within its limits ; the new charter premises, that this country had lately experienced, under a visitation from God, an uncommon desolation, by "a destructive plague," and "horrible slaughters and murders among the savages ;" and that none other than English subjects had any possessions within that territory.

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- * Namely,—Lodowick, *duke of Lenox*, Sir John Brooks.
 Lord Steward. — Thomas Gates, [*in the patent of*
George, Ld. Marquis Buckingham, 1606.]
High Admiral. — Richard Hawkins, [*Pres. of*
James, Marquis Hamilton. *N. V. Col.* 1615.]
William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord — Richard Edgecomb.
Chamberlain. — Allen Apsley.
Thomas, Earl of Arundel. — Warwick Heale.
William, Earl of Bath. — Rich'd F. Cotchmay.
Henry, Earl of Southampton. — John Bouchier.
William, Earl of Salisbury. — Nathaniel Rich.
Robert, Earl of Warwick. — Edward Giles.
John, Viscount Haddington. — Giles Mompesson.
Edd. Lord Zouche, Lord Warden — Thomas Wroth. — KNIGHTS.
of the Cinque ports. Mathew Shurteffe, *Dean of Exeter*.
Edmund, Lord Sheffield. Henry Bouchier, *Esqr*.
Edward, Lord Gorges. Robert Heathe, *Recorder of Lon-*
Sir Edd. Seymour, Knight Baronet. *don*.
 — Robert Mansell. John Drake.
 — Edward Zouche, *Knight Mar-* Raleigh Gilbert, [*in the Patent of*
shal. 1606.]
 — Dudley Diggs. George Chudley.
 — Thomas Rowe. Thomas Hammond.
 — Ferdinando Gorges. John Argal. — *Esquires*.
 — Francis Popham, [*son of the late*
Chief Jus. of Eng.]

A. D. 1620. Nay 'many places for leagues,' it was stated, 'were without native inhabitants to challenge any interest in the lands.'

Powers. The charter created a body politic, and corporate with perpetual succession, vested with powers to fill vacancies; to elect a president and secretary; to appoint all governors, and other officers needful for managing the affairs of the Colony, whether in America or in England; and to establish all such laws, and ordinances as might be suitable for a regular administration of justice. The Corporation or Council were democratical in their proceedings; and all their governors, magistrates and other authorities in the colony, were directed to rule, punish and pardon, according to the orders and instructions given them under the corporate seal and signature of the President.*

Privileges. In general, the privileges granted in the former charter were confirmed to the Plymouth Council now incorporated;—such as the rights of citizenship; the exclusive trade and fishery within their territorial limits; importations from England seven years duty-free; and the expulsion of all intruders. But no coining of money was allowed in the colony, nor any catholic permitted to settle there.†

This Charter, which existed upwards of fourteen years, and longer than the former one, is the foundation of the numerous subsequent patents by which New England was first divided; and its settlements and colonies located and limited.

F. Gorges. The more zealous and prominent men in the council were two, who might be justly placed at the head of the list. One was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He had been president, under the former charter; and the settlement of this country was still his favourite pursuit. Capt. John Mason, returning home about this time from Newfoundland, of which he had been governour, also exhibited great courage and confidence in the cause; and when there was an occasion to fill an early vacancy in the Council, he was elected a member and became their secretary.‡

John Mason. The first territorial grant by the Plymouth Council was to him. This was dated March 2, 1621; and it embraced the lands be-

* Yet the Plymouth Council doubted its right to transfer the powers of government to any of its Patentees: though it certainly had the sole power of granting the lands from the 40th to the 48th degree.—*Hubbards' N. E.* 627-620.

† See this Charter entire.—1 *Haz. Coll.* 103-118.

‡ 1 *Belknap's N. H.* p. 14.

tween Merrimack and Naumkeag, from their sources to the sea, A. D. 1621. including all islands within three miles of the coast.* It was called "MARIANA."

But though the expectations and plans of Gorges were great, French Claim. he was nevertheless exercised with very discouraging apprehensions. He had obtained due information that the French were settled at Quebec, at Port-Royal, at Mount Desert and at other places; and intended to become the exclusive possessors of the country. He foresaw, that though the coast was thoroughly cleared of them by Argal, eight years before, as far as Port-Royal: the most efficient measures ought to be adopted without delay to thwart their designs and exclude them from New England. A difficulty however arose from a deficiency or defect in the new Charter itself. It extended indeed, two degrees farther north than the former one; yet he found after all it only embraced the bay of Chaleur, which was a degree at least below the southerly bank of the gulf of St. Lawrence.

To remove this perplexity, Gorges, "being (as Prince says)† Sept. 10. Charter of Nova Scotia to W. Alexander. entrusted with the affairs of this country," procured from the Council a conveyance unto Sir William Alexander, Secretary of State from Scotland, and afterward earl Sterling and Viscount of Canada;‡ whereby a large northern section of their territory was assigned to him, which was forthwith confirmed and enlarged by a Patent, Sept. 10, 1621, from James I. the king of England. The western boundary line of the Province passed northwardly, from Passamaquoddy through "the river St. Croix, to the farthest source or spring which comes from the west;" and thence north in a direct course over land to the first spring that runs into the great river of Canada; thence northward unto the river and along the shores of it eastward to Gaspe; and thence by the coast, exclusive of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, around Cape Sable and across the bay of Fundy to the place of beginning. To this territory, which embraced a great part of *Acadia* and also the islands and waters within six leagues of the

* See this Patent in *Hubbard's N.E.* p. 614—616.

† Prince's Ann. p. 94. 111.

‡ 2 *Brit. Dominions in Am.* p. 6.—He was made Viscount, A. D. 1633. Sir William was master of requests for Scotland. Mason first introduced him to Gorges; and Gorges says, the king commanded us to assign Sir William a "part of our territories."—1 *Coll. Haz.* 387.

A. D. 1621. shores, was given the name *NOVA SCOTIA*,* or *NEW-SCOTLAND*,—and it was granted to Sir William and his heirs in fee simple without any condition whatever.

No provisions for any civil government appeared in the Patent; and the country was erected into a royal palatinate,—to be holden as a fief of the Scottish crown; the proprietary being invested with the regal rights and prerogatives, of a count-palatine. The two rights of soil and government being in this way originally separated, were for a long period kept distinct, and sometimes in different hands. These territories must have been considered the King's Scottish dominions; and even then, it will perplex the wisest civilian to discover the justice or propriety of the tenure.

Scotch Settlements attempted.

There was a general wish, and it was also Sir William's intention, to settle the country with Scotch emigrants. Utterly opposed as they were to French catholicism, they would form a stable barrier to the encroachments of Frenchmen; while their industrious and economical habits and religious principles would render them a fit people to settle a new country. Sir William, the next year, and from year to year, till the death of his king, sent a ship with men and necessaries to plant a colony within his Patent. One arriving late in the next season, was obliged to stay through the winter in Newfoundland. The mariners and planters, in another, coasted from that island along the shores of Nova Scotia; selected an eligible place for a plantation on Port Joli river, eastward of Cape Sable; and took possession. Yet, "by reason of some unexpected occurrences," they resolved to make discoveries, not to plant, and took passage in July for England; intending to resume the enterprize the next spring. Accordingly in 1624, and afterwards, Sir William transported hither some Scottish settlers; and after 'subduing the French inhabitants, or removing them to Virginia,' he "planted a colony there himself, and held possession ten years," before "it returned to the French."†

* This Patent was in Latin; hence the name "*Nova Scotia*."—See translation by *Palairé*, 16—12.—*Oldmixon* 22.

† 1 *Coll. Mass. His. Soc.* 3d series, p. 232.—After this Sir William permitted his son and Claude de la Tour to build a fort at St. John's river, called "*La Tour and Alexander*."—See *Commissioners' Report*.—See *Chalmers* p. 42, 91.—5 *Purchas*, p. 1871—3.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 219, who cited "*Laet*. p. 62."

Gorges and Mason, the projectors and prosecutors of still greater designs, were taking measures to carry a very extensive plan of enterprizes into immediate execution ; wherefore they first procured of the Plymouth Council, August 10th, 1622, a patent of all the country between the Merrimack and Sagadahock ; extending from the Atlantic unto the rivers Canada and Iroquois, and including the " Savage nations towards the great lakes." It was called "*The Province of Laconia*,"*—a region represented by travellers and novelists as abounding profusely in all the varieties of nature.

A. D. 1622.
Province of
Laconia.

If their descriptions were just, the seaboard was full of harbours and fish, the lands were variegated with elevations, vallies, rivers and streams, and clothed with forest trees of every species, where wild fruits, nuts, and gums, were spontaneous, and abundantly plentiful. In fresh waters were always seen shoals of delicious fish ; and over the declivities and through meadows might be killed multitudes of deer, beaver, and other game—truly one of the best regions in the world, for furs and settlements.

Nor could any land offer to emigrants surer pledges of health and long life ; for the atmosphere was pure and salubrious, and the face of the ground was free of every thing that could hurt or annoy. In a word, it was exalted by some romantic accounts into a kind of terrestrial paradise.†

To make large gains of a country so extensive, and so tempting to adventure and rural pursuits, Gorges and Mason, united with several merchants of London, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, Shrewsbury and Dorchester, in an association, self-termed "*THE COMPANY OF LACONIA* ;" being thus able to give a new impulse to the fur trade and fisheries ;—to discovery and settlement.‡ A great number of ships was sent, during the season, from the west of England, to take fish in these " northeastern waters," of which, as many as *thirty* visited the Damariscove Island.§ Emigrants arrived, intending to dwell in the country ; and establishments were undertaken at Piscataqua,|| and other places, along these eastern shores.

Laconia
Company
formed.

* *Hubbard's N. E.* 616—See a certified copy [Feb. 17, 1763, from Lords Com. Plan. at Whitehall,] in *Sec. office, Boston.* † 1 Belk. Biog. 376—7.

‡ *Hubbard's N. E.* 214.—1 Belk. N. H. 14. § Prince's Ann. 117—8.

|| 1 Belk. N. H. 14.

A. D. 1622. MONHEGAN was permanently peopled about the year 1622. Settlers un- A part of Dermer's crew, as previously stated, passed the winter on Moule- 1618—19 upon the Island; and the next May, they were there, gan and the for he could obtain information from none other than 'its resident Main. inhabitants,' that Rocroft, the year before, had actually sailed for Virginia. The Island was a place of general resort; and Prince says, that five of "Sir F. Gorges' men" had a skirmish with the natives near Cape Cod, in the autumn of 1620, in which three were slain, and the other two "hardly escaped to *Monhegan*."* The same author makes express mention of the Island in the following February, as "a *Plantation* of Sir F. Gorges;"—and again two months afterwards, as "a settlement of some beginnings." But still, how could any confident anticipations be entertained of its prosperity, if the first Islanders were only resident fishermen, blended with some such stragglers as Dermer's crew? Perhaps, however, the Company of Laconia considered it appendant to their patent, and fishermen's dwellings were now fitted up under their auspices, for the purposes of a more extensive fishery. At any rate, these facts seem to be certain, that Monhegan was not without inhabitants after 1622, till the first Indian war, and that the young colony of New-Plymouth, in the spring of this and subsequent years, sent hither for provisions, which they readily obtained from the ships always found in these eastern waters. The opposite country, or main, afforded greater conveniences for traffic; and it seems, that slight habitations, such as cabins for fishermen and huts for temporary residence, were constructed about this time upon the shores, between the rivers St. George and Saco.†

Intruders. But it was a prevailing sin of early times, to treat the native inhabitants and the country, as if they were only fit to gratify the cupidity of the plunderer, or passion of the destroyer. The

* *Prince's Ann.* 99, 100.—He says, "this year," 1623, there are "some scattering beginnings made at Monhiggon and some other places by sundry others."—*Ib.* 127, 134.

† *Hubbard in his Nar.* p. 280, says, after the attempt to settle Sagadahock, "other places adjoining were soon after seized and improved for trading and fishery." But in his *Hist of N. E.* p. 14, speaking of the coast eastward about Monhegan, Damariscove, Casco Bay, Cape Porpoise and Metinicue, he says, no Colony was ever settled in any of these places "till the year 1620." *Que*—was there any so early, except that of New-Plymouth?

Plymouth Council, even complained to the king, of the reprehensible encroachments and abuses committed within their patent. The woods were plundered of timber or set on fire, to the utter ruin of whole forests; the best harbours were unnecessarily encumbered with overthrown ballast and impediments; the possessions of proprietors and the first emigrants were wantonly disturbed; the profits of trade with the natives, and the rights of fishery upon the coast, were engrossed; and the offenders, apparently "resolving to omit nothing that might be impious and intolerable," had bartered away to the savages, fire-arms and ammunition and taught them the use of the gun.—But as might be expected, some of them afterwards receiving retributive justice from heaven, were slain by the same savages they "had taught, and with the same weapons they had sold them."

To rectify and prevent all improper practices, and favour the designs of the proprietors, the king by proclamation, Nov. 6, 1622, commanded his subjects, both adventurers and planters through New-England, never to disturb the trade with the natives—never to sell them fire-arms; nor in any instance to intermeddle with the woods, or freeholds of the planters, without license either from the Plymouth Council, or the crown. It also threatened the wrongdoers with confiscation and other penalties expressed in the patent, provided they did not desist;*—as if such a mandate could effectually be a preventive of evils, in a country where eyewitnesses must be few and interested, and tribunals were unknown. Yet it might have some effect, to allay fears and invigorate enterprize,

As early as 1623, a permanent settlement was commenced at *Saco*. Gorges, 14 years before, and subsequently, had sent hither Richard Vines and others, to collect facts and select some eligible situation for planting a colony. The first winter they passed in the country was, in all probability, A. D. 1617—18, and at the mouth of the Saco. For in a subsequent grant of territory here, Vines, John Oldham, and their associates, were represented to have undertaken "the advancement of the general plantation of the country, and the strength and safety thereof against the natives or any other invaders;" and some of them, certainly Vines, if not Oldham, in fact "lived" here in 1623, where they

Saco settled.

* 1 Haz. Coll. p 151, 152.

A. D. 1623. and their companions long continued their residence.* Gorges being the patron of Vines, must also have been the tutelar protector and guide of this colonial enterprize. The place chosen was at Winter-harbour, near the seashore, an inviting situation; and six years after this, a patent was granted to the settlers, and a form of government established.†

N. Hamp-
shire.

In the spring of the same year, the Company of Laconia sent over David Thompson, two Hiltons, and other planters, to establish a colony and fishery, on the south side of Piscataqua river, at its mouth. Here they erected salt-works and built a house which they called "Mason's Hall;"—being the foundation of New-Hampshire.‡

Sagada-
hock and St.
George.

We call those settlements permanent, which are continued from year to year, without interruption; and although we find not in the annals of the times, precisely in what year or by what persons, habitations for families, or homesteads, were first formed upon Arrowsick Island, and upon the main land at Sagadahock, at Sheepscoot, at Damariscotta, at Pemaquid and St. George's river; yet we are under the necessity of concluding, it must have been as early as the present year. The harbours, head-lands and rivers had rendered this section uncommonly attractive to Europeans; the remains of chimnies and vestiges of dwelling-places, are strongly marked with antiquity,§ and it is said, there were only seven years after this, "eighty-four families besides fishermen," dwelling upon the shores of this region.

A General
Govern-
ment.

But no country can be prosperous and happy, without civil rulers or some administration of government. The Plymouth Council, convinced of this as a political maxim, sent over a delegation of three gentlemen, *Robert Gorges*, *Francis West*, and

* *Sullivan*, p. 219.—*The Patent says*, A. D. 1629, "John Oldham of New-England, gentleman planter, and his servants, have for *six years past*, lived in New-England; and he hath at his own expense transported divers persons, there"—viz. Saco, A. D. 1629.

† 1 *Belk. N. H. App.* p. 291,—the "memorandum" of a deed 17 May 1629, calls "Richard Vines, Governor, and Richard Bonighton, assistant of the Plantation of Saco." But the genuineness of this deed is doubted.

‡ 1 *Belk. N. H.* 15.—*Prince's Ann.* 134.

§ *The Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt*, in 2d vol. *Travels*, p. 244—5, says, "some attempts to settle a colony in the vicinity of New-Castle were made by the Dutch in 1625, and even at the early period of 1607, but without effect." *Also Hubbard's Nar.* 250.

William Merrill, with authority, in different capacities, to super- A. D. 1623
intend and manage all the public affairs of New-England.*

Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, an active, enterprising genius, and a brilliant officer in the late Venetian war, was commissioned Lieut-General, and Governor-in-chief of the country. His council was to be formed and consist of Francis West, Christopher Leavitt, the Governor of New-Plymouth, and such others as he might select; and when in session, they were invested with full power "to do what they should think just and fit in all cases capital, criminal, civil and military."† He arrived at New-Plymouth in September, and brought with him several families and passengers, and also a patent‡ from the Plymouth Council, dated the 13th of the preceding December, intending to settle a Colony southerly of Cape Ann, while he was discharging the duties of Governor through New-England.

R. Gorges,
Governor
General,
and his
Council.

West, commissioned Admiral of New-England, arrived a few months before the Governor, with special instructions to restrain all unlicensed ships from fishing and trade within the Plymouth patent, or otherwise to exact of all interlopers, payment of the penal sums prescribed. He proceeded to execute his orders, till finding the fishermen too sturdy and stubborn for him to control, he was obliged to desist.

To superintend the churches, when established in New-England, Mr. Merrill, an Episcopal minister, had received a commission from the Ecclesiastical Courts in England; but he met with no welcome and returned home in disgust.§

When West arrived in England, the mariners complained to Parliament of his attempts to restrain them in their rightful employments, and requested an order to make the fishery entirely free. The Commons were at that time extremely jealous of the royal prerogative; and so much were they opposed to these corporations created by the King with exclusive privileges, that they were ready to view the charter to the Plymouth Council as a public grievance. Hence they immediately called Sir Ferdinando to the bar of the House, and charged it upon him and his

Free Fish-
ery claimed
within
New-Eng-
land.

* *Sullivan* 167—391. *S. Davis' account, on the C. Files.*

† *Prince*, p. 141—2.

‡ 1 *Haz. Coll.* 151—5.—*Prince's Ann.* 141—2.—1 *Belk. Biog* 367—9.

§ 1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 366—7.—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* 125—139

A. D. 1624. associates, that they of the corporation under color of planting a colony were pursuing their own private gains, regardless of the public interest, and the good of the community; and, though he, as a gentleman of worth and honor, had their respect, all personal considerations must yield to the common weal; and he must without delay deliver the patent to the House.

Gorges' defence.

Gorges' defence was able, though the Commons thought it not satisfactory. He said "he had no power to deliver the patent without the consent of the Council; nor was it in fact in his custody. Never had they transcended their rights; and he knew not how their enterprizes could be considered a public grievance, since they were undertaken for the increase of trade, the advancement of religion, and the enlargement of national empire. No monopoly had been exercised or enjoyed for the purposes of private gain; for (said he,) the losses of the adventurers have been so heavy, that they themselves had grown weary, and others were fearful to engage. At no time, had the fishery been, by design, or in fact, converted to private uses, as the offers made to all the maritime cities in the western part of the kingdom, would abundantly evince. Nay, the exclusive privileges in the charter itself, were nothing more than the necessary favors granted to the company, for the management of their prudential concerns—privileges possessed by lords of manors without a jealous thought.*

Measures of the P. Council checked.

However, when the grievances of the nation were presented to the king by the parliament, the patent was the first on the list. Apprehending this, and knowing the facts, king James, out of respect to his prerogative and to Gorges, would not recal it.† Still the discussion and issue gave a great, though temporary check, to the measures adopted for colonizing the country: and the Plymouth Council in deference to the voice of the nation,‡ suspended their plans and expeditions, and concluded to call home Gorges, the governor, in about a year subsequent to his arrival. After looking therefore to his father's affairs eastward,

* 1 Belk. Biog. 369.

† In 1621, James is reported to have said, "America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of Parliament," "and they have no right to interfere."—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* 237.

‡ After this, the Plymouth Council granted only two or three patents, till A. D. 1629.

he returned ; and this, the first essay made to establish a general A. D. 1624. government in New-England, was wholly unsuccessful.

Gorges, meeting with these crosses in the general system of American affairs, determined to plant a small colony at his own expense. He had been informed of a short salt-water river, admitting vessels to a safe harbour and good anchorage at and above its mouth, called *Agamenticus* ;* its situation being nearly equidistant from a mountain of that name and the river Piscataqua.—Pleased with the description of the place, he procured from the Plymouth Council, a patent of 24,000 acres,—namely, 12,000 on each side of Agamenticus [York] river, and made provision for settling it. He entrusted the immediate management of its affairs to Ferdinando Gorges, his grandson, a young gentleman of rank and ambition, and to Francis Norton, who having risen, by his own merits, from a common soldier to a Lieut. Colonel, was desirous to perpetuate his fortune.

First Patent of Agamenticus. [York.]

In this company of emigrants were several artificers, who were to be employed in building vessels and saw-mills. The others were laborers, furnished with oxen and means, partly for clearing and cultivating the ground, though principally for getting lumber of different kinds. A settlement was commenced on the eastern side of the river near the sea, and afterwards no other plantation of Gorges had so constantly and so fully his patronage and favor.†

About this time, a demise of the crown happened, which was followed by an event alike unpropitious to the Plymouth Council, to Sir William Alexander, to Gorges, and to this country. This was the intermarriage of Charles, the new King, with Henrietta Maria, a French Princess and a Catholic. By the marriage treaty, negociated some months prior to her arrival, in May, 1625, it was stipulated to cede or resign generally the jurisdiction of Acadia to France.† This, in view of all Englishmen interested, cast a deep shade upon their American affairs ; and brought their rights into an unhappy collision with the engagements of the

A stipulation to resign Acadia to France.

* Called also “ Accomenticus ”—*Gorges' Hist.*

† The precise time when *Agamenticus* [York] was first settled is not quite certain. *Gorges Hist.* 16, 27, says, it was about the time N. Plymouth was settled.—1 *Belk. Biog.* 377-8 gives this settlement a place, in order of time, before, though the same year (1623) with that of Piscataqua. Capt. Champernoon and the cousin of Sir F. Gorges had charge of the plantations about Agamenticus.—*Hubbard's N. E.* 224.

‡ J. Palairct, p. 18, 19,

A. D. 1625 crown. The King and Council saw it; and when the French ambassador came to urge his master's claim to the territory, they summoned Gorges before them to defend, explain or surrender, according to what might appear best adapted to circumstances.

Gorges' defence. Gorges appeared and defended the rights of the Plymouth company with so much ability and force, as to affect a postponement of the concession.* It was perceived however, that the

July,
Sir W. Alexander's
Charter.

French were in a fair way to acquire a considerable part of the long coveted country, in spite of all opposition. Sir William Alexander well knowing their wishes and his own liabilities to loss, procured of king Charles, July 12th, a confirmation of his grant, described and sanctioned with much particularity:†—and this, followed by a war with France two years afterwards, kept Nova Scotia, or Acadia, from the French, till the treaty of St. Germaines.‡

Feb. 1626. But no sooner was the French claim put to rest, than the Commons renewed their calls upon the Plymouth Council, to grant a *free fishery* within their patent, and upon refusal, moved the king to vacate the charter.—Thus assailed from different quarters, their rights were only preserved by Charles; he like his father, refused to yield a little of his prerogative, even at the solicitations of Parliament.

Monhegan
sold to El-
bridge and
Aldsworth.

These measures and the controversies between king and people; the apprehensions of a war with France, and other anticipated difficulties, so alarmed the English merchants, that those of Plymouth, who were proprietors of the plantation at Monhegan, made sale of it to Giles Elbridge and Robert Aldsworth, for £50 sterling. They also sold to the Plymouth colonists and Piscataqua settlers whatever else they owned, consisting of goats, Biscay blankets, and sundry mercantile commodities to the amount of £900; and withdrew from the concern.§ It is said, that under the late purchasers, the Island was occupied and improved by resident families to the first Indian war.||

* 1 Belk. Biog. 375.

† See this patent in Latin. 1 *Haz. Coll.* 206—224.

‡ Namely A. D. 1632, though there was peace in 1629.

§ The articles had belonged to the cargo of a French ship cast away at Sagadahock; and were obtained by the Monhegan Islanders. *Prince's Ann.* 153. 161.—Abraham Jennings sold the Island and delivered the patent to Abraham Shurte, agent to the purchasers. Shurte lived at Pemaquid. See his *Depo. Com. Rep.* Aldsworth was an "Alderman." || Sullivan.

These overtures probably increased the population upon the A. D. 1626. shores, and promoted trade with the natives. The New-Plymouth colonists, by a little barter, from year to year at Monhegan and Damariscove for provisions, had now become acquainted with the certain gains arising from the fishery and fur-trade in this quarter; and began to make trips hither solely for these purposes. After harvest the last year, they sent a shallop loaded with corn "up Kennebeck river," in exchange for which, they received "700 lbs. of beaver besides other furs."* The present year, they erected a trading house at Penobscot, and commenced a traffic with the Tarratine Indians; being the first English establishment of the kind in these waters.†

Colonists of
New-Ply-
mouth trade
to Kenne-
beck and
Penobscot.

To secure unto themselves the exclusive trade of the Kennebeck, Mr. Allerton, their agent, applied to the Plymouth Council, in 1627, for a patent, which was readily granted; but its limits and the privileges it contained, were altogether too indefinite, to render it of any advantage, till it was renewed and enlarged.‡

1627. Their
1st Kenne-
beck Patent,

Our country, at this time, appeared in the eyes of Europeans to considerable advantage. The settlers and natives were living in good neighbourhood; and no doubts were now entertained but that the waters, wilderness, and soil, would afford to an industrious people an abundant livelihood. The troubles were in England, springing principally from the state of parties; and this country began to be considered an inviting asylum for the oppressed, especially for ministers who had been silenced, and other scrupulous dissenters; many finding a removal necessary for the preservation of their lives. To provide, therefore, for the retreat and comfort of the persecuted, a patent was obtained of the Plymouth Council, March 19, 1627, by Roswell and five others, embracing the country between the lines, a league southerly of the river Charles and northerly of the Merrimack; which appeared to be most eligibly situated for the benevolent purpose. Under this patent, Roswell and his fellows associated to themselves Sir Richard Saltonstall and 19 others;—all of whom, being 26 in number, became equal co-proprietors therein. There were now

Massachu-
setts Patent
and Char-
ter,

* Prince's Ann. p. 156—7.

† Mass. Letter Book, p. 107.

‡ Prince's Ann. p. 169—New-Plymouth established a trading house on the Kennebeck river in 1628, perhaps near the mouth, possibly above Merrymeeting bay.

- A. D. 1627. within the limits of the patent only *five* small settlements;* and to superintend them and plant another at Naumkeag, (Salem,) John Endicott, one of the patentees, was sent over by the proprietors, well furnished with necessary supplies. To give full effect to the patent, a Royal Charter was obtained, March 4, A. D. 1628,† by which it was erected into a COLONY, under the name of MASSACHUSETTS BAY; and an administration of civil government was soon established.

Firearms
kept from
the Natives.

In the first settlement of this country, the judicious management of the natives was an art of great importance. The French, by a condescension and familiarity peculiar to their character, seem to have attained it early, and in an eminent degree. Firearms and gunpowder made the savage, their better ally. With Englishmen, especially the settlers, it was otherwise. From the first, they carefully withheld the gun and pistol from the Indians. To meet them armed, always excited alarm; and six years since, a royal proclamation forbade the sale of all such articles to the natives. Yet this, as well as all principles of public policy, one Morton had the hardihood wholly to disregard; and for the sake of a lucrative trade, such as he understood the French and fishermen had improved at the eastward; he sold the Indians arms and taught them their use. But his conduct aroused all the settlements upon the coast; and he was arrested and sent to England.

Canada
taken by
the Kirks.

It would have been the height of good policy for the plantations, never to have been partakers with the parent State in any of her wars. But unfortunately from first to last, the reverse has been too true; and a waste of blood and treasure, and almost every shape of misery, have followed in train. In the second year of the war between England and France, (1628) Sir David Kirk, and his kinsmen, Louis and Thomas, were commis-

-
- * These were
- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Wessagusset, [Weymouth] | begun in A. D. 1622. |
| 2. Cape Ann, [Gloucester] | " " 1624. |
| 3. Nantasket, [Hull] | " " 1624. |
| 4. Mount Wallaston, [Quincy] | " " 1625. |
| 5. Winisimet, [Chelsea] | " " 1626. |
| 6. Naumkeag, [now Salem] | " " 1627. |

See authorities—*Prince's Ann.* p. 119, 147, 151-7, 176.—1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 14, 15, 16.

† As the year at this period ended March 24th; ought not the above era to be " 1629?"

sioned to seize upon the infant colonies in Canada, planted at A. D. 1622. Quebec, at Trois Revieres and Tadousac. Quebec, where Samuel Champlain the Governour of New-France resided, was flourishing and had a stone fortress; and when the assailants summoned a surrender, he defied them, even after they had taken a provision ship, on its arrival from France. The siege and the war were both rather ungracious; for the Kirks were despised protestants, and the Quebec colonists likewise were, in general, fugitives from catholic persecution. Nevertheless, the attack was renewed the following summer and articles of capitulation were signed, July 19, 1629; by which the garrison were, at their July, 1629. election, permitted to dwell with the captors or be transported to France.

At the time of this achievement, which acquired to the brave ^{Peace.} Kirks so much credit, they had no knowledge of the treaty of peace between England and France, ratified the preceding April. It being therefore a conquest after hostilities had ceased, they in fact derived no emolument from the acquisition; having a mere nominal possession of it three years only, before the whole country, by the treaty of St. Germain's, was transferred to the French.*

In England, after the return of peace, such was the rage of party, such the abuses of power, and such the popular discontents, that great numbers were induced to remove into this country. Here was civil and religious liberty,—here the novelties of rural happiness. New-Plymouth was a flourishing colony. She ^{Kennebeck Trade.} had lately opened a trade in a *new article*, called *Wampum*; which her people were pursuing with great profits. It consisted of *white and blue beads*, long and as large as a wheat-corn, blunt at the ends, perforated and strung; possessing a clearness and beauty which rendered them desirable ornaments. They were only known to the Narragansetts, the Pequots, and the natives on

* The true name of these men is said to be "Kertk."—1 *Charlevoix N. F.* p. 165. The Kirks fitted out an armament at their own expense, "took 18 French vessels and 135 pieces of ordnance," intended for Mount Desert and Quebec; "and Alexander Kirk was made governor of the whole."—*Sullivan*, p. 275. As a reward, the king of England only gave them "a patent of the lands north of the river St. Lawrence."—1 *Douglas Summ.* p. 306.—39 *Univ. Hist.* p. 423. See the Articles of Capitulation.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 205-7, in *French*.—1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 348.

A. D. 1629 Long Island; from whom they were obtained at a low price for corn, or small articles of foreign fabric, and transported into this eastern country and bartered for furs. At their trading house on the Penobscot, and another erected a year before, above or below Merrymeeting-bay, on the Kennebeck, probably near Popham's old fort, they kept through the year, besides wampum, the most suitable articles for the Indian trade, as coats, shoes, blankets, biscuit, fruits and trinkets. Nay, within two years after wampum was first brought into this region, it was found to command a more ready market among the tribes, than any other commodity.*

In the present revival of colonial affairs, the Plymouth Council, obsequious to the wishes of adventurers, proceeded to grant the extensive territory between the Merrimack and Penobscot, in portions to suit applicants or purchasers.

Nov. 7.
Patent of
N. Hamp-
shire.

John Mason, having agreed with Gorges to make the Piscataqua the divisional line between them, took subsequently from that Council, Nov. 7th, 1629, a patent of what lies between that river and the Merrimack, being part of Laconia, and called it NEW-HAMPSHIRE.†

Commock's
Grant.

Another grant of 1500 acres between the river Spurwink and Black Point, [in Scarboro,] was made about the same time‡ by the Council, to *Thomas Commock*; upon which he, with Mr. Gains and others, in 1632 or 3, began a plantation. Under this title, the lands on the east side of the town have since been holden. The Earl of Warwick, President of that Council was the uncle,§ and probably the patron of Commock.

January 13.
Kennebeck
Patent.

The next grant was made January 13th, 1629, to New-Plymouth, since called the KENNEBECK or *Plymouth PATENT*.|| It

* *Prince's Ann.* 172—3.—He says, “we buy about £50's worth of *wampum*; at first it sticks 2 years,” and “then we can scarce procure enough.”

† 1 *Haz. Coll.* 289.—1 *Belk. N. H.* 18.

‡ Commock was one of the subscribing witnesses to the livery of seizin, May 27th, 1633, of the Pemaquid Patent.—*Haz. Col.* 318.—*Sullivan*, 127.—*Hubbard's N. E.* 216—224. Commock died A. D. 1643. Joshua Scottow afterwards owned part of the patent; and Henry Joscelyn married Commock's widow, and lived upon it many years. The patent contained also Stratton's Island [Bluff Island;] and Sullivan says it contained 5000 acres.

§ *Folsom*, p. 29, says the patent was made in 1631. Commock lived on Prout's neck.

|| 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 298—303—where the patent is entire. For a long time N. Plymouth proprietors claimed to the sea. But about A. D. 1768—9

was intended as an express favor to her trade and fishery, and the A. D. 1629. propagation of religion. Its limits, as ultimately settled, were in the north line of Woolwich below Swan Island on the eastern side of the Kennebeck, through the south bend of the river Cobbesseecontee on the western side, and 15 miles in width on either side of the main river,—to an easterly and westerly line which crosses Wessarunset river [in Cornville] a league above its mouth, containing about 1,500,000 acres. Annexed to the charter were all the rights of exclusive trade; an open passage at all times to the grantees between the patent and the sea; an establishment of rules and ordinances, necessary for the management of their affairs and defence of their property; and, in a word, all the powers, (except admiralty jurisdiction,) which the charter council in session possessed.

In prosecuting the trade of the river, it is understood, that the stations selected by them for local traffic, were at Popham's fort, at Richmond's landing, and at Cushnoc.

To the *planters at Saco*, and their associates, were granted by Patents at Saco. the same authority, on the 12th of February, 1629, old style, [equivalent to Feb. 1, 1630,] two patents, severally four miles by the shore, and eight, on each bank of the river. The proprietors named in the one on the southerly side, were *Richard Vines* and *John Oldham*; those in the other, *Thomas Lewis* and *John Bonython*. It seems that Oldham had been here six years, and Vines seven; and that the former had at his own expense transported hither several settlers, and encountered great danger and fatigue. Indeed, the grant itself was made in consideration of nothing more than a small quitrent, past services, and the en-

the Superior Court of Massachusetts and Maine, determined the *southerly line* of the patent to pass easterly and westerly through the bend of the river Cobbesseecontee which is nearest the western ocean.—*Sullivan*, p. 118.—This was confirmed by a *State's deed*, Feb. 18, 1789,—and defined to be (on the east side of the Kennebeck) “in the north line of Woolwich.” The north line being without any definite boundary, was determined by deed, obtained of the Sagamores, A. D. 1648, by the Plymouth Colony, and another A. D. 1653. “of all the lands from Cushnoc to *Wessarunset* ;” and by the surveys and plans of Johnson, Bane and Bradbury, and the depositions of old men. See “*statement of Kennebeck Claim*,” A. D. 1783—5, confirmed by same Deed of State, 1789.—3 *Greenleaf's Rep.* p. 111.—Ought not the date of the Pat. to be “A. D. 1630,” new style?—*Prince's Ann.* p. 197—8.—*Sullivan*, p. 170.

A. D. 1629. gagements by them and their associates, to bring 50 inhabitants into the plantation within *seven* years, and to advance, as much as practicable, its interests, and give it strength and safety against 'natives and invaders.*' The first habitations were near the sea-shore; and though the increase and growth of the plantation had hitherto been quite slow, its people were orderly, healthful, and contented. If ancient statements be correct, they had, about this time, perhaps when the patent was received, an organized administration of government, "Vines being Governor, and Bonython assistant."† They also raised taxes for the support of public worship; and cultivated an harmonious and lucrative intercourse with their savage neighbors.

Lygonia
Patent.
1630.

Another patent, much more extensive and important, was obtained from the same source, A. D. 1630, and called LYGONIA. The territory, though indefinitely described, was 40 miles square, and extended from Cape Porpoise to Casco, as limited; but as it was afterwards considered, it reached to the southerly margin of Meryconeag peninsula, [Harpwell,] in *Casco bay*.‡ In some instances the Plymouth Council granted the rights, both of soil and government. The present was of that character, being a charter of privileges as well as a patent of lands. It was executed by the Earl of Warwick, their president, and by Sir Ferdinando, claimant of the country under a former assignment of Laconia to him and Mason, followed by a partition between them. If we may give credit to Hubbard and Sullivan, John Dye, Thomas Impe, Grace Harding, and John Roach, gentlemen of London, were the proprietary grantees; and they made provision for set-

* Livery of siezin was given June 25 and 28, 1631.—See these two patents entire in Appx. of Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, p. 315—319.—See also *Blk. of Claims*, p. 3—53.—Vines was the agent of Gorges, who for the most part kept the plantation in his own hands.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 224.

† In the memorandum to the deed of Passaconaway and others, May 17, 1629, this is inserted as an attestation, "Richard Vines, Governor, Richard Bonython, assistant of the plantation of Saco."—1 *Belk. N. H. Appx.* p. 291.—But quere as to the genuineness of that deed?—See *Sullivan*, p. 114 218—220—224.—*Vines* lived near Winter-harbor on the sea shore.—*Bonython* lived on the east side of the river, 1-4th mile from the water.—*Sull.* p. 224.

‡ It extended to Kennebunk river west; and probably to Harpswell, east, for the titles to the lands in the latter town were from the Plymouth proprietors.—*MS. Letter of Rev. Mr. Eaton*.—The patent says its extent "is 40 miles."—It is "south of Sagadahock," from C. Porpoise to C. Elizabeth.

tling a colony principally with agriculturalists, and establishing a A. D. 1630, form of civil government. To encourage emigration, very animating stories were told. The shores were represented, as indented with harbours, adorned with Islands, and washed by never-freezing waters ; and the uplands as diversified with promontories, streams and marshes, and heavily clothed with a mixture of hard wood and evergreen, which must possess a deep productive soil ; and while settlers were converting it into enclosures of cultivation, they could take sea and river fish, land and water fowl, and plenty of game, such as beaver, bear and deer.

In the spring, a connexion was formed between the patentees and Bryan Brinks, John Smith, and eight other husbandmen, who engaged to emigrate ; and a small vessel of only 60 tons, drawing ten feet of water, was procured, which in compliment to the enterprize, was called the *Plough*. She sailed under the command of Capt. Graves, and arrived at Sagadahock in July. The company settled themselves on the south side of that river, “ in Casco Bay,”—at a place not ascertained with certainty, perhaps at Purpoosuck, or on the Peninsula. Here considerable money was expended, improvements were made, and suitable constitutions and laws were established for governing the youthful colony.*

Displeased with their local situation, or the wild appearance of the country, these colonists, like those of 1607, tarried one year only ; and then the most, or all of them, being collectively called in derision “ the husband and company,” abandoned the undertaking. Indeed, the idea of agriculture was treated with so much contempt by some adventurers of the day, that the patent itself was by way of ridicule called the “ Plough Patent.” Informed, probably, of the fleet which had passed their shores with the Massachusetts colonists, the greater part re-embarked in the *Plough*, proceeded to Boston, in July 1631, and thence to Watertown ; and Mr. Winthrop says, “ most of them proved familists and van-

The Settlement. July.

* It was a disputed point if the P. Council could grant the prerogatives of government.—1 *Doug. Sum.* p. 416.—1 *Belk. N. H.* p. 28.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 317.—*Sullivan*, p. 305, says, the adventurers meant to pursue agriculture as well as trade and the fishery. Two Islands were granted in the river Sagadahock, “ about three score miles from the sea,” under 43° and 44° N. Lat., but there are none such hercabouts.—*Sullivan*, p. 310—311—312.

A. D. 1630. ished away.”* This, however, is considered the era of the original settlement about Casco.† Failing of success in the first endeavour, the Patentees, in 1638, took another associate, Mr. Richard Dummer, of Newbury, in N. England;—to whom they delivered the original patent, and gave him ample powers to take possession of the country. But he was unable to succeed in the plans they devised;‡ and the settlements eastward of Spurwink, where Commock, Gains and Joscelyn,§ began a plantation, must have been few and feeble, till the patent was assigned to Sir Alexander Rigby.

The Mus-
con-
gus or
Waldo Pa-
tent,

The next patent granted by the Plymouth Council, was on the 2d of March, 1630, to John Beauchamp, of London, and Thomas Leverett, of Boston, in England; and was called the “MUSCONGUS PATENT, or *grant*.” Its extent was from the seaboard between the rivers Penobscot and Muscongus, to an unsurveyed line running east and west, so far north as would, without interfering with the Kennebeck Patent or any other, embrace a territory equal to 30 miles square.|| About 89 years afterwards, the Waldos became extensively interested in the grant; and from them it took the name of “*the Waldo Patent*.”¶ It was procured expressly for the purposes of an exclusive trade with the natives. It contained no powers of civil government. The associates concerned in the anticipated traffic, were the Patentees, and Shirley, Hatherly, and Andrews. They appointed Edward Ashley their agent, and William Pierce an assistant; and despatched them the same summer in a small new-made vessel, with five labourers, one of them a carpenter, and furnished them with provisions, articles of trade and supplies, equal to the exigency of the enterprize. In the autumn, they procured at New-Plymouth, “corn and wam-

* Winthrop's Jour. July 1631, p. 27.—Hubbard's N. E. p. 141.

† *At Purpoodic*, the first settlement was early.—*MS. Let. E. Thrasher, Esq.*—Commock, Gains and Joscelyn began at *Black Point*, towards Spurwink.

‡ *Hubbard's Nar.* p. 293—294.—He says, “being denied an opportunity to effect it, Dummer came over in 1632. He was an ancestor of Lt. Gov. Dummer.”

§ Sullivan, p. 128.

|| About 1,000,000 acres. The north line of the patent, as since settled, is in the south line of Hampden, Newburg and Dixmont.

¶ See 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 304—5. The patent itself is in the family of the late Gen. Knox. The date there is “March 13, 1629,” old style.

pum" suited to the wants of winter.* They established a truck-house on the eastern banks of St. George's river, five miles below the head of tide-waters,† where a possession and traffic were continued till the first Indian war.

The eighth‡ and last grant of lands, by the Plymouth Council, within the present state of Maine, was the "PEMAQUID§ PA-TENT," which was dated Feb. 20th 1631. This was to two merchants of Bristol, *Robert Aldsworth* and *Gyles Elbridge*. It extended from the sea between the rivers Muscongus and Damariscotta, so far northward as to embrace 12,000 acres, besides settlers' lots; as it also was to include 100 acres, for every person, who should be transported hither by the proprietors within seven years, and reside here three years. The grant was made to the patentees in consideration of public services past, and their present engagements to build a town. It included the Damariscove Islands, and all others within nine leagues of the shore.

By this instrument,|| which was a charter as well as patent, extensive privileges were secured to the proprietary grantees and their associates, and also the powers of establishing an administration of civil government. They had a right to hunt, fish, fowl, and trade with the natives, in any part of New-England; and these were their *exclusive* privileges, within their own patent. The fee-simple seemed to have been granted; yet upon condition of forfeiture, if conveyed to any other than "their tenants." They were authorized to elect such civil officers by a major vote, and enact or make such laws, as the exigency of

* Prince's Ann. p. 203.

† 1 *Douglas, Summ.* p. 385,466.—The ship in which Mr. Allerton, of N. Plymouth came, was the *Lyon*. Capt. Wm. Pierce, master, who sailed from Bristol, England, for Penobscot with the agent of the Muscongus patentees, accompanied by 4 or 5 men. Allerton, was engaged in a trading house at Penobscot and Machias.—*Bradford's Letters*.—3 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 70.—72.

‡ Namely, 1 *Laconia* A. D. 1622; 2d *Agamenticus*; 3d *Black Point*; 4th *Kennebec*; 5th *Saco* (2); 6th *Lygonia*; and 7th *Muscongus*.

§ "Pemkueag."—*Indian*.

|| See an extract of this in 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 315—319: and entire, in the *Commissioners' Report upon the causes of the difficulties in the county of Lincoln, A. D. 1811*, p. 33—41. By the location of the settlers, on lots of 100 acres, from year to year, and then giving the quota of 12,000 acres to the proprietors, caused long difficulties; the claim amounting in all to about 90,000 acres.

A. D. 1631. their affairs required. They might seize by force of arms, all unlicensed intruders, and confiscate their property. But no resident Governor might ever take a planter from his employments, otherwise than for the public defence. Another patent was to be granted, if requested within seven years, under some fit name and more ample form of privileges.

First settle-
ment,—A.
Shurte,
Agent.

The earliest settlements seem to have been on the western banks of Pemaquid river, in 1623 or 4. A deed of lands in this quarter, was executed by two Sagamores to John Brown, July 15th, 1625;* and according to the deposition of *Abraham Shurte*, he himself, as a magistrate of Pemaquid, took the acknowledgment of it in the same month of the following year. Shurte was the agent of the proprietors, and five years previously, he had purchased for them the Island of Monhegan.†

A fort was built there, the year before the date of the patent;‡ and rifled by pirates in November, 1632.§ Formal possession was given and taken under the same instrument, May 27, 1633;|| and the plantation had a gradual uninterrupted growth till the first Indian war. The settlements extended to Damariscotta, and especially at the lower falls, they were seen rising on both sides of the river.

The visitants, as well as inhabitants, were highly pleased with the situation of Pemaquid. A smooth river navigable a league and a half above the point, a commodious haven for ships, and an eligible site for a fortress, at once, filled the eye. Here was a canal cut 10 feet in width, and variously deep from 6 to 10 feet, on the east side of the river which passes the first ripples;—an enterprize devised and finished, at a time and by hands unknown.¶

The grants
in general.

These patents of the Plymouth Council together, embraced the whole seaboard from Piscataqua to Penobscot, excepting

* Com. Report, 1811, p. 106—7.

† His dep. in *Ib.* 46, 41.—Shurte was the means of restoring to a Lynn Sachem his wife, taken by the Eastern Indians, in 1631.

‡ 1 Doug. Sum. p. 466.

§ 1 Belk. N. H. p. 24.

|| In presence of Thomas Commock, Christopher Burnhead, George Newman, William Hook and Robert Knight.

¶ It was 20 rods in length; and passed down a smooth inclined plain. No water runs there at present.

what lies between Sagadahock and Damariscotta; and the most A. D. 1631. of *this* intermediate coast, was, at the time, claimed under the Kennebeck Patent. Every one of them reserved to the crown, and to the Council, severally, a fifth of all precious metals; but in no other respects than what have been noticed, did they differ materially from each other. It is apparent, they were multiplied by that body in hasty succession, possibly through an apprehension of its being soon dissolved. The most of them bear the signature of Gorges, and it must be acknowledged they are richly endowed with privileges.

“*The territory of Sagadahock*,” situated between the river of that name and Damariscotta, a tract of only five leagues in width, including the Sheepscot and the Islands, had attracted early and perpetual attention. John Smith, in 1614 and 15, and Thomas Dermer, in 1619, undertook to revive the settlement, which had failed under the presidency of Popham. “By Dermer’s prudence and care, a lasting peace was effected betwixt the natives of the place and the English; and mutual confidence restored, so that the plantation began to prosper.”* There were inhabitants, traders, and fishermen on the river continually from A. D. 1626, to the first Indian war. Also we find residents as early about Damariscotta lower falls, as at Pemaquid; and above Wiscasset, we are told, there were, “in the year 1630, fifty families on what were called *the Sheepscot farms*.”† At *Cape-Newagen* [in Boothbay,] and *Nequasset* [in Woolwich,] there were ancient settlements, begun perhaps by fishermen.‡

Mention is also to be made at this time, of the settlements commenced on the northerly banks of the Piscataqua, and the river above. These were at Kittery-point, at Spruce creek, at Sturgeon creek [Elliot,] at Quampeagan falls, [or the Parish of Unity,] and the ancient Newichawannock [or Berwick];—Some or all of

* Hubbard’s Nar. p. 289.

† Sullivan, p. 165, 167, 170.—*Walter Phillips* lived on the west side of Damariscotta, not far from the *Great, or Lower Falls*. *Thomas Gent*, lived at Sheepscot Great Neck, where was a fort.—*Com. Report*, 1811, p. 98.

‡ The titles in Georgetown are through the Kennebeck Patent, the Lake and the Salter rights; in Boothbay and Woolwich, from old Indian deeds to Bateman, Brown and others; in Sheepscot, by settlement and Indian deeds.

A. D. 1631. which were seven years of age in 1631 ; being collectively called the *Plantation of Piscataqua*,

New-
Hampshire
Plantations.

Between these and the lower plantation on the south side of the river, at the present Portsmouth, and the upper one at and about Cochecho [Dover,] and Squamscot falls [at Exeter,] there was constant intercourse and some political connexion.* The patrons of the former, were Gorges, Mason and the London adventurers, whose agent was Walter Neal ; and of the latter, several Bristol and Shrewsbury gentlemen, who had intrusted the agency to Thomas Wiggin. Neal's residence was partly at Kittery-point and partly at Strawberry-bank [Portsmouth.] He had five associates, in the various business of trade, lumbering, fishing, salt-making and husbandry ; two of whom, Chadbourne and Gibbins, living at Newichawannock. Being the joint agent of Gorges and Mason, as well as the "governour" of their affairs and of the plantations, Neal made grants in Kittery,† which have been holden valid, effected some discoveries in the interior and remote parts of Laconia, and returning to England in 1634, was succeeded by Francis Williams.‡

* 1 Belk. N. H. p. 25,—27, 291.—Hubbard's N. E. p. 216, 217.

† Neal sold all the land in Kittery between A. D. 1632-4 ; and there are no other grants from Gorges and Mason jointly to be found on record.—*Sullivan*, p. 127, 142-3.

‡ *Chalmers*, p. 472.—1 *Haz. Coll.* 323.—Adventurers were much discouraged in 1632. Capt. Commock, of Black-point and Mr. Godfrey, probably of Agamenticus, went from Piscataqua in Oct. 1632, in Capt. Neal's pinnace to Boston, and carried 16 hhds. of corn to mill.—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 44.

N. B.—It is stated by one writer that the Council, by patent in 1631, "conveyed to *Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear*, of Plymouth (England) merchants, a tract of land extending from the mouth of a small stream called Spurwink river, on the line between the towns of Scarboro' and Cape Elizabeth, *fifteen miles* into the interior ; thence crossing eastwardly to Presumpscot river, and so down to the sea. Portland and several other towns are situated within the limits of this patent."—*Folsom*, p. 29. The patentees did not come over, but sent their associate, *John Winter* ; to whom Mr Vines, the attorney to the Council delivered possession, July 21, 1632. Mr. Winter established himself at Richmond Island, where he resided 15 years and employed sometimes 60 men in the business of fishing.—To Winter was committed the full government of the plantation,"—*Josselyn's Voyages*.

CHAPTER IV.

Nova Scotia—Grants to la Tour—His commission—Treaty of St. Germain—Acadia resigned to France—Governed by Razilla—Penobscot truck-house rifled—Machias trading-house set up by New-Plymouth—Grants to Razilla and la Tour—Machias truck-house rifled—The natives restless—Piracy—Homicide at Kennebeck—Gorges and Mason purchase out the interest of Proprietors—The Charter of the Plymouth Council dissolved—Twelve Royal Provinces formed—Attack upon Massachusetts Charter—Lords Commissioners of Plantations—Mason's death—Gorges' discouragements.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, after the royal confirmation of his ^{A D 1630} charter, transported Scotchmen hither, to settle at Cape Sable ^{Nova Scotia.} and one or two other places, and undertook to govern it by a palatinate commission.* But this was visionary ;—and his efforts were both ill concerted and feeble. The energy of Gorges and the perseverance of Mason, were qualities to which he was a total stranger. He stood trembling in the late war through fear, that his province would be seized upon by the French ; when Claude St. Estienne de la Tour, a French Protestant, perceiving his difficulties, procured of the French king, in 1627, a grant of lands, ^{Grants to la Tour.} five leagues on each side of the river St. John, extending back two leagues from the shore ; and then by the arts of address, and the more powerful arts of religious profession ; by proffering his assistance in the cause of colonial settlements, and shewing a high respect for the Scottish presbyterians ; he ingratiated himself into the favour of Sir William, and obtained leave to build and improve within his patent.†

La Tour's immediate residence seems to have been, either at Port-Royal or "the fort la Tour and Alexander," on the river St. John ; and Sir William, who had the right of conferring titles of honour upon any inhabitant of New-Scotland, gave him, Nov. 30, 1629, the hereditary order of baronet of the country, in ex-

* Sullivan, p. 275.

† 1 Hutchinson's History, p. 121—122.

A. D. 1630. press retribution for his worth and high attachments to the British interests.* Indeed, his friendship and favour appear extravagant; for on the 30th of April, 1630, a few days after peace, he gave la Tour and his son Charles, a patent of territory, from Cape Sable to la Heve, 15 leagues in breadth; embracing at least a third part of the peninsula. It was a valuable acquisition; and in return, they merely engaged to hold it, erected into two Baronies, equally divided between them, in fief as an inheritable titular dignity, and ever after, to be the faithful vassals of the king of Scotland. Sir William, moreover, told them, they should have a charter, when requested, under the great seal of that kingdom, with more ample immunities; and, May 12th, he extended to the son, the same title of honour, he had conferred upon the father; all which, he says, was in consideration of their merit and services.†

He is appointed Governor.

Feb. 11, 1631.

La Tour being determined to have a good portion of the country, whether it was under the dominion of England, France, or Scotland, procured, it is said, from king Charles, a confirmation of Sir William's grant to him,‡ and from Louis, the French king, a commission, Feb. 11, 1631, to be governour of Acadia.§ But the settlements were far from enjoying prosperity and contentment. Even the people of Port-Royal, had, the preceding winter, while la Tour was there, suffered to such a degree, through want of provisions and suitable accommodations, that, of 70 English, French, and Scotch, in community, 30 died before spring. The Scottish emigrants, indisposed to be under French rule, preferred to return home, and subsequent events shewed the wisdom of their choice.

March 29, 1632. Treaty of St. Germain.

The treaty of St. Germain, March 29, 1632, laid open to New-England the fate of this Acadian region. By the 3d article, Charles resigned to the French monarch, "all the places occupied by British subjects, in New-France, Acadia and Canada—especially the command of Port-Royal, Fort Quebec and Cape Breton."

* The title—"Sir Claude de St. Estienne, knight, lord de la Tour et de la War, baronet of New-Scotland."—His son's—"Charles St. (de Deniscourt et Baigneux) lord," &c. The badge of office was,—“in gold enamelled, from an orange tawny ribband (pendant) this circumscription, *Fax mentis Honestae Gloria.*”—1 Haz. Coll. p. 298.

† 1 Haz. Coll. p. 307—9, where the patent is entire.

‡ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 121.

§ Letter Book, Sec. office Boston, 106.

From this transaction may be traced events in train most important to the northern colonies, especially Maine, and also to England herself.* It was an exercise of royal prerogative in character. For it originated in the intrigues of a marriage-brokerage, seven years before; and was finished without consulting the nation's feelings or the rights of individuals. It is true, the ministry promised Sir David Kirk £5000 in consideration of his claim to Canada, yet it was never paid.† Sir William was created earl of Sterling; but if he were flattered with any hopes of further rewards, or future emolument from his Province, they were blasted by disappointment. The English were not, however, to be wholly excluded from Acadia;‡ though the act amounted to a downright cession, without limits or condition. Had Nova Scotia, which has boundaries, been mentioned in the treaty, the extent of the restitution could have been ascertained; whereas, by the artful draft of the third article, the avenues were opened for unlimited controversies about lines and limits, which are among the worst of national evils.§

A. D. 1632.
Acadia re-
signed to
France.

* *Chalmers*, p. 112, supposes—to this transaction may be traced a cause of the disputes of the Colonies with the mother country.—*Brit. Am.* 346.

† 1 Coll. Mass. His. Soc. p. 232, 3d series.

‡ *Ogilby*, p. 134.

§ This 3d Article is in 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 319–320. Also 19 *Vol. Rymer*, p. 360–1, in *French*. It is said this treaty was long in negotiation,—finished in 1631. But the third Article was not tacked to it till March 29, 1632. —As this article is important, it may be proper to give a literal translation in this place.—“His Majesty of Great Britain promises by his “ambassador—to give up and restore to his most Christian Majesty all the “places occupied in *New-France, Acadia and Canada* by his subjects of his “Majesty of Great Britain, causing the latter to retire from the said places—and deliver to the commissaries of the most Christian king in good “faith, the power which he (the ambassador) has from his Majesty of Great “Britain, for the restitution of the said places, together with the orders “of his said Majesty, to all those commanding in *Port-Royal, Fort-Quebec, “and Cape-Breton*, in order that the said places be given up and re- “stored into the hands of those to whom it shall please his most Christian “Majesty to direct, eight days after said orders shall be notified to those “now commanding or may command in the said places. The said term of “eight days being given them to retire from said places, positions, and “forts, with their arms, baggage, goods, gold, silver, furniture, and gener- “ally all that may belong to them—to whom and to all those who are in “the said places is given the term of three weeks after the said eight days “are expired, during which, or sooner, if may be, to embark in their ves- “sels with their arms—and generally all which belongs to them, to remove

A. D. 1633. Such proceedings, and the idea of a residence in the vicinity of papists, filled the English colonists with the deepest anxieties and regrets.* About this time the Plymouth Council, checked in their course by these events and others at home, suspended further grants; holding by their charter, the territory between Penobscot and St. Croix, unassigned and unsold.

Possession
taken of
Acadia un-
der Razilla.

Cardinal Richelieu, prime minister of France, appointed *M. de Razilla*, a military officer, to take the possession and command of the Acadian country; and the keys of Port-Royal, and of the fortress in the Scottish plantation at Cape Sable, were demanded without loss of time. The other scattered settlements were ready to accept of any patron or protector; and the Cardinal made speedy preparations to ship hither, companies of planters, a fresh supply of Jesuit missionaries, and the necessary provisions.†

The same year Samuel Champlain returned to Quebec and resumed the government of Canada; and within the three last years of his life, he saw his colony, aided by new recruits, by the generosity of benefactors, and by the "Company of New France," rising to a flourishing condition.‡

The French
seize upon
Penobscot.

Apprehensions, entertained by the English Colonists of secret arts or sudden violence in seizing upon the country, were not without foundation. For at an unguarded hour a French vessel, piloted by a treacherous Scotchman, visited the New-Plymouth trad-

'from thence into England without staying longer in those countries.'—
———The Frenchified Court of Charles I. might as well have given up Massachusetts as Acadia;—for the French could make out no better title to one than the other.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 33, 34, 93.

* Winthrop's Journal, p. 47.

† Chalmers, 154.—Winthrop's Jour. 37.

‡ 1 Belk. Biog. p. 344.

§ *Champlain in 8th Chap. of his Voyages*, calls the south shore of the Peninsula, the Acadia. Mons. Denys, a man of merit and a correct writer, compiled a Geographical and Historical Description of N. America, A. D. 1672, in two volumes. The first gives a description of the country between Penobscot and Cape Rozier, and the 2d comprehends the Natural History and account of the natives. He was Gov. and Lt. Gen. under the French king and dwelt a long time in the country. He supposes the northern and eastern regions of the French were Canada; therefore he divides the country into Provinces;—the 1st extending from Pentagoet to St. John, previously as he says 'Norimbagua;' 2d, from St. John to Cape Sable, called Bay Francois; 3d, Acadia, from Cape Sable to Cape Canseau; and 4th, from Cape Canseau, to Cape Rozier, called Bay of St. Lawrence or Gaspe. The latter, Denys himself claimed.

ing-house at Penobscot, early in June; when her crew, conduct- A. D. 1632.
 ing in the true character of freebooters,—pretended they had
 put into harbour in distress, and would esteem a permission to
 repair leaks and refresh themselves, as a great favour. Embol-
 dened by generous courtesies received, as well as by information
 of the master's absence with most of his men on a tour westward
 for goods, they first examined the fort-arms to ascertain if they were
 charged; then seizing swords, and loaded muskets, ordered
 the three or four remaining keepers of the truck-house to surren-
 der upon pain of instant death, and to deliver their goods and
 immediately help put them on board. Having in this shameful
 manner rifled the fort of its contents, to the amount of £500,
 they bade the men this taunting and insulting farewell,—‘*tell your
 master to remember the Isle of Rê.*’*

But the New-Plymouth colonists, undismayed by this piratical A. D. 1633.
 attack, kept the station and pursued their traffic, three years
 longer, before they were forced to abandon the place entirely.
 Moreover the next spring, they established at Machias a new trad- ^{Machias}
 ing-house, which they replenished with a variety of valuable ^{Trading-}
 commodities, and put it under a guard of 5 or 6 men, trust- ^{house.}
 worthy and well armed.† It was an eligible station, above Cross
 Island on the west bank of the river; the remains of an ancient
 fort being yet visible there. They might have been encouraged
 and supported in this enterprize, by colonial proprietors, and
 even by the Plymouth Council, in a full determination to keep
 possession of the country.

The French monarch desirous to advance the settlement of ^{French}
 his Acadian colony, made several grants. One of the first was ^{Grants to}
 to Razilla,‡ which embraced the river and bay of St. Croix, ^{Razilla and}
 and the Islands in the vicinity, “12 leagues on the sea and 20 ^{la Tour.}
 leagues into the land.” Its eastern boundary probably adjoined
 the western line of the royal patent, made three years before to
 la Tour. The new grant was extensive; yet it is not ascertained,

* *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 161.—1 *Hutchinson's His.* p. 34.—The French took
 “300 lbs of Beaver.” The taunt alluded to the brilliant successes of the
 French at the Isle of Rê, in France, A. D. 1627.—4 *Hume* p. 370.

† Mr. Vines, of Saco, was part owner of the goods; and is said to have
 been the principal sufferer when they were taken away.—*Winthrop's*
Jour. p. 301.

‡ 1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 121 says, it was to la Tour: but *Chalmers*, p.
 186, and 1 *Charlevoix*, 170, say it was made to Razilla.

A. D 1634. whether it did or did not extend southward of the river St. Croix. Certain it is, that every other was northward of it, if we except the dormant one to de Monts.

The next year, he made to Claude de la Tour four important grants.* One was an hundred miles eastward upon the coast from the Isle of Sables, and as many miles inland; a 2d was that Island itself; and the other two were upon the north shore of the Peninsula, viz. Port-Royal and a territory about it two leagues square; and Minas, a tract of like extent still farther eastward, on the bay of that name. His command was subordinate to Razilla, and his principal pursuit was a traffic with the natives.

La Tour
seizes upon
Machias
and claims
to Pema-
quid.

Avarice, pride, and passion were la Tour's faults; and such high resentments did he affect to feel, when he heard of the trading house set up at Machias, that he hastened away to lay it in ruins. Meeting with resistance, he killed two of the defendants; and after rifling the house of all the valuable articles he could find, he carried his booty and the survivors to Port-Royal.—The amount of property pillaged was 4 or £500. Afterwards in reply to Mr. Allerton, of New-Plymouth, who came to recover the prisoners and goods, and to inquire if he had authority for this transaction; la Tour, declared with no small degree of impudence and insult, *I have taken them as lawful prize;—my authority is from the king of France, who claims the coast from Cape Sable to Cape Cod;—I wish the English to understand, if they trade to the eastward of Pemaquid, I shall seize them;—my sword is all the commission I shall show;—when I want help, I will produce my authority.*† Take your men and begone.

Conduct of
the natives.

Within the last three years, some restlessness and hostile movements were apparent among the Indians. A barter with them had been extensive; the traders were characters whose probity was often questionable; all the civil authority of the country was in name, rather than in vigorous exercise; and when or where it becomes a maxim, 'to cheat an Indian in the dark is a small sin,' we may suppose acts of injustice will be multiplied, and acts of revenge will be repeated in return. Take an instance:—At

* These were confirmatory of his grants from Alexander.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 163.—Winthrop's Jour. p. 57,—78.—But in page 300, it would seem la Tour sent the prisoners to France.

Richmond Island, lived one Waltar Bagnall* called great Watt, A. D. 1634. 'where he and his companion, by three years' trade with the natives, had amassed property to the amount of £400. But wealth acquired by fraud, is often taken away by force. Squid-rayset,† a Sagamore, and a few of his tribe, filled with revenge for wrongs received, went to the Island in the fall of 1631, killed the men, and after plundering the house, reduced it to ashes.‡ Neal, immediately dispatched from Piscataqua a party in search of the murderers. The pursuers found at the Island, "Black Will," whom though as probably innocent as guilty, they in vengeance hung up by the neck till he was dead.§ In return, his blood was avenged the winter following, upon an English traveller wandering up the Saco;||—deaths to be far more deeply lamented, because they excited enmity between the parties.

The Tarratines or Eastern Indians, as their intercourse with the French became familiar, were evidently much emboldened in feats of courage and purposes of revenge. The Sagamores of Agawam [Ipswich,] having treacherously slain several "Tarratine families," were thought to be sheltering themselves in a cowardly manner, under the protective friendship of the English planters at that place. This awakened feelings of animosity towards both; and an intended massacre was fortunately prevented by Robin, an Indian friend, who gave to an English youngster the information. On the appointed day, four savages came and began to talk with him. But his looks and language towards them were rough:—*Begone said he or I'll shoot you.* Believing their plot discovered, they fled. He then beat briskly upon a drum, and fired an alarm-gun; and presently he saw 40 canoes full of savages push out to sea. This was in 1632; afterwards, the brave Tarratines, making another attack upon the Agawam Indians, slew several; and not far from Boston carried off a Sagamore's wife in triumph.¶

* Bagnall was a wicked fellow and had much wronged the Indians.—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 30.

† Or *Scitterygusset.*

‡ In 1632 one Jenkins went with an Indian from Cape Porpoise up into the country, with goods to truck or trade, where he was killed and his goods stolen, while he was sleeping in a wigwam. But a chief recovered the goods and sent them back.—*Winthrop.*

§ *Winthrop's Jour.* p. 30.

|| Hubbard's N. E. p. 142,—145,—169.

¶ 1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 32,—33.

A. D. 1634. These expeditions and skirmishes, the claims and menaces of the French, and some acts of piracy along the eastern coast, necessarily occasioned no small anxiety and discouragements, among the settlers.* A crew of sixteen renegadoes, headed by Dixy Bull, a master-spirit of iniquity, from being engaged in the Indian trade, turned pirates; and in 1632, were bold and desperate enough to attack the fort at Pemaquid, which they succeeded in rifling, though with the loss of a ringleader by a shot from the palisade. They continued to prowl along the coast, visiting the Eastern settlements, taking some plunder and doing other mischief, till the succeeding summer. In an address sent by them to the plantation governors, and signed "FORTUNE LE GARDE," they say,—*we next proceed southward—never shall hurt any more of your countrymen—rather be sunk than taken.* They were pursued three weeks by a little squadron of four vessels and forty armed men, from Piscataqua, joined by a bark from Boston, without falling in with them. They proceeded eastward, and probably hearing of the bold push to take them, left the coast. Bull went to England, where he met with his deserts; and we hear nothing of his companions, after 1634, some of whom had been barbarously detained by him against their wills.†

Difficulties
at Kenne-
beck.

Another difficulty of a criminal character occurred at Kennebeck. It arose from the question of exclusive trade. New Plymouth in the exercise of that right, had upon the river two trading stations, at fort Popham and at Cushnoc, and two resident magistrates, who were vested with power to try every case not capital. All within the patent were obliged to take the oath of allegiance to that colony, and to obey its laws and the orders of the magistrates, or be banished.

In May, one Hoskins coming hither in a vessel of lords Say and Brooke, from Piscataqua, was expressly forbidden to trade with the natives, and ordered to depart. John Alden, one of the magistrates, finding him inexorable, sent three men to cut his ca-

* In the spring of 1634, dangers being apprehended from different quarters, Gov. Winslow, from New-Plymouth, visited the fort of Kennebeck; where an Indian would have killed him had he not stepped down before the savage could take aim. *Winthrop's Jour.* p. 64.

† *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 160—196.—2 *Prince's Ann.* p. 73—83.—Bull and his crew, declared against excessive drinking;—but when others have prayers 'we'll have a story or a song.'—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 46.

bles. They parted one—*touch the other*, said he, swearing with A. D. 1634. an oath, and seizing a gun, and *death is your portion*. They cut—and he shot one of them dead, receiving himself at the same moment a fatal wound. The blood of these two men closed the scene in this quarter.*

At Boston, afterwards, Mr. Alden was arrested on a warrant procured by a kinsman of Hoskins, and recognized to answer before the next Court of Colonial Assistants. In the mean time, two of the New-Plymouth magistrates and their minister, held a consultation with those of Boston upon the subject;—royalists and malcontents exclaiming loudly—*when men cut throats for beaver*, it is high time to have a *general government*. Wherefore, to avoid reproach and censure, Massachusetts encouraged or authorized a prosecution, though it was an affair exclusively within the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth.

The advisory tribunal, with prayer and examination of scripture, made deep research into the principles and rights of the case, and at length decided—1st. That the New-Plymouth colonists had *an exclusive right to the trade* within their patent, in virtue of the privileges granted; that besides entering upon the territory, *vacuum domicilium*, they had been the constant possessors to the present time, undisturbed even by the natives; and that they had originated a gainful traffic with them, especially in wampum, previously unknown to Englishmen. But, 2d. *the act itself*, they said, must be considered in some degree a violation of the sixth commandment; and consequently it drew from Mr. Alden, a confession of deep regrets, though he insisted that Hoskins was every way the aggressor.—It was, on the whole, adjudged to be “*excusable homicide*.”

In reply to a mediatorial letter addressed to lords Say and Brooke, in England, they said to the Governor of New-Plymouth,—‘we could, for the death of Hoskins, have despatched a ‘man-of-war and beat down your houses at Kennebeck about your ‘ears; but we have thought another course preferable; let some ‘of the Massachusetts magistrates, and Capt. Wiggin, our agent at

* This was probably at Cushnoc, [Augusta.] “Soon after the patent was “granted, the patentees made a settlement and built a trading house at Cushenock.”—*Statement of Kennebeck Claims*, p. 15.—Twenty hogsheads of beaver were taken by N. Plymouth at Kennebeck this year.—*Winthrop*, p. 60.

A. D. 1634. 'Piscataqua, review the whole case and do justice in the premises:'—And here the matter terminated.*

Emigration
great.—
Checked.

Our settlements were now filling with people. Indeed, such were the numbers, which a spirit of emigration was bringing into this country, that the king, in 1633, ordered, for a short time, the stay of several ships in the Thames,† though full of passengers and ready to sail. The measure was unwise, for most of the emigrants had no wealth; and all that his realm lost by the removals, his colonies gained. Even English merchants and adventurers themselves, especially those concerned in the various sorts of business at Piscataqua, and eastward, had in view of their losses, expenses, and prospects, become greatly discouraged. They were obliged to prepare at first an outfit of cattle, swine, goats, and sundry articles for building; and likewise supply the planters afterwards, from year to year with provisions, clothing, farming utensils, and medicines, besides engaging to pay them wages. Even the bread-stuff consumed, must necessarily be transported from England in meal, or brought from Virginia, or ground in Boston, there being no mill nearer.

Sales to
Gorges and
Mason.

In this state of despondency, they sold and assigned their whole interest to Gorges and Mason; and, in 1634, these gentlemen made partition of all their joint property and concerns, and appointed *Francis Williams*, their deputy governor respectively; confining their enterprizes, the one to the northerly and the other to the southerly side of the Piscataqua.‡

The Plymouth
Council assailed;
—Defended
by Gorges.

At the present trying period of their affairs, the old charges against the Plymouth Council were revived with renovated vigour. The merchants believed it possessed a monopoly of trade, which the public good required to be common; and the Virginia company in England boldly threw their weight into the same scale. The major part of the Commons considered the members of that Council under royal influence, and supremely devoted to the claims of prerogative; all high churchmen looked upon them as the foes of prelacy, because their territory had been

* *Winthrop's Journal*, p. 64, 68.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 168.—He calls the captain's name "Hocking."

† Dated Feb. 21, 1633.—1 *Haz. Coll.* 34—8, entire.

‡ 1 *Belknap's N. H.* 296—7. Letters dated Aug. 1633. No mention is made of Walter Neal, after 1634; Mr. Williams arrived 1633.—*Hubbard's N. E.* 219

opened as an asylum to Puritans ; while the king himself suspected the New-England Colonists were in the enjoyment of liberties and privileges, wholly inconsistent with his notions of regal power and government. A. D. 1634.

Gorges, being chief director in the Council's concerns, was again summoned before the Commons to shew cause, why the charter should not be revoked. He appeared in person, with his counsel, and defended 'the Corporation and its measures,' with his accustomed ability ; pressing upon their recollection the unanswerable arguments adduced to them in 1624, and 1626. He reminded them of his own indefatigable, untiring exertions to advance the nation's interests in America ;—' Yes, says he, I have 'spent twenty thousand pounds of my estate, and thirty years, 'the whole flower of my life, in new discoveries and settlements, 'upon a remote continent ; in the enlargement of my country's 'commerce and dominions ; and in carrying civilization and 'christianity into regions of savages.' The members of the Company, added he, are entire strangers to the monopoly imputed—and to allege that they as associates have grown rich, is a most cruel aspersion ; for they could abundantly demonstrate, that their disbursements have very far exceeded their receipts. But he perceived now, that all farther resistance was vain. When decisions are only sanctions of decrees predetermined, all arguments, principles and rights, are nullities. A dissolution of the Plymouth Council must be its immediate fate.

Never probably had the discouragements of Gorges and Mason bordered more nearly upon despair. The charges of establishing a plantation in a wilderness, they found to be three-fold its worth. The planters, being hired servants or tenants, were often indolent and wasteful ; and the fruits of their whole labour would not yield them a tolerable support. No superintendant could control their erratic dispositions, or prevent their changes of abode from place to place. The proprietors themselves had never visited the country, nor established a regular efficient government for the punishment of offenders, or the preservation of order. The French were making encroachments and committing mischief ; the Indians were restless, if not unfriendly ; and to crown all, a violent unnatural warfare had commenced between king and people at home.

Discouragements of Gorges and Mason.

A. D. 1635. The Plymouth Council awaited its destiny ;—and the remaining members made preparations for its untimely dissolution. Hence, they concluded to divide the whole patent into twelve *Royal Provinces* ; to draw lots, February 3d, 1635, in presence of his Majesty, for each of the “ *Grand Divisions* ;” and then to make or appropriate the assignments to several “ individuals accordingly.”

Twelve Divisions of the P. Patent.

February 3.

The Divisions and Assignments.

The *first* province or division, embraced the country between St. Croix and Pemaquid, and from the head of the latter in the shortest distance to Kennebeck ; thence upwards to its source. This was called “ *the County of Canada* ;” and was assigned to *Sir William Alexander, Earl of Sterling*.* It included the Muscongus Grant, and the easterly halves of the Pemaquid and Kennebeck patents ; extending north to the 48th degree.

The *second* was from Pemaquid to Sagadahock,—a small division ; including the western moiety of Pemaquid patent.†

The *third* embraced the territory between the Kennebeck and Androscoggin, including the westerly half of the New-Plymouth or Kennebeck patent, some part of the old Laconian patent to Gorges and Mason, and also, a part of the first grant to them.

The *fourth* extended from Sagadahock to Piscataqua ; embracing Lygonia, Saco, and Agamenticus. This and the third, or preceding division, were assigned to *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, and named *New Somersetshire*.‡

The *fifth* included the territory between the rivers Piscataqua and Naumkeag, in Massachusetts, from the sea, to a line 60 miles northerly of their mouths ; also “ the south half of the Isle of Shoals,” and 10,000 acres called “ *Masonia*,” on the easterly side of Sagadahock at its mouth ; all which was assigned to *John Mason*, who was then Vice-President of the Council.

The *sixth* division extended from Naumkeag river around the

* This might have been intended to remunerate him in part for the loss of Nova Scotia. Sir William died, 1640 ; his grandson died a few months after him ; and the last named Earl was succeeded by his uncle Henry. The Council also assigned to the Earl of Sterling, “ *Long Island*,” opposite to Connecticut.—6 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* 185,—189.—The Plymouth patent extended to the 48th degree.

† It is said 10,000 acres of this were granted to the Marquis of Hamilton, and in ‘ 1637, his heir revived’ the claim.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* 54.

‡ Gorges had a confirmation of two, the *third* and *fourth*.—*Chalmers*, p. 472.—*Hub. Nar.* 294.

seacoast by Cape Cod to Narraganset. It covered the residue A. D. 1635. of Massachusetts, the whole of the New-Plymouth Colony, and the patent to Robert Gorges; and was allotted to the *Marquis of Hamilton*,* one of the original members of the Council.

The *seventh* was the territory eastward of a monumental boundary, intended to be set up, at a place equidistant from Narraganset and Connecticut river, extending 50 miles into the country; which was allotted to *Lord Edward Gorges*, a kinsman of Sir Ferdinando, who was then President of the Council.

The *eighth* was from that halfway monument to Connecticut river, extending also 50 miles into the country; and was assigned to the *Earl of Carlisle*.

The *ninth* was from that river to the Hudson, and from the shores to a line 30 miles back; and the *tenth* was a parallelogram between these rivers, 40 miles deep, immediately above the preceding. These two divisions were allotted to the *Duke of Lenox*.

The *eleventh* was situated along the west side of the Hudson, and extended from the 40th parallel of latitude [near Raritan River] “whence New-England beginneth,” 30 miles into the country: and the *twelfth* was directly above the latter, 30 miles on the river by 40 the other way; and these two last divisions or Provinces were allotted to *Lord Mulgrave*.†

In every Province, each previous proprietor was to be allowed in lieu of former grants, 5,000 acres, which were to be holden of the new proprietary lord; and 4,000 acres were to be appropriated for a city and Governor General’s seat. Each provincial lord was to send over and pay ten men, to be employed in building a city, which they were to own in shares; and 10,000 acres were devoted to the foundation of a church and the maintenance of clergymen.

The Council, April 1st, informed his Majesty, they had submitted to his pleasure, and prayed him to give new patents to the several assignees mentioned, with the powers and privileges granted to Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and to commission a

* He took a patent.—*Hubbard’s N. E.* p. 232.—1 *Hutchinson’s Hist.* p. 54.—So did Sir Ferdinando.—1 *Doug. Summ.* p. 387; also John Mason.—1 *Haz. Coll.* 383,—7.

† See these divisions.—*Hubbard’s N. E.* p. 228,—233; and 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 388.

A. D. 1635. Governor General over the whole country. Several took new patents, particularly Lord Sterling, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and John Mason.

Attack upon
Massachu-
setts Char-
ter.

The rights and claims of the Massachusetts colonists were the greatest obstacles, apparently in the way, to prevent the completion of the arrangement. Hence the council petitioned the king to revoke their charter, alleging, that it had been surreptitiously obtained, and was holden wrongfully; that their territory in fact belonged to Robert Gorges, who when governor took actual possession of it; that the present claimants were downright intruders, who after ousting his tenants, had extravagantly stretched their pretended grant from sea to sea, an extent of 3000 miles,—“riding over the heads of proprietary lords” and other freeholders, “whose allotments, to the extent of 80 or 100 leagues upon the Atlantic coast, had been assigned to them in his Majesty’s presence:” and that they had moreover clandestinely obtained a charter from the crown, without the council’s approbation; thereby cutting in pieces the original foundation of the building, forming a new superstructure, with novel ecclesiastical polity, and strange laws; whipping and banishing offenders,—burning their houses over their heads; and in fact, claiming to be absolute masters of the country.

The Plym-
outh Coun-
cil surren-
der their
Charter.

A decree, though entered against the charter was never carried into execution.* The Council had their last meeting, April 25, 1635, when only 16 members were present. They entered in their books, the causes of their proceedings, saying—“we have been bereaved of friends, oppressed with losses, expenses, and troubles; assailed before the Privy Council again and again, with groundless charges; and weakened by the French and other foes without and within the realm, and what remains is only a breathless carcase, we—therefore now resign the patent to the king,† first reserving all grants by us made and all vested rights;—a patent we have holden about 15 years.’ The king, in anticipation of this event had on the 28th of April, appointed

* 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 391—423. *Hubbard’s N. E.* p. 180, 327, 272. Judgment was given that “the franchises should be seized into the king’s hands.” But it was after this overlooked till May 3d, 1637; *Holmes’ A. A.* says, 1638, in p. 302, *Note 4.*—See the Pleadings.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 23—5.

† See this instrument of surrender, 1 *Haz. Coll.* 393—4, dated June 7, 1635. See also *Hutchinson’s Coll. of State Papers*, 101—4.

11 of his Privy Councilors, *Lords Commissioners of all his* A. D. 1635.
American Plantations, and committed to them the general L'ds Com-
 superintendance and direction of colonial affairs.* This Board missioners
 presented Sir Ferdinando to the Crown, and procured for him of Planta-
 a commission of Governor General over the whole of New- tions ap-
 England. Though sixty years of age, he was in full possession pointed.
 of his energies, both of intellect and body, and emulous of the Sir F. Gor-
 appointment. A man-of-war, was in preparation to bring him ges. Gov
 hither, which was to remain here for the defence of the country. General of
 But in launching, she turned on her side and was broken; the N England
 enterprize thereby failed, and Sir Ferdinando never saw America.

Immediately in train followed the death of John Mason, one of his ablest coadjutors,—a gentleman whose exertions, merits and knowledge of American affairs, had given his character a well-earned eminence, in the general estimation of English merchants and adventurers.† It was an event lamented more deeply by none other, than by Gorges himself. Mason had been governor of Newfoundland and Vice-President of the Plymouth Council; and had rendered himself only obnoxious to the people of Massachusetts, in consequence of his endeavours with others, to procure a revocation of their charter.‡ A few days before his death, Nov. 26, he finished his will, by which he made a bequest of *Masonia* to his granddaughter, *Anne Tufton*, and her heirs; it being all the estate he claimed northward of Piscataqua.

Death of
Capt. John
Mason.

It is not ascertained, that more than two or three of Royal charters actually passed the seals, in confirmation of the twelve patents, though four of them fell within the present State of Maine, of which Gorges always exercised a provident care; nor that any farther movements were made towards establishing a General Government, the event in which, he had taken so much interest.§

He now saw his mistakes and impolicy and endeavored to

* 1 Haz. Coll. p. 344—7.—Hubbard's N. E. p. 264—8.

† 1 Belk. N. H. p. 28—37.

‡ "Capt. Mason, (*says Winthrop's Jour.* p. 101) was the chief mover in all attempts against us" [of Massachusetts;] "but the Lord in mercy taking him away, all the business fell asleep."

§ Gorges became quite cold after this, as to New-England, "minding only *his own* division," or province. He told George Vaughan, soon after this, that he intended to get "a patent of the king, from Piscataqua to Sagadahock."—1 Haz. Coll. p. 403.

A. D. 1635. account for his ill success.—‘ We have (he says,) been endeavor-
 A view of ‘ ing to found plantations in a wilderness region, where men, bred
 N. England ‘ up in a land of villages, farms and plenty, could hardly be hired
 plantations, ‘ to stay ; or if induced to become residents, they must be fed in
 ‘ idleness, from their master’s crib, yet with few or no returns.
 ‘ We have made the discoveries and opened the fields for others
 ‘ to take the harvest. Trade, fishery, lumber, these have been
 ‘ the phantoms of pursuit ; while there has been a criminal neglect
 ‘ of husbandry, the guide to good habits, the true source of
 ‘ wealth, and the almoner of human life.’*

By dear experience, he found, that foreign plantations, controlled by great corporations, three thousand miles distant, did exhibit a very unpromising growth ; and that the best concerted schemes of government, formed at the table of cold calculation, were altogether uncongenial to the genius and pursuits of a people in a new country. Far removed from the pageantry of wealth, titles and luxury, and from the hostilities of rivals and persecutors, they acquired at once a relish for a rural life and civil independence. Among men, enterprising enough to leave their native homes, all notions of quit-rents and lordships, necessarily vanished before the plain maxims of fee-simple-estates, and the plainer rights of conscience and equality. As Chalmers says, ‘ when
 ‘ the restraints were removed, and men left free to manage their
 ‘ affairs, in the way most agreeable to themselves ; the colonists
 ‘ engaged in every laudable pursuit, and acquired an extent of
 ‘ population, of commerce, of wealth and of power, unexampled
 ‘ in the annals of the world.’†

* Gorges’ Nar. p. 48, 49.

† Chalmer’s Annals, p. 96.

CHAPTER V.

The French in Canada and Acadia—Razilla, la Tour and D'Aulney—Extent of their Claim—D'Aulney seizes upon Penobscot—Attempts to remove him—The French challenge a right as far as Pemaquid—New-Somersetshire, the province of Sir Ferdinando—William Gorges, Governor—Administration established at Saco—Eight Settlements in the present State of Maine—Population—Pequods destroyed—Emigration checked—Sir Ferdinando appointed Gov. Gen. of New-England—His View of Colonial Affairs—George Burdet's Character—He removes to Agamenticus—Civil Government needed in the Eastern Country—An Earthquake.

THE French called all their dominions in North-America, by the general name of *New-France*.* This immense region, of which Canada, Acadia, and Louisiana, were only component parts, was granted in 1627 to "the Company of New-France;"—a body of 107 associates, formed that year by Cardinal Richelieu.† By transporting labourers from time to time, into Canada, furnished with outfits of three years' necessaries, and by assigning to them lands and seeds enough to sow them, his project was, to augment the population of that province, within 15 years, to 16,000 souls. But this was only a statesman's dream; for a war with England soon happening, and other events interposing, entirely dissipated the vision.

Acadia, or Nova Scotia,‡ was still under the military command

* John Verazzani, a Florentine adventurer, in the service of the French king, who ranged the coast from Florida to Newfoundland, A. D. 1524, first gave it the name. He landed and took possession of Acadia, where the Indians killed him, and some say, ate him.—40 *Universal History*, p. 20.

† *Jeffry's Hist.* p. 101.—The Company of New-France, granted to la Tour, in 1635, the lands at St. John's river,—being the *third* grant, or title, he had of the same territory.—1st. From the French king; and 2d. from Sir William Alexander. The Company had been restored to their rights, A. D. 1639.—*Belk. Biog.* p. 344.

‡ Nova Scotia, called Acadia, is commonly accounted a part of New-France, which lieth on the south side of the river Canada.—*John Ogilby's New World*, p. 133.

A. D. 1627
to
1635.
American
French.
Razilla, la
Tour, and
D'Aulney.

A. D. 1635 of General Razilla,* whose residence was principally in the fortress at La Heve, though his own patent adjoined St. Croix. A subordinate command of the country, eastward of this river, he had given to la Tour ; and of that westward, as far as the French claimed, he had appointed M. d'Aulney commander.

The French
claim exam-
ined.

Razilla seemed to possess a nobleness of character ; yet the manner of his seizing upon the Acadian province, or rather permitting some places occupied by the English to be plundered, gave them great and just offence. It is true, the third article in the treaty of St. Germain, was so artfully expressed, as to provide for resigning Acadia, which had no certain limits, instead of Nova Scotia, whose boundaries were well defined. It was an advantage, however, in which, it seems, the French themselves had not at first any great confidence. For surely they must have been sensible, that Nova Scotia, by name, was the country intended to be surrendered,—or why had they delayed to extend their claim?—Why pillage the trading-house at Penobscot, three years past, and that at Machias not till a year afterwards?—unless it were to ascertain if such flagrant acts would be resented?—No doubt, it must have been in consequence of a conviction they had done wrong, and had very questionable rights, that they permitted the New-Plymouth colonists to resume the occupancy of the former place, and quietly to hold it till the present time.

D'Aulney
at Penob-
scot.

But Razilla, perceiving no public resentments expressed at the outrage, and probably informed of the late territorial assignment to lord Sterling, despatched d' Aulney, this summer (1635) in a man-of-war, to take possession of the country. The vehement temper and base cupidity of this man, prompted him at once, to rifle the trading-house at Biguyduce (Penobscot), of all its contents in a piratical manner ; sending away the traders and their servants with no better consolation, than a mere schedule of the goods plundered, accompanied with boastful threats :—Go now ' said he, ' and tell all the plantations southward to the 40th degree, that a fleet of eight ships will be sent against them, within a year, to displace the whole of them ; and know, that " my commission is from the King of France."

To avenge the wrong and drive the French from Penobscot, Capt. Girling, master of the Hope, a large ship hired at Ipswich,

* Called also " Rosillon," " Razilly."—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 121.

by the New-Plymouth colonists for the purpose, and joined by A. D. 1635. their own barque, was employed and sent thither, to whom they agreed to give £200, if he succeeded in regaining possession.* The enemy, 18 in number, having heard of the enterprize, had so securely fortified themselves, that though Girling vigorously prosecuted the attack, till his ammunition failed, he was unable to force a surrender.†

All the English colonists deprecated every approaching move-
ment of the French. Their Romish religion, their love of arbitrary principles, their connexions with the natives, their arrogant menaces, and predatory excursions, severally made their local nearness both dreaded and lamented. Massachusetts in particular, resolved to render New-Plymouth every assistance, and make the expulsion of the French from Penobscot a common cause. She consulted with Capt. Sellanova, a gentleman of great military experience,‡ and immediately made preparations for an expedition thither : but it was entirely defeated by an uncommon storm and hurricane, which did such immense damage, in the fields and elsewhere, that provisions for one hundred men, could not be procured without great difficulty.

Afterwards the French treated the colonists with more forbearance and kindness.§ A crew of Connecticut mariners, for instance, being wrecked on the Isle of Sables, received from them many testimonies of humanity, and were even transported to La Heve, the residence of Razilla ; from which place, he gave four of them a passage to France, and furnished the others with a shallop to convey themselves home. These generous acts were in the last days of his life—happily monumental of his worth and clemency.||

D'Aulney was very much annoyed by Girling's vessels, still moored before his slender fortress ; and as soon as the unfortunate mariners, arrived there, from La Heve, he told them he should detain them till Girling departed. The stratagem succeeded ;¶ and when he dismissed them, he addressed a letter full of civilities to the Governor of New-Plymouth ; and subsequently, both he and la Tour, solemnly declared that they should never, without

* Winthrop's Jour. p. 87.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 162.

‡ Massachusetts Rec. p. 115.

§ Hubbard's N. E. p. 164.

|| 1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 122.-- *Winthrop* p. 89 calls him " Mons. Commander of Roselle."

¶ Winthrop's Journal p. 89.

A. D. 1635. further orders, claim any lands westward of Pemaquid.* It is certain, however, that the French had, at no time, any territorial possessions westward of Penobscot river and bay,—waters which were for many years the divisional boundaries between them and the English.†

Province of
N. Somersetshire.
W. Gorges.
Governor.

A view of these limits, thus prescribed by the French themselves to their claims, might well give encouragement to the bold and persevering spirit of Gorges.‡ By his first patent and the late assignment received of the Plymouth Council, April 22d, he obtained an “absolute property” in the territory, between Piscataqua and Sagadahock, or the two divisions in conjunction, called *New Somersetshire*; and supposed he acquired also all the political or jurisdictional powers of government, which that Company possessed, before their dissolution. Hence, to organize and establish an administration of justice, he sent over, in the year 1635 or 6, his nephew *William Gorges*, in the capacity of *governor*; a man of sense and intelligence, equal to the importance of the trust. It would seem, he entered upon the duties of his office at Saco. This was the most flourishing, and probably the oldest, settlement in the Province. It had now enjoyed a form of government several years; which might originally have been a social compact or voluntary combination, for mutual safety and convenience. In the mean time Richard Vines had officiated as governor, and Richard Bonython, as assistant.§ Thirty pounds were raised, the present year, by way of a tax for the support of public worship; and the inhabitants, assessed to pay it, were twenty-one. From these circumstances we may deduce by an usual calculation, that the whole number of souls in the settlement was about 150 or 60.||

1636.

* Mr. Winslow, Gov. of N. P. went to England to complain against the encroachments of the French and Dutch; where Bp. Laud imprisoned him 4 months, because he was a Puritan.—*Sullivan*, p. 284.—He went again in 1646.

† The French continued in possession of Penobscot till A. D. 1664. 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 49.

‡ Gorges granted to G. Cleaves and Ri. Tucker, Jan. 27, 1637, by deed a large tract of 1,500 acres and more, on the northern part of the peninsula from Fore river, at the point near the ferry, to Purpooduck, extending thence to the Capisick river, S. E. of the mouth of Stroudwater.

§ 1 Belk. N. H. p. 291.

|| *Sullivan*, p. 219, 306, gives the names of the men taxed, Bonython Vines, and Thomas Lewis were taxed £3 each; Boad, Waldron and Wil-

Gorges, the Governor, commenced his administration at the A. D. 1636. dwellinghouse of Mr. Bonython, situated not far from the shore, on the east side of the river. Here he opened a court, March 28th, present, Richard Bonython, Thomas Commock, Henry Joscelyn, Thomas Purchas, Edward Godfrey and Thomas Lewis, commissioners; who arraigned, tried and punished, or fined, for divers offences; and if Gorges were exercising a power as extensive as his jurisdiction, every wrongdoer between Piscataqua and Sagadahock was amenable to this tribunal :*—*It being the first organized government, established within the present State of Maine.*† The court held sessions two or three years.

Gen. Court
at Saco.

The Governor, in the discharge of his official duties, found it necessary to look into the concerns and conditions of the several settlements in the Province; which, including the one at Saco, consisted of *five*.—I. *Agamenticus*, a place of Sir Ferdinando's particular patronage, originally settled by husbandmen and artisans, 12 or 13 years before, had assumed the appearance of prosperity, with a slow but gradual increase of inhabitants.—II. The *Piscataqua settlements*, or plantation, consisting of families scattered from Kittery-point to Newichawannock, and the northern Isles of Shoals, were variously employed, though principally in the fisheries and the lumber business. These were first under the superintendence of Walter Neal, then Francis Williams, till the arrival of William Gorges.—III. *Black-point* settlement, begun

Settlements
between
Piscataqua
and St-
George.

liams £2 each, the others £1 each. Oldham, one of the original patentees never dwelt there. Sullivan says, "several persons were fined for drunkenness and others punished for other immoralities."—If a "Court was holden under authority of the Province of Lygonia," as York Records seem to indicate, is it not probable, that William Gorges was entrusted with that patent?—

* *Chalmers*, p. 472—3. *John Joscelyn's Voyages*, 200.—At the head of the Pool, or Leighton's point, it is said a *Court house* stood at a very early period.

† The Court was continued for several days.—T. Williams was bound in the sum of £100, with sureties to answer to the suit of Mr. T. Lewis, at the next General Court, and a sufficient jury of this Province returned to try the same. There were several actions,—Mrs. Joan Vines *vs.* Bonython and Lewis, about planting corn;—W. Scadlock *v.* M. Howel, debt; T. Page *v.* J. Richmond, Trespass; and there were orders passed against drunkenness; against mischievous Indians, &c.—*Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, p. 49—52.

A. D. 1636, about 6 or 7 years before, by Thomas Commock, Henry Joscelyn* and Mr. Gaines, consisted of several houses, and included Stratton's Islands.—IV. *The Lygonian plantation*, which embraced Richmond's Island and most of the patent to Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear,† undertaken here six years previously and deserted the succeeding summer, by most or all of the planters under the "Plough-patent," had not thriven. The inhabitants consisted principally of fishermen, hunters, and traders, whose dwelling-places are understood to have been at Spurwink, at Purpooduck, and on the peninsula, collectively called at the time, *Casco*. Thomas Bradbury and George Cleaves had agencies under Gorges, in 1636–7; and John Winter, as early as 1631, was the active agent here for Trelawney and Goodyear.‡ —V. *The Pejepscot settlements*, originating in the enterprize of Thomas Purchas and George Way, who established their residence at the head of Stevens' river, A. D. 1624–5, consisted at this time of very few habitations. They claimed on both sides of the Androscoggin, to the falls; southwardly to Maquoit; also the Merryconeag peninsula, Sebascodegan, and other Islands,§ upon which there might possibly have been several stages for fishermen.—VI. The people residing within the *Kennebeck patent*, were under the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth.||

It is convenient furthermore to mention in this place, some particulars of the settlements eastward, as far as Penobscot. 1.

* *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 224.—Commock was here early in 1633.—*Haz. Coll.* p. 318.—His grant, as it appears to have been laid out by Walter Neal, att'y, to the P. Council, A. D. 1624, and recorded in York Records, contained 1,500 acres,—confirmed by Sir. F. Gorges.—*Book of Claims*, p. 59.

† The patent to Trelawney and Goodyear, dated Dec. 1, 1631, embraced a tract between Spurwink and Casco, or Presumpscot rivers; also, Richmond's Island; John Winter, their agent, being put in possession of the patent in 1632. George Cleaves and Richard Tucker, who had resided at Spurwink two years, being expelled by Winter, removed to the peninsula.

‡ *Sullivan*, p. 305–11.—*Hub. Nar.* p. 294.—"The patentees took in as a partner, Mr. Richard Dummer, of Newbury, New-England, in 1638.

§ The deed of Warumbee and five other Sagamores, July 7, 1684, says, "Thomas Purchas came into this country near sixty years before, and took possession of lands from the falls to Maquoit."—*Statement of Kennebeck Claims*, p. 9.—It would seem, Purchas at length became sole proprietor.

|| The people being few and sparse on this patent, were never represented in the General Court, at New-Plymouth.—*Sullivan*, p. 142.

Within the '*Sagadahock territory*' were those upon the Islands—A. D. 1636. upon the river Sheepscot—upon Masonia and about Cape-Newagen.* These contained 50 or 60 families. 2. The *Pemaquid plantation* had been in a flourishing condition, ever since the patent was granted, A. D. 1631. Monhegan, Damariscove and Hippocras,† appear to be appendages of it, and their inhabitants amenable to its government. About the year 1633, and also 1659, Thomas Elbridge, a son of the proprietor, held courts at Pemaquid fort; sitting in judgment upon wrongdoers and imposing fines and penalties.‡ In his absence, Abraham Shurte officiated as agent and chief magistrate of the plantation more than thirty years.§ 3. There were a few settlers at the river St. George, and upon George's Islands, within the *Muscongus patent*; though they consisted principally of fishermen.

If there were, in 1630, as one author has stated, "84 families, besides fishermen, about Sheepscot, Pemaquid, and St. Georges,|| the whole number of white people at the present time, between Piscataqua and Penobscot, must have exceeded fourteen hundred.¶

The continuance of William Gorges in New-Somersetshire was short,—probably less than two years; for, in July, A. D. 1637, the authorities of Massachusetts were presented with the transcript of a commission from Sir Ferdinando to them; by which six gentlemen therein named, were appointed to take into their hands the government of the Province and the superinten-

July 4, 1637.
W. Gorges'
return
home.

* Mason's will states Masonia to be near "Caphan of Waggan."—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 335, 393.—or Cape-Ne-wagen.

† *Hub. Nar.* p. 230.—Monhegan and Damariscove are probably the Islands intended in the Lygonia patent, [*Sullivan*, p. 310,] though appendant to Pemaquid patent.

‡ In 1659, Elbridge brought two actions in Yorkshire Court, against George Cleaves, of Falmouth.

§ Ante, A. D. 1631.

|| *Sullivan*, p. 167, 391.

| | |
|---|---------------|
| ¶ That is, allow 6 to a family, or to a freeholder; | <i>Souls.</i> |
| Piscataqua settlements, [41 signed the compact in 1640] at present, | 200 |
| Agamenticus " [incorporated, A. D. 1639,] | 150 |
| Saco, including Black-point, | 175 |
| Casco, or Lygonia patent, and Pejepscoot, | 75 |
| Kennebeck patent, | 100 |
| Sagadahock, Sheepscot, Pemaquid, St. Georges, and Islands | 500 |
| Isles of Shoals and other places, | 200 |
| Possibly the whole number might be 1500. | 1400 |

A. D. 1637. dence of his private affairs. This was an extraordinary trust ; and as one of the commissioners had removed to Connecticut, and the name of another was incorrect, the residue declined an acceptance of the agency.*

A grant to
Sir R.
Edgecomb.

Sir Ferdinando, whose mind was ever fruitful in expedients, strove to raise his Province into distinction by making sundry grants to gentlemen of rank and influence. One was, July 3d, to Sir Richard Edgecomb, of 8,000 acres, near the lake of New-Somerset, [probably Merrymeeting-bay] in the present Bowdoinham. He also encouraged gentlemen of enterprize and eminence to visit the country. Still he was forcibly convinced, that the growth of his own Province was surpassed by all its colonial neighbors, not excepting New-Hampshire. For in the present year, Massachusetts, New-Plymouth and Connecticut, by unity of measures and a conjunction of forces, were able to crush entirely, one of the most numerous and powerful tribes of Indians in New-England. These were the Pequots ; of whom 700 warriors and 13 Sachems were slain. One cause of this war was the murder of John Oldham, a patentee of Saco.

The Pe-
quot tribe
destroyed.

Emigration
checked by
the crown.

The increase and prosperity of the colonies, and the uncommon troubles in church and state through the kingdom, served to fan the enkindled ardor of emigration, to a degree of enthusiasm.† The subject arrested the attention of the king ; and he, again interposing, ordained that none of his subjects should leave the realm, till they had taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and engaged to observe the rules of Episcopal discipline. Nay, he gave orders, that no colonist should entertain a stranger, nor admit him to be an house-hold-tenant, without license from the crown :‡ and it was only through the importunate petitions of merchants, passengers and owners of ships ready for sea, that he and the Privy Council could be persuaded,

* *Winthrop's Journal*, p. 132.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 261-2.—The original, with the sign manual and privy seal, was not taken from the office, because the fees were not paid.

† In 10 years about 21,200 had come over.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 299.—Even *Oliver Cromwell* had resolved to retire to this country.—4 *Hume*, p. 425.

‡ *Chalmers*, 162—5.—1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 335.—All officers and ministers, were required to return to the L'ds. Com. of Plantations every half year, the names and qualities of the emigrants.—1 *Haz. Coll.* 421.—In some of the vessels, came *John Joscelyn*, author of the *Voyages*, &c.

so far to mitigate the severity of the prohibition, as to allow the A. D. 1638. contemplated voyages to be made.

The ears of the ministry were ever open to complaints against the colonists. They being puritans, were represented to be a people of factious disposition, unworthy of confidence, and partial to a government of turbulent rulers : and therefore, his Majesty issued a new order for the institution of a general Government, and appointed Sir Ferdinando, Governor. But as the charter of Massachusetts was still an insurmountable obstacle in the way of its establishment, the king commanded the colony authorities to surrender it, or they must expect a total dissolution of the corporation.*

July—Sir
F. Gorges
Gov. Gen.
of New-
England.

In reply, they lamented their sufferings, occasioned as they thought, wholly by suspicions which always paint in the darkest colours, and prayed his Majesty for that protection, which blesses him that gives, and them that receive ; saying, ‘ if our charter be taken away, and we dissolved, we must leave our habitations for some other place, and the whole country will fall into the possession of the French on the one hand, or the Dutch on the other.’†

No other argument, or agreement, could have struck Gorges with equal force. He knew the Massachusetts government was the principal barrier against the encroachments of the French. To weaken it, would encourage the pretensions of d’ Aulney ; and Gorges might reasonably entertain apprehensions of a seizure upon his own Province. A large number had, in fact, removed from the vicinity of Boston to Connecticut river ; and others, tired of accusations and strife, were thinking it no great sacrifice to make a removal from a severe climate, to a more southern temperature. Hence the Governor-General saw, that the only revenues to be derived from a farther prosecution of his favourite scheme, must necessarily be the resentments and ill-will of the colonists, towards him and his agents ; and from his nephew, then with him, he had sufficient knowledge, that the bad posture of his own American affairs, was occasioned partly, if not principally, by the impolicy and unpopularity of his measures.

His view of
colonial
affairs.

* 1 Haz. Coll. 422—5, 433—4, 352—3.

† 1 Haz. Coll. p. 452—5.—435—6.—1 Hutchinson’s Hist. p. 86.—App. p. 442—4.

A. D. 1638. At home, the contests of the royalists, of whom he was a zealous one, and the revolutionists, who were daily increasing in strength and numbers, were assuming a magnitude, great enough to divert the public attention from all remoter interests; and when Archbishop Laud* and other arbitrary ministers at length lost their influence, Gorges confined his ambition to the single object of procuring a royal charter, the best he could obtain, for the government of his Province.

George
Burdet.

At this time, appeared in his plantation at Agamenticus, one George Burdet, in the character of a clergyman, who had been a preacher at Yarmouth in England. A controversy with the bishops about ceremonies, had, as he pretended, driven him, a persecuted man to this country. He arrived at Salem, in 1634, where he preached a year or more, and joined the church; and upon taking the oath of fidelity, was admitted a freeman of the colony. His natural abilities were good, his manners specious, and his scholarship much above mediocrity. His next removal was to the upper plantation in New-Hampshire, where, by artful management, he had the success, in 1636, to supplant Thomas Wigginn, the Governor, and obtain the office himself. To ingratiate himself into the favour of Laud, who was a foe universally obnoxious to the colonists, though at that time a most influential member of the Privy Council; Burdet addressed to him a secret letter, a copy of which was accidentally found, wherein he loaded Massachusetts with the most illiberal reproaches. 'She is not merely,' said he, 'aiming at new discipline, but sovereignty;—for, even her General Court account it perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king.'—In reward for this he had the thanks of the haughty prelate, who also assured him, as soon as a press of other matters would permit, the errors and disorders should be rectified.†

The traits of Burdet's character, were now, without loss of time, exposed in just but odious colors, by an official letter from Boston to his neighbors,‡ which rendered him obnoxious to the severest obloquy; and hence he made a precipitate retreat to Agamenticus. Such was the destiny of this happy place, which

* Laud was beheaded, A. D. 1645.—5 *Hume*, p. 168.

† Winthrop's Journal, p. 176-7.—1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 35.

‡ 1 *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 354.—1 *Belk. N. H.* p. 35.

had enjoyed the instructions of the "pious and learned" Mr. A. D. 1638. Thompson.* Burdet, finding himself unable to wipe off aspersions, was presently guilty of lewdness, falsehoods, and intrigues, which not only debased him in general estimation, but exposed him to the penalties of law.

As a country without government or law, becomes the open receptacle of base men, the emulation of the virtuous is abated ; <sup>Civil Gov-
ernment
needed.</sup> for their rights are justly considered to be insecure. Full of these discouragements, New-Hampshire, New-Somersetshire, and the people "farther east,"† had now formed resolutions of applying to Massachusetts, though a government less than ten years of age, to receive them within her jurisdiction. Nothing was more desired or needed than consistency, strength and system in the administration of the people's civil affairs.

But before we close the annals of this year, an event which ^{Earthquake} rendered it memorable ought not to be passed without notice. This was the "Great Earthquake," which happened June 1st, between the hours of 3 and 4 in the afternoon. At the time, the weather was clear and warm, and the wind westward. It commenced with a noise like continued thunder, or the rattling of stage coaches upon pavements, and with a motion so violent, that people in some places found difficulty in standing on their feet ; and some chimneys, and many light moveables in dwellinghouses were thrown down. The sound and motion continued about four minutes, and the earth was unquiet at times, for 20 days afterwards. It was generally felt throughout New-England, and the course of it was from west to east.‡

* Winthrop's Jour. p. 195.—Hubbard's N. E. p. 276.

† 1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 83.

‡ This is mentioned by all the older writers.—Winthrop's Jour. p. 155, 170.—1 Brit. Emp. in A. p. 276.—Also 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 88.

CHAPTER VI.

Gorges' Charter of the Province of Maine—Its extent, powers and privileges—Isles of Shoals—The system of government by Gorges—His officers and regulations—Courts—Offenders punished—Bounties for wolves—Two Counties, York and Somerset—Baptism enjoined—Piscataqua people combine—Political changes—Agamenticus, a borough—Raised to a city—Georgeana—Its corporate powers—New-Hampshire unites with Massachusetts—Pejepscot—Larkham and Gibson disagree—Isles of Shoals revolt—Warwick and Plantation Commissioners—Union of four Colonies—Wells settled—Wheelwright restored to favor—Lygonia purchased by Sir A. Rigby—Cleaves, his Governor opposed by Vines—The dispute—Referred to Massachusetts—Rigby's character—Commissioners decide in his favor—His government by Cleaves—Civil affairs in Maine—Kittery established—Death and character of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

A. D. 1639.
April 3,
CHARTER
OF MAINE.

AT length, Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained of king Charles I. a Provincial Charter, possessing uncommon powers and privileges. It bears date, April 3, 1639. The territory, it embraces, begins, in the description given, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and extends up that river and through Newichawannock and Salmon-Fall river, "north-westwards one hundred and twenty miles;" from Piscataqua harbor "north-eastwards along the sea-coast to the Sagadahock;" thence through that river and the Kennebeck, "north-westward, one hundred and twenty miles;" and thence over land to the utmost northerly end of the line first mentioned; including the north half of the Isles of Shoals and the Islands "Capawock and Nautican* near Cape Cod;" also "all the Islands and inlets within five leagues of the main, along

* Perhaps *Martha's Vineyard* and *Nantucket*; But neither Sir Ferdinando, his heirs, or assigns ever took any thing by this part of the charter. He immediately gave public notice, "that if any would undertake by himself and associates to transport a competent number of inhabitants to plant in any of his limits, he would assign unto him, or them, such a proportion of lands, as should in reason satisfy them, reserving only to himself a small quit-rent, *as 2s. or 2s. 6d. for 100 acres per annum.*"—*Gorges' Nar.* p. 46.

the coasts between the said rivers Piscataqua and Sagadahock." A. D. 1639.

By the charter, this territory and the inhabitants upon it were incorporated into a body politic, and named **THE PROVINCE OR COUNTY OF MAINE.** Sir Ferdinando, his heirs and assigns were made absolute Lords Proprietors of the Province, excepting the supreme dominion, faith and allegiance, due to the crown, and a right to exact yearly a quarter of wheat, and a fifth of the profits arising from "pearl fishings," and from gold and silver mines. Name and Tenure.

The articles of faith, and forms of ecclesiastical government, used by the Church of England were established; and to the proprietary was given the patronage of all churches and chapels, and the right of dedicating them according to Episcopal usages.

In concurrence with a majority of the freeholders, or their representatives, assembled in *legislation*, the proprietor was authorized to establish any laws or orders which the public good required—extending for sufficient cause to life or member, and conforming as far as practicable to those of England. Likewise to him as proprietary Governor belonged the power to erect *Courts* of justice, civil and ecclesiastical, for determining all manner of causes by sea or land; to appoint judges, justices, magistrates and their officers, and to displace them; to prescribe their respective jurisdictions; and to frame the oaths to be taken by officers and by witnesses. Also to him or his deputy, *appeals* were generally allowed in all cases whatsoever, which could, in England, be carried before the king. Government.

The *executive powers* of the Lord Proprietor, or Deputy-Governor, were plenary. He had the appointment of all executive, military, and ministerial officers, "lifetenants" and deputies; the pardon of all offenders and offences, and the execution of the laws. To provide suitably for emergencies, when "assemblies of freeholders for making laws" could not be convened, he had power by his deputy or magistrates, to establish all fit and wholesome resolutions and orders, provided they did not extend to any person's life, freehold, or chattels. Whereas the Province, in the language of the charter, "is seated among many barbarous nations," and has been sometimes invaded by them, by pirates, and

A. D. 1639 others ; it ordained that the lord proprietor be invested with the
 Military af- amplest authority to arm all his provincials in defence, and to
 fairs. fortify, resist, conquer, and recapture in all cases, according to his
 pleasure and the laws of war : and also amidst all hostilities or
 tumults, to execute martial law, as fully as any of the king's
 captain-generals could do within the realm. He had a right to
 build, or establish as many cities, boroughs, and towns as he chose,
 —to grant them charters of incorporation, appoint markets, and
 prescribe tolls. He likewise of right designated the ports of
 entry, rated and took to himself the duties on imports, and yet
 his provincials were only to pay in England, on their exports
 thither, the same customs paid by natural born citizens of the
 realm.

Fishery.

All English subjects had free privilege to take *fish* in any
 waters of the Province, and to dry them and the nets upon the
 shores of woodlands and wastes, provided no damage be done
 to the inhabitants.

Admiralty

To the Lord Proprietor belonged all waifs, wrecks, escheats,
 and the estates of pirates and felons, whenever liable to seizure
 or forfeiture ; also *Admiralty* jurisdiction ; so that all maritime
 causes arising within the Province, or within 20 leagues of it,
 were subject to his adjudication, under the paramount authority
 of the English Lord High Admiral. An exclusive trade was
 given and secured to him and the inhabitants within the Prov-
 ince ; the charter making every transgressor, or intruder, subject
 to the king's indignation, and to the penalties prescribed by the
 Provincial laws.

Civil Divis-
ions.

Moreover he had a right, as proprietor, to divide his Province
 into counties, cities, towns, parishes and hundreds ; to appropri-
 ate lands for public uses ; and to erect territorial tracts "into
 several and distinct *manors*," with appurtenant demesne lands,
 rents and services, Court-leets, and Courts-baron, according to
 usage within the realm.

For the purpose of planting and fortifying "the Province of
 Maine," Sir Ferdinando, his heirs and assigns were expressly
 allowed to transport hither any "men, women and children"
 not prohibited by proclamation ; any vessels and munitions of
 war ; provisions and victuals, provided none should have the

rights of freehold, trade or residence there, without the Lord Proprietor's express, or tacit permission. A. D. 1639.

To all the people born in the Province, whether of English, Scotch or Irish parentage, were secured the rights of citizenship, as extensively as if they were the natural born subjects of the realm. But all the provincials, both citizens and residents, were required to take the oath of allegiance to the crown, as though they dwelt in England. Every freeholder or tenant was to hold his lands of Sir Ferdinando, his heirs or assigns, as paramount lord of the soil; though entitled to enjoy all previous grants with the appurtenant rights and liberties, upon the relinquishment of his *jura regalia*, if any, and the payment of some small pittance as an acknowledgement of the tenure. Privileges.

All the admirals, generals, justices, sheriffs, constables, and other officers of the crown, were commanded to aid the Proprietor, his heirs and agents, at all times, when requested, upon the peril of incurring the royal displeasure. Indeed, his proprietorship, thus chartered, was little less than an absolute sovereignty; he being merely subordinate to the crown and to the Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, as a subject of the realm.

In fine—it was ordained, in and by these Letters Patent, that upon their enrolment they should be forever effectual in law throughout the British Dominions; that they should be construed according to their true meaning and intent—"most benignly, favorably, and beneficially" for the proprietor and his heirs; that no word or sentence should be interpreted, in prejudice, to the word of God, the true christian religion taught, or laws established in the kingdom; and that all explications, when needed, should be made by the king's attorney-general. Conclusion.

This is a short outline of Gorges' memorable charter of the Province of Maine;*—a charter which contains more extensive powers and privileges, than were ever granted by the crown to any other individual: and in short, if we except the establishment of a sectarian religion, we may pronounce it a very masterly chart, as drafted for a colonial government.

The extent of the Province northward, was to the mouth of Dead

* This charter, entire and at great length, is in 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 442—445: also in *Sullivan's App.* p. 397—408.

A. D. 1639. river, and northwestward to Umbagog Lake ; and the territory might be equal to a sixth part of the present State of Maine.*

Northern
extent.

Isles of
Shoals,
or Smith's
Isles.

The charter embraced five of the celebrated *Isles of Shoals* ; viz. *Hayley's*, or *Smutty-nose Island*, *Hog*, *Duck*, *Cedar*, and *Malaga Islands*. Clark's, or Navy Island, farther north, properly belonged to Maine, but not to the cluster.—Those united to New-Hampshire are *Star*, *White*, and *Londoner's Islands*. The whole number may contain 600 acres.† Though rocky, bleak, and greatly exposed to winter severities, they have a cool refreshing atmosphere in summer—always healthful, and none upon the coast were oftener noticed. To the eye of curiosity, they exhibit in some places, appearances of rock broken off and separated from the rest of the Island ; in others, frightful chasms, several yards wide and twenty, or even thirty feet deep,‡ evidently occasioned by some violent concussion or earthquake. Through the cracks, or channels, the water at flood-tides, and in storms, rushes in great torrents. These Islands, after the visit of the famous John Smith, in 1614, were called “Smith's Isles,” till they acquired the present name. The peculiar advantages for fishery, which they presented, gave them celebrity and value, and were the efficient and principal causes of the early settlements upon them. The character and habits of the original Islanders,§ for industry, intelligence and pure morals, have acquired for them great respect in the estimation of posterity. Among the early residents, were Mr. William Pepperell, and Mr. Gibbons, who carried on the fisheries two years, very extensively ; being men of great enterprize and considerable distinction.|| On

* Erroneously supposed afterwards to contain 9,600 square miles.—*Brit. Dom. in A.* p. 117.—it embraced two of the 12 divisions ; the northerly boundary of *New-Somersetshire* being the Androscoggin river.

† They lie 9 miles S. E. of Portsmouth light-house, N. Lat. 42° 50'. The harbor is at Hayley's Island, which opens to the S. W.—*See Introduction*, p. 23, *also, post*, 1661.

‡ In one of these, viz. Star Island, is “Betty Moody's hole,” where she secreted herself, at a time when the Indians carried away “many female captives,”—probably in king Philip's war.

§ The Islands were settled early. “The deed given by the Indian Sagamores to John Wheelwright and others, A. D. 1629, includes the Isles of Shoals.”

|| Pepperell was an ancestor of Sir William, and settled in Kittery. Gibbons was from Topsham, in England, and obtained a grant out of the Muscogus patent. They left the Island at the same time, and went the

Hog Island a meeting-house was built at a very early period, possibly the first in the Province; and about A. D. 1640, we find the Islanders were attendants upon the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Hull. There were originally 'between 20 and 30 families on that 'Island.' They once "had a court-house on Hayley's Island;" and in so prosperous a state were these Islands, that they contained "from four to six hundred souls." Even gentlemen from some "of the principal towns on the seacoast, sent their sons here "for literary instruction."*

The charter might well afford the greatest satisfaction to the mind of Gorges; for it contained all the territories, all the powers, and all the provisions, he desired. The provincial *name of* MAINE, though one by which this section of country was at that time *frequently called*,† was chosen, probably, in compliment to the queen, who had inherited a province of the *same name* in France.‡ For this double reason, it was a name preferable to the old one, taken from the county of Somerset, in which the patentee had his residence and perhaps his birth.

Gorges now consoled himself in his successes. Being "seized, (says he to his provincial coadjutors,) of what I have travelled "for, above forty years, together with the expenses of many thousands and pounds, and the best time of my age, loaded with troubles "and vexations from all parts, as you have heard; I will give you "some account in what order I have settled my affairs in the "Province of Maine, with the true form and manner of government, according to the authority granted me by his Majesty's "royal charter.§

Why this Province is named Maine.

Gorges' system of Administration.

course their staves directed,—which they let fall, from holding them up in a plumb, or perpendicular suspension.

* See Introduction; also, 7 Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 242—250.

† By reason of the great number of Islands in this quarter, the shores, or coast, were frequently called "*the Main*." Smith says, while he was at the Islands, in 1614, the Indians desired strongly one of his men should go "to the *Meyne*."—*Smith's Hist.* p. 18, 19.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 12—says Weymouth anchored first at an Island, though it appeared to be "some high land of the *Mayne*." In 1635, April 22, the patent to J. Mason mentions "a tract of land upon the *Mayn*."—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 385.—This expression, 'the *Main*,' is common in old authors. ‡ Sullivan.

§ *Gorges' Nar.* p. 21.—Between 1634, when Gorges and Mason made partition, and 1640, F. Champernoon, H. Chadbourn, N. Frost, Peter Wyer, J. Trueworthy, and others, came over. For the first ten years, after

A. D. 1639. The system he adopted was this—to retain the supreme executive power in his own hands ; to appoint, of his own selection, a Council of seven ; and to provide for a popular branch, consisting of representatives chosen by counties.

In the prosecution of his designs, he prepared an exact transcript of the charter, a commission to seven select councillors, under his hand and seal, Sept. 2, 1639, and a code of ordinances and instructions ; all which he transmitted hither, requesting the Council to proceed in the execution of their trust without delay, and at their opening session, to read the whole publicly—that the people of his Province “ might know, how they were to be governed.” Receiving no information, for six months, of its arrival, he carefully executed other papers and documents of the same description, March 10, 1640,* though somewhat enlarged and improved ; and these formed the basis and structure of his government.

Dep. Gov.
and Council

The permanent councillors, appointed and put in the new commission, were THOMAS GORGES, Deputy Governor ; *Richard Vines* of Saco ; *Henry Joscelyn* of Black-Point ; *Francis Champernoon* of Piscataqua [Kittery] ; *Richard Bonython* of Saco ; *William Hook*† of Agamenticus ; and *Edward Godfrey* of Piscataqua.

In the place of “ Thomas Joscelyn, knight,” ‡ whose name appeared in the first commission, was substituted Thomas Gorges, whom Sir Ferdinando calls “ his trusty and well beloved cousin.” He also calls Vines “ his steward general ;” and Champernoon§ “ his loving nephew.”

the earliest settlement of Agamenticus, A. D. 1624, the population increased slowly. William Gorges came over a second time in 1635 ; and probably Edward Godfrey and William Hook came some years earlier.

* The date was A. D. 1639, but this must have been in old style.—*Sullivan*, p. 307.

† Hook was in the Province, as early as 1633.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 318.—But removed to Salisbury (Mass.) some years before he died in 1654.

‡ It is supposed Thomas Joscelyn never came over ;—the others were John who came over in 1638 and has published “ *Voyages*,” and Henry, who settled at Black-point.

§ 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 338.—1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 386.—Champernoon died A. D. 1687. Two of his daughters married into the Cutts family. A third married Humphrey Elliot, whose son, Champernoon Elliot, inherited his grandfather's estate.

The higher or state officers of the Province were *seven*, A. D. 1649. whose titles and trusts were prescribed, and who were all designated or commissioned from the members of the "Standing Council." 1. The *Deputy*, or *Lieutenant-Governor*, was the president of the Board and chief magistrate, under the Lord Proprietor, and held his office for three years: 2. The *Chancellor* was appointed to determine all differences between party and party in matters of equity: 3. The *Marshal* had the command and management of the militia, who was invested with power to hold a court by a Judge-marshal, where all military cases of honor or arms, capital as well as tactical, were to be tried: 4. The *Treasurer* received and disbursed the public revenue: 5. The *Admiral* had charge of all the naval forces; and either by himself, his lieutenant or a subordinate judge, determined maritime causes, happening within the Province or upon the high seas, whether they concerned trade, maritime contracts, or the duties of factors: 6. The *Master of Ordnance* took charge of all public military stores, both for the sea and land service: 7. And lastly, The *Secretary* was the Lord Proprietor's and Council's official correspondent and keeper of the Province seal, which he was to impress upon all the precepts and processes of that body. This office was assigned to the Deputy-Governor himself.

Oaths to be
taken.

To qualify the Councillors for the exercise of the trust, they were required to take two oaths, before some two of their number; the first was the oath of allegiance, according to the form prescribed in England—the other was in these words:—"I do swear to be a faithful servant and Councillor unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges, knight, my lord of the Province of Maine, to his heirs and assigns; to do and perform all dutiful respects to him or them belonging, conceal their counsels, and without respect of persons to give my opinion in all cases, according to my conscience and best understanding, both as I am a judge for hearing causes and otherwise; freely to give my opinion as I am a Councillor for matters of the State or Commonwealth; and that I will not conceal from him and his Council any matter of conspiracy or mutinous practice against my said lord, his heirs and assigns; but will instantly after my knowledge thereof, discover the same unto him and his said Council, and seek to prevent it, and by all means prosecute the authors thereof, with all severity according to justice."

A. D. 1640. The Council were directed to appoint a *Clerk or Register*, Officers and to record their proceedings; and a *Provost-Marshal*, to execute Courts. their precepts, judgments and sentences, who was to be provided at the public charge, with a suitable building for the confinement of prisoners. It was also enjoined upon them to hold their court regularly on a *stated day* every month; and in a *place the most central*, and convenient for the population, or inhabited parts of the Province.

In session, the Council's jurisdiction extended to all cases, both civil and criminal. Piratical depredations, which were at this period uncommonly alarming, were particularly mentioned. To seize or to kill pirates, the Council might commission *any* individual, and likewise command the Provost-Marshal to raise the *posse*, or call out all the forces of the Province. But the Council were required always to proceed according to the laws of England; three constituting a quorum for business—though Mr. Gorges or Mr. Vines, in all capital trials, was to be one.*

The forms preserved may be worth a recital. For instance, in capital cases and felonies, the warrant was in these words;—

To the Provost-Marshal,† or any Constable of the Peace.

Forms.

[L. s.] *These are to command you presently to take with you a sufficient guard, and to use your best means for the apprehending of ———; and him to bring before us, to answer unto such matters of felony as shall be objected against him. Hereof fail not. Given under the seal of the Province, &c.*

The forms of Civil Process ran thus:—

To [A. B.] of [C.] in said Province—Greeting.

[L. s.] *These are to will and command you to come and appear before us, the Council established for the Province of Maine, upon the day, of to answer to the complaint of*

Given under the seal of the Secretary of our said Council the day, &c.

T. GORGES.

If any one contemned the judgments of court, or resisted process, he was to be arrested, if force could do it, and in case he fortified his house, or fought the officer, the Provost-Marshal, armed by a special precept from the Council, was required to

* Gorges' Hist. p. 50—51.

† The fees of the Provost-Marshal was 2s. for serving a warrant.

take sufficient aid, and proceed against him with fire and sword A.D. 1640. if necessary, as against a dangerous rebel.*

Sir Ferdinando proposed also to divide this Province into four ^{4 Counties,} Counties, or Bailiwicks, east, west, north, and south ;† these ^{8 Hundreds,} into eight hundreds ; and the latter into parishes and tythings, ^{Parishes,} as the people should increase or convenience require. ^{and Tythings.}

In addition to the seven “ Standing Councillors,” who also constituted the *Supreme Court* of judicature ; there were to be elected *eight* deputies “ by the freeholders of the several counties, ‘ as *Representatives* in behalf of *the Country*, who were authorized in virtue of their places to set in the General Court, as ‘ assistant members and give their opinions according to right and ‘ justice. These fifteen formed the Legislative branches of the ^{Legislative Body.} government ; and without the advice and consent of the whole duly assembled, “ no judge or minister of state was to be allowed or approved ;”—no alienation of lands by gift, grant, or otherwise was to be made,—nor any other matter of moment transacted or determined. Once in every year and at other times, whenever any law was to be enacted or repealed, any money or taxes levied, or any forces for the public defence raised ; two of the most worthy citizens in each county, were to be elected as *Dep-* ^{Deputies, or} *uties*, or Representatives, by the freeholders thereof, in virtue of ^{Representatives.} a summons issued in the Lord Proprietor’s name, by advice of the standing council ; and when returned they were to join with the other, or upper branch, in the exercise of the legislative powers given them, for which the *Assembly* was convened. ^{Assembly.} But nothing is said of their voting in a separate house ; yet to this Assembly of 15 members, all appeals were made, in case of injustice or wrong, committed by any civil officer or other person, acting under the authority of government.

For the administration of justice in each County, and the main- ^{Courts of Sessions.} tenance of the public peace, a lieutenant and eight justices were to be appointed by the Executive ; and these, when in session, were authorized to choose or appoint two head-constables for

* See these Documents and ordinances entire.—*Sullivan’s Hist. Maine, App.* p. 413—421.

† *Gorges’ Hist.* p. 50.—He says, each was to contain a Regiment of Militia.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 388—9.—At the first meeting, it would seem that the freeholders in the several settlements were allowed to attend the General Assembly in person ; afterwards deputies were chosen in the Towns.

A. D. 1640. each hundred, also for each parish, one Constable and four Tything-men. In imitation of king Alfred's policy, the demeanor of the householders and their families was to be made known by the tything-men to the parish constable; by him in writing to the head-constables; and by them to the lieutenant and justices at their next session;—and if the misdemeanor committed was within their jurisdiction, they were to hear and decide upon it; otherwise it was their duty to present it to the Lord Proprietor, or his deputy in Council.

Constables
and Tything-
men.

Such is the substance of the constitution and political administration under the charter of Gorges—a system “much more easily drawn on paper, than carried into execution.” The government was proprietary, and the religion and church-polity episcopal; but no provision was made for public institutions, nor for schools; judicial proceedings must conform to the laws of England; the lands were subject to a quit-rent, payable every year, of sixpence per acre; and in all sales* of real estate, licenses were first to be obtained from the justices, else the transfers would not be valid. No provision was made for empanneling juries, yet it seems they were early in use as a part of the court.

June 25.
1st. Gen
Court at
Saco

The “first General Court,” under the charter, was opened on the 25th of June, at Saco; and holden by only four† of the Council, *Richard Vines*, *Richard Bonython*,‡ *Henry Joscelyn*, and *Edward Godfrey*. They called themselves ‘Councillors of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for the preservation of justice through his Province;’§ and after taking the qualifying oaths, they proceeded to the discharge of their official trust. They appointed *Roger Gard*, of Agamenticus, Clerk or Register; *Robert Sankey*, of Saco, Provost-Marshal,|| *Nicholas Frost*, of Piscataqua, *Michael Mitten*, [*Mitton*,] of Casco, and *John Wilkinson*, of Blackpoint, the Constables of those places. At the first session, there were entered 18 civil actions and 8 complaints. For the purpose of exercising a jurisdiction¶ under Gorges’ charter, in opposition

* 1 Belk. Biography, p. 383.

† It seems *Thomas Gorges* had not yet arrived. *F. Champernoon* must have come over before this time;—*Hook* had been here seven years.

‡ Called in the commission “Boniton.”

§ Sullivan, p. 303.

|| 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 101.

¶ At this court, *George Cleaves*, who took up 2000 acres, at Spurrwink, on the promise, as he said, of a grant from Gorges, sued *J. Winter*, in two

to the claimants of Lygonia, it was expedient to hold the court A.D. 1640, at Saco; though the people of Agamenticus and Piscataqua felt it to be a disappointment, and complained of the distance to the court, as a grievance. They had expected that Agamenticus would be the seat of government; and the court, determining to hold sessions there likewise, required of the Piscataqua settlers, their attendance at Saco, only on the annual election days in June; and allowed them to attend in either place they might choose, at any other times.

Among the prosecutions at the first session, only one can be mentioned.* This was the indictment of John Winter, a trader, of Spurwink, or Richmond's Island, for taking a premium of more than 5 per cent. upon the cost of the articles sold. The prohibition, though uncouth to us in this age of free trade and commerce, was, in those times of scarcity and ignorance, perhaps, a fit provision of law.

In the summer, Thomas Gorges arrived, commissioned by the Lord Proprietor, his Deputy-Governor of the Province. He was a young gentleman who had received a law education at the Inns of court, in Westminster, whose abilities, qualities of heart, sobriety of manners, and liberal education, qualified him well for the office. His instructions were, to consult and counsel with the magistrates of Massachusetts, as to the general course of administration most expedient to be pursued; and such were his own resolutions, that he determined to discharge the duties of his office with fidelity and promptitude.

Thomas
Gorges,
Dep. Gov.
arrives.

At Agamenticus he found affairs, both private and public, in lamentable disorder. The Lord Proprietor's buildings, which had cost him large sums of money, were in a state of great dilapidation, and his personal property was squandered;—nothing of his household-stuff remaining but an old pot, a pair of tongs, and a couple of cob-irons.

actions, for intrusion and trespass; on taking possession under the patent to Trelawney and Goodyear, and recovered.—One R. Bradshaw, under Gorges and Mason, was succeeded by Richard Tucker, who had joined Cleaves at Spurwink.—There were several civil actions brought to this court, viz. A. Browne v. Thomas Purchas—slander—verdict £5.—R. Gibson v. J. Bonython,—slander—verdict, £6, 6s. 6d.

* The first volume of York County Records begins in 1640; and the volumes are numbered regularly, down to the present time.

A. D. 1640. In political matters, the Deputy-Governor found George Burdet to be the chief manager. Pride and abilities had given him self-confidence and obstinacy ; and he regarded no law, otherwise than to wrest it and make it sanction or excuse his iniquities. He was immediately arrested by order of the Deputy-Governor, for breaches of the seventh commandment, and bound over to answer for his crimes before the next Councillors' Court at Saco. In this tribunal, which commenced its session Sept. 7th, Mr. Gorges presided, juries were empannelled, and justice was regularly administered. At this session there were pending about 40 cases, 13 being indictments.

George
Burdet's
trial.

Burdet appeared, and such were his arts in management, and such his persuasive address, that he inclined Mr. Vines and two others of the Court, strongly in his favor. Nevertheless, he was indicted and convicted of adultery, of breaches of the peace, and of "slandrous speeches." For the first of these offences, the Court sentenced him to pay £30, and for the others £5. He appealed, and claimed the right of a rehearing in England.* But Gorges, deaf to the demand, ordered his property to be seized and sold in execution of his sentence ; and in return, Burdet, denouncing vengeance against his judges, soon departed for England. There, all his expectations of redress were quickly extinguished ; for, taking sides with one party in the civil wars, he was seized and thrown into prison by the other ;—and we hear of this troublesome man no more.†

He goes to
England.

Some other trials and a few political acts of the Court, may well be mentioned ;—both to gratify curiosity, and reflect some light upon the history of those times.‡

R. Gouch
Indicted.

At the same session, Ruth, the wife of John Gouch, being indicted by the grand inquest, was convicted of adultery with Burdet, and received sentence, 'that six weeks after her expected confinement, she should stand in a white sheet, publicly in the congregation at Agamenticus, two several sabbath days ; and likewise one other day in the General Court, when she should be thereunto called by the Councillors of the Province, according to his Majesty's laws in that case provided.'

* The charter did not allow of any appeal to England.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 361.—Winthrop's Jour. p. 207.

‡ *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, p. 55—7—where mention is made of several trials and cases.

Three other presentments were these,—one against John Lan- A. D. 1640.
 der of Piscataqua, *for swearing two oaths*, who was fined two shillings; one against Ivory Puddington, *for being drunk* at Mrs. Tynn's, and fined; and one against John Smith, servant of John Alcot, *for running away from his master and other abuses*, who, after conviction, was sentenced to be whipped and sent to his master. A bill of indictment was drawn against George Puddington, of Agamenticus, for saying on the 8th of August preceding,—*we hold the "power of our combination"* to be stronger than the power of the king*. This the jury endorsed *ignoramus*.†

Offences
punished.

To prevent the great destruction, made by wolves among domestic animals, the Court ordered 12 pence to be paid by every family between Piscataqua and Kennebunk, for each wolf killed within those limits; and the same sum by every family between Kennebunk and Sagadahock for each one killed, within that division:—the hunter receiving an order from the nearest Councillor to demand the premium.

Bounty for
Wolves.

A division of the Province was in fact made, by the river Kennebunk, into two *Districts*, or Counties, "East and West." No names appear to have been assigned to either by the Court, though the western district, or county, gradually acquired the name of *York*, and terms of an Inferior Court were appointed to be holden at Agamenticus, by a portion of the Council, three times in a year; and the other, being commonly called *Somerset*, or *New-Somerset*, had three terms of a like Inferior Court holden annually in the same manner within it at Saco. It was also ordered that henceforth there should be one General Court holden at Saco, for the whole Province of Maine every year, on the 25th of June, or on the next day, if that should fall on the sabbath; and the Council might convoke sessions of that Court at other times. But the "Inferior Courts had no jurisdiction in capital felonies, or civil actions involving titles to lands."

Division of
the Pro-
vince.
York and
Somerset
Counties.

Actuated, no doubt, by pious motives, though by peculiar zeal,

* By this it would seem that Agamenticus had previously combined.

† The Grand Jury presented John Winter, of Richmond's Island, "for that Thomas Wise of Casco, hath declared upon his oath, that he paid said John Winter, a noble (6s. 8d.) for a gallon of brandy or aqua vitæ." Mr. John West "declared he bought of John Winter" a pair of gray stockings at 2s. and shot at 4d. the pound, and paid in beaver at 6s. the pound.

A. D. 1640. the Court ordered all parents in the western County, or Division, to bring their *unbaptized* children to the ordinance ; and whoever should refuse, after a minister was settled in his plantation, and after “the worshipful Thomas Gorges” and Edward Godfrey, —the Deputy-Governor and senior Councillor of the Province,— “should enjoin upon him the duty ;” he was compellable, on being summoned, to appear and answer for his contempt at the next Court.

Piscataqua
settlements
combine.

But nevertheless, the new administration in its energetic measures gave satisfaction to the Province in general ; though the settlements upon the northern banks of Piscataqua were not partakers in the contentment. Disinclined to acknowledge the jurisdictional authority of Gorges’ charter, yet complaining of the great evils they had suffered through want of civil government, they entered into a social compact, Oct. 22d ; and by articles to which Richard and William Waldron, Thomas Larkham and 38 others were subscribers, combined themselves in a body politic, for the free exercise and preservation of their political rights. They professed to be the king’s loyal subjects, and said, they should observe his laws, in connexion with those of their own making, till he should give them further orders.* But as insubordination and anarchy are the fruits of political changes ; these pure democracies, it was found, were holden together by ties so slender, as to be easily burst by the first popular discontent ;—and such was the fate of this compact.

Civil war
in England.

Exhilarated, as Gorges had been, in the prospect of soon filling his Province with inhabitants, prosperity, and happiness ; he submitted to reverses with vexation and grief. The voice of the people at home, was now at a high pitch, both against his party and their politics. The Commons had already commenced attacks upon the ministry, the prelacy, and even the prerogatives of the crown ; in consequence of which, religious persecutions had ceased, and emigration in a great degree also. For such is the love of country and the satisfaction flowing from the enjoyment of liberty, in matters of conscience and worship, that when the persecuting sword was wrested from the destroyer, many who

* 1 Haz. Coll. p. 482.—Hubbard’s N. E. p. 222.—The southerly part of Piscataqua plantation was called *Champernoon’s*, probably from the name of one of the Council. It seems Waldron and Larkham, after this, lived in Dover, in N. H.—1 Belk. N. H. p. 48, 50.—3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 7.

were preparing to emigrate, changed their minds, and some al- A.D. 1641.
ready here, broke up their connexions and returned to England.

The multiplication of removals hither, in preceding years, had ^{Changes of}
a direct tendency to enhance the demand and price of domestic ^{the times.}
animals and of provisions. Passengers brought money with them,
and articles of English fabric. But when emigration decreased,*
great cattle, which had been selling at £25 a head, could be
purchased for one half, or a third part of that sum; corn and
grain were considered a good tender; and provision by law, it is
said, was first made for extending executions on real estate.
The domestic manufacture of wearing apparel and bed-clothes,
having become more necessary than at any former period, the
farmers found it indispensably necessary to raise flax and breed
sheep;† and raw materials were wrought by females into needful
clothing. A trade was opened between several places in New-
England and the West Indies, in which lumber was exchanged
for the products of those Islands;—a trade ever of great advant-
age to this eastern country.

Sir Ferdinando in his special patronage of Agamenticus, gave Agament-
it a charter of incorporation, April 10, 1641,‡ by which he erect- ^{icus made a}
ed it into a town or “borough.” It embraced the territory three ^{Borough.}
miles every way “from the church-chapel,” or “oratory of the
plantation;” and invested the burgesses, or inhabitants, with pow-
ers to elect annually a mayor and eight aldermen;§ and to hold
estate to any amount. The mayor and board were authorized
to make by-laws, to erect fortifications, and to hold courts in the
“Town Hall,” once in three weeks, for the trial of misdemeanors
and all civil causes. The inhabitants now thought they had ex-
clusive privileges, and when the General Assembly or Court of
elections was convened in June, at Saco, and opened by the Dep-
uty-Governor, and the councillors, Vines, Bonython, Joscelyn and

* *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 385, 395—233-9—246.—The New-England colo-
nies, the next twenty years, lost by returns home, more than they gained
by accessions from the mother country.—1 *Neal's N. E.* p. 218.

† At this time there were in New-England about 12,000 neat cattle and
3000 sheep.—1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 91.—Corn 4s.; rye 5s. and wheat
6s. per bushel. See also *Chalmers*, p. 165-6.

‡ Charter entire.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 470-4.

§ Thomas Gorges was mayor, and the aldermen were Edward Godfrey,
Roger Gard, George Puddington, Bartholomew Barnett, Ed. Johnson, Ar-
thur Bragdon, Henry Simpson and John Rogers.

A. D. 1641. Godfrey, three of the aldermen, and a delegate from the burgeses or inhabitants, appeared and presented a special memorial declaratory both of their corporate rights and duties. They acknowledged, they said, the authority of the provincial charter under the Lord Proprietor, and cheerfully rendered full submission to its requirements and the government under it, so far as they were lawfully bound; protesting at the same time, that neither their present appearance at court, nor any other act of theirs should be deemed prejudicial to their borough-privileges; and subjoining a request, that their protest might be authenticated by a "Notary," and recorded.

It is manifest, that the corporate privileges, granted to Agamenticus were peculiar, and might create some uneasiness in other parts of the Province; yet the court were willing to give contentment, and ordered the immunities and powers possessed by the borough to be duly respected, till the farther pleasure of the Lord Proprietor should be known.*

Without doubt his motives were wholly beneficent, and his wishes in unison with theirs: For I have, (said he,) 'by divine assistance settled in the Province a hopeful form of government; and I am still anxious by all practicable means, to promote the best interests of all the inhabitants.'†

Gorges makes Agamenticus a city.

Georgeana.

Actuated by these generous designs, he determined now to erect the borough into a "City;" and accordingly executed another and more perfect charter, March 1, 1642, by which he incorporated a territory of 21 square miles, and the inhabitants upon it, into a body politic, which he, evidently in compliment to his own name, called "GEORGEANA."‡ The whole lay in the form of a parallelogram, on the northern side of the river Agamenticus, extending up seven miles from its mouth, and a league upon the seashore.

The police consisted of a mayor, 12 aldermen, 24 common

* 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 101.

† Gorges' Nar. p. 58.

‡ Charter entire.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 480—6.—*Edward Godfrey* affirmed that 'he had been a promoter of this Colony of N. England from A. D. 1609, and above 32 years, an adventurer in that design, an inhabitant of Agamenticus in 1629—30, and the first that built there; that in 1634, he for himself, Samuel Maverick, William Hook and associates, obtained of the P. Council, a grant of 12,000 acres on the easterly side of Agamenticus; and Gorges' grandson Ferdinando, 12000, on the other side.'

council-men and a Recorder,—annually elective in March, by the A. D. 1642. *citizens* or freeholders. The Mayor and Aldermen were *ex officio* Justices, and had the appointment of four sargents, whose badge was “a white rod,” and whose duty it was, to serve all judicial precepts. The officers took, besides the oath of allegiance, another for the faithful performance of their trust.

The courts were two:—one holden every Monday by the Courts. Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder, for the trial of all offences not extending to life, and all civil suits not exceeding £10, and not concerning the title to lands. The town-clerk was the register and keeper of the records; and the proceedings of the court were to be according to those in chancery at Westminster; appeals to the Lord Proprietor or his Deputy-Governor in person being allowed in all cases.—The other was a mere “Court-leet,” holden twice a year by the Recorder, for preserving the rights of the corporation itself, and for punishing such as were abusers of the public trust.

All the lands within the limits of the city not previously conveyed, were granted to the corporation in fee-simple, to be holden of the Lord Proprietor, as he held the Province of the crown, by paying yearly a quarter of wheat.

The Mayor,* Aldermen, Common Council, and Commonalty, were empowered to make any by-laws they might think fit and wholesome, for the better order and government of the corporation, not repugnant to the laws of England, nor those of the Province; and to erect any fortifications, which might be approved by the Provincial Governor and Council;—and generally, they were to enjoy the liberties and privileges chartered to the city of Bristol in England. Powers of the Corporation.

In conclusion—Sir Ferdinando adds, ‘I command my Deputy-Governor, all my Council and freeholders of the Province, to Conclusion.

*The first City-mayor was *Edward Godfrey*;—the aldermen were probably those under the former charter.—*Winthrop’s Jour. A. D. 1643*, p. 276,—says, they have “lately made Agamenticus, a poor village, a Corporation—and a tailor [R. Garde] their Mayor.” They have also “entertained one Mr. Hull, an excommunicated person, for their minister.”—The population of Georgeana, at this time, was probably between 250 and 300 souls. Mr. Hull was also a preacher on the Isles of Shoals. Mr. Thompson was before Burdet, and a good preacher; afterward he was settled at Mount Walliston.—*Winthrop’s Jour.* p. 195,—7.

A. D. 1642. 'take notice of this charter* and to aid and assist the Mayor and
' Commonalty, their successors and assigns, in all things touching
' its rights and authority.'

More than ten years the city of Georgeana acted in a corporate capacity, making some grants of land, and managing affairs in a manner most beneficial to the interests of the people.

As the mother country was in a revolutionary state, the Province of Maine might have been an asylum for loyalists and episcopalians; and some such without doubt emigrated, from the flames of civil war enkindling in the realm. But the provincial government, however, was not sufficiently settled, energetic, and methodical, to ensure confidence to a great extent.

New-Hampshire unites with Massachusetts.

All parts of New-England had hitherto, since the rage of party in the kingdom, happily experienced a gradual increase of wealth and numbers.† By judicious management and an energetic administration, Massachusetts in particular, had acquired to herself an acknowledged ascendancy or elevation, in her political character. Indeed, New-Hampshire, taught, since Mason's death by bitter experience, the futility of self-formed combinations for security, had sought a coalescence with that colony; and in 1642, was admitted to a political connexion which lasted 38 years.

Pejepscot resigned to Massachusetts.

In the mean time the transactions of Thomas Purchas, the original settler at Pejepscot, partook of the same wisdom. He had heard of the Pequot war; he was acquainted with the Indian character; he knew what was the exposure of his situation, and the emulous aspirations of Massachusetts. To effect and establish a conjunction with her, he assigned to her Governor, John Winthrop, by a conveyance executed August 22, 1639, "all the tract at Pejepscot on both sides of the river Androscoggin,—four miles square towards the sea;" and conceded to her government the same exercise of power and jurisdiction,

* Charter entire.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 430,—6.—Roger Garde, Esq. succeeded T. Gorges in the borough mayoralty. In 1644, a woman was tried in the mayor's court for the murder of her husband, condemned and executed.

† There were now settled in New-England 77 ministers, who had been driven away from England, and 50 towns and villages had been planted.—1 *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 247,—8.—In Massachusetts 1,232 were added to the list of freemen.—1 *Holmes A. Ann.* p. 324.—First Commencement at Harvard College was this year—a seminary patronized by all New-England.

possessed within her charter limits. In return it was expected A. D. 1642. the plantation would be soon enlarged and made to flourish ;—it being expressly provided, that Purchas himself, his heirs and associates should ever have the protection of the government,—a right which they claimed, at and after the present time ; and that they be allowed to enjoy forever the lands, they might clear and improve within the seven ensuing years.*

The acts of Massachusetts colony, at least some of them, were viewed by malcontents, and also by jealous patriots, as stretches of power. Her accusers were royalists and episcopalians ; and oftentimes, in repayment of their illiberal strictures, some of them experienced retributive treatment but too severe. A sermon preached by Mr. Larkham of Dover, N. H. (now Larkham and Gibson. under Massachusetts) against hirelings, was an evident aim at Richard Gibson, of Maine, and gave him great umbrage. He was an episcopalian, a good scholar, a popular speaker, and highly esteemed as a gospel minister, especially by the settlers and fishermen, at Richmond's Island and on the Isles of Shoals ; among whom he had been for some time preaching.† He in reply, wrote an insulting letter to Larkham ; and likewise accused Massachusetts of usurpation, in her endeavors to rule over the Isles of Shoals. In this state of irritation, Gibson provoked Isles of Shoals re-volt. the Islanders, A. D. 1642, to revolt, and probably submit to Gorges' government, several of the cluster being his by charter. But he was glad to escape the indignation of that colony by making a humble acknowledgement, and perhaps promising that the Islanders should be urged by him to return to their allegiance.‡

As the New-England freemen were generally both republican The New-Englanders and puritan, they on the one hand disliked every friend and ad- —republicans, favored by the Commons. vocate of episcopal hierarchy ; and on the other, they were large partakers with the republicans in the struggle between the crown

* See ante, A. D. 1636,—also the instrument itself.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 457.—It was in 1642, that Gov. Gorges and Mr. Vines visited the White Hills, passing on their way through Pegwacket.—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 266.—But they found none of the “ precious metallic substances,” as they had expected:

† Mr. Gibson had been in the Eastern Country about 5 or 6 years. He returned to England in 1643.

‡ Hubbard's N. E. p. 361.

A. D. 1643. and parliament. In sentiment and fact, they were with the revolutionists ; and as soon as the Commons had obtained sufficient power, they were forward to extend unto the New-England colonists, protection and favor. They considered the American plantations as a country well affected towards the propagation of the true gospel, and capable of great political benefit to the nation. To promote more extensively a commerce with them, therefore, the House of Commons voted (1642,) that all necessaries, the growth or merchandize of either country, designed for consumption, might be exchanged free of duty.* The next year, the welfare of the colonies was the subject of special concern.—Thousands, said that body, have been forced abroad through the oppression of prelates and other ill-affected ministers ; and need the protection to which they have long been entitled, against the malignity of royalists and papists. Viewing with jealousy the king's patents, more recently granted to his favorites and the establishment of proprietary or royal provinces,† they appointed the Earl of Warwick, Governor-General and High Admiral of all the American plantations, and placed around him a Board of 16 Commissioners ;‡ whose duty it was to promote among the people the advancement of the “ true protestant religion,” and to exercise a provident care over their political rights and liberties.

The union
of four
Colonies.

At this favorable era, the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, completed a *confederacy*, May 19, by which they entered into a solemn compact, to afford each other mutual advice and assistance on all necessary occasions, whether offensive, defensive, or prudential. Among the reasons assigned for this union, were the dependent condition of the colonists ; the vicinity of the Dutch and French, who were inclined to make encroachments ; the hostile appearances of the neighboring Indians ; the commencement of civil contests in the parent country ; the impracticability of obtaining from thence suitable aid in any emergency ; and the union already formed by the sacred ties of religion.§

* 1 Haz. Coll. p. 494.

† They probably alluded to the 12 royal provinces or divisions ; and the late charter to Gorges.

‡ John Pym and Oliver Cromwell were two of them.

§ See the articles in *Winthrop's Journal*, p. 276—282.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 465—474. This union lasted 49 years.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 326—7.

The Province of Maine could not be admitted a member of A. D. 1643. that confederacy ;—being subject to rulers of episcopal tenets, and not unfrequently an asylum of excommunicants, from the other colonies. To this cause we trace the settlement of *Webhannet [Wells]* by *Rev. John Wheelwright*. As a preacher he was pious and learned, yet extremely pertinacious of his own opinions. He believed, *the Holy Spirit dwells personally in a justified convert ; and sanctification can in no wise evince to believers their justification*. These sentiments were pronounced by the theological refinements of the age, to be *Antinomian*,* that is, *against the law spiritual* ; and the authorities of Massachusetts, in 1636, sentenced him to banishment.†

Rev. J. Wheelwright removes to Wells.

He removed from Braintree to Squamscot falls, in Exeter, New-Hampshire, where he obtained from the Indians a deed of lands, and gathered a church ; supposing himself sufficiently remote from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. But in consequence of her late union with New-Hampshire, he found it necessary to make another removal. Hence, Mr. Wheelwright proceeded to Maine, and purchasing of Gov. Gorges, a part of the lands in this section given to him by his uncle, Sir Ferdinando, took a deed, dated April 17, 1643, which conveyed to the worthy minister, in fee-simple a tract of about 4 or 500 acres lying “ at Wells, in the county of Somerset,” that is, along the shore eastward of Negunket river, perhaps to Wells’ harbor. Another deed was obtained the same year, and from the same source, by Wheelwright to himself, Henry Boad and others ; granting some of the remaining territory, between that river and the Kennebunk ; and yet both parcels contained probably scarce an eighth of the township, which was large, being equal to 40,000 acres.‡ Boad and Ed-

Settlement of the town.

* From the Greek, *Antinomos*’, against law.

† Wheelwright was the brother-in-law of the celebrated *Anne Hutchinson*, who with her husband was banished for the same cause, and removed to Rhode-Island. Mr. Wheelwright settled at Exeter, 1638 ; at Wells 1643, at Hampton, 1647 ; and finally in Salisbury (Mass.) where he died A. D. 1679, aged 80 years.—See *Hutchinson’s Hist.* p. 57, 70.—*Winthrop’s Jour.* p. 329.—3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 138.—Wheelwright lived “ near Cape Porpoise.”—*Hubbard’s N. E.* p. 365.

‡ See the deeds in *Sullivan, Appendix*, p. 408. See his Indian deed of Exeter, A. D. 1629.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 271-2. In the deed from Gorges, the

A. D. 1643. ward Rishworth were appointed by the Governor, to lay out the land into lots, suitable for settlers; and then they, with Messrs. Wheelwright, Storer and Littlefield, began a regular plantation.

At Wells, Mr. Wheelwright also gathered a church, of which he became pastor; being well beloved and highly esteemed by his parishioners and all his immediate acquaintance. But an exclusion from the fellowship of ministers, and a banishment from the society of many pious men, who had been his early friends, were trials of extreme severity to his mind. To reconcile, therefore, the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts, he addressed to them, in December, (1643,) a very humble and sensible letter, in which he confessed, his differences with them upon the subject of justification, had been magnified by the "glass of satan's temptations," and his own distempered imagination; and had assumed a character and importance not warranted by the nature of the matter in controversy. 'I am,' said he, 'unfeignedly sorry, I 'took so great a part in those sharp and vehement contentions, 'by which the churches have been disturbed; and it repents me 'that I gave encouragement to men of corrupt sentiments, or to 'their errors, and I humbly crave pardon.'*

The address made a favorable impression upon the Massachusetts Court;—they knew him to be a rigid puritan and a high-minded republican; therefore, they first sent him a safe conduct to Boston, and subsequently the same summer, (A. D. 1644,) they annulled or reversed the sentence of banishment without his personal appearance. He afterwards embarked for England, and lived in that country several years in favor with Oliver Cromwell,

river is called *Ogunquit*; and the grant is upon condition of 5s. quit-rent yearly for each lot of 100 acres.

John Wadlow or Wadleigh, removed from Saco to Wells, before 1649; to whom an Indian, named Thomas Chabinoke, devised 'all his title and interest to Namps-cas-coke, being the greatest part of Wells; upon condition that he should allow one bushel of Indian corn annually to the 'Old Webb,' his mother, as long as she lived. This tract extended from the sea as far up as the great falls on Cape Porpoise [*Mousum*] river, and from Negunket to Kennebunk river. In 1659-60, he and his son joined in a conveyance of the lands between Cape Porpoise and Kennebunk with several reservations, to Eppes, and he to Symonds, son of the Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, who settled at Wells; and as the same had not been previously conveyed, the title proved valid.—*Folsom*, p. 120.

* Winthrop's Jour. p. 329-331.

the Protector. He returned and died in Salisbury, Mass. A. D. 1643. 1679; and his will was proved and recorded the year following in the Province of Maine, where the greater part of his estate still remained.*

Governor Gorges was far from taking pleasure in the present aspect of his provincial affairs. The difficulties with the neighboring French; the restlessness of the Indians; the revival of the proprietary claim to Lygonia; and the measures of Parliament, all served to turn his thoughts to his native country; and he determined at the expiration of three years, the period of his commission, to leave the province.

It was evidently the success of republicanism in England, which at this time brought again the Lygonia, or Plough-patent, into notice; and induced *Alexander Rigby*† to become its purchaser. The eastern parts of the territory had been progressively settling thirteen years; and hence he took an assignment of the fee, and of the charter itself, April 7, 1643, in full determination to assume possession of the country and of the reins of government. Rigby had been bred to the law, was a high republican, and a gentleman of wealth, of piety and of influence; having been a member of the long parliament, probably from Lancashire, the county of his residence, and at some time Colonel-commandant of a regiment.

He commissioned *George Cleaves*, then in England, his deputy-president, and directed him immediately to take upon himself the administration of affairs. Cleaves having lived 13 years at Spurwink, and on the Neck, was aware of the resistance he might have to encounter from the provincial government of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had been by his agents, William and Thomas Gorges, exercising jurisdiction over Lygonia six or seven years; and therefore on arriving at Boston (in 1644,) he requested the intercession and aid of the Massachusetts' magistrates; their political if not religious sentiments being in harmony with Rigby's and his own, and in opposition to the creed of his opponents. But Massachusetts prudently declined any farther interposition, than to give him advice. He then wrote to Sir Ferdinando's

Gov. Gorges returns home.

Lygonia sold to Alex. Rigby.

He appointed George Cleaves to govern it.

* *Sullivan*, p. 233-4.—See *post*. *WELLS A. D.* 1653.—See also *Kennebunk*.

† *Winthrop and Sullivan* spell "Rigby,"—*Hubbard* "Rigbee."—Edward spelt his own name "Rigby."

A. D. 1644. Council, and returned to Casco-peninsula [Portland], and there resumed his residence; Governor Thomas Gorges about this time returning to England.*

Calls a
Court at
Casco.

Cleaves proceeded to acquaint himself with the affairs and interests of the Province, and called a Court, or rather Convention at Casco; intending to organize a government. To innovate upon usages or make unnecessary changes, would be inconsistent with the dictates of policy or maxims of reason, and he adjusted his conduct by rules of strict prudence and moderation.

Controversy
between
him and
Vines.

But every movement of his was encountered by the unqualified opposition of Gorges' government. Vines convened the members of the Council at Saco: and in the consideration of the subject, he and they supposed the grand patent, granted to the New-England or Plymouth Council, might be void from the beginning, as some argued, because of deception practiced in obtaining it; that though it were otherwise, and though the council had given a patent of Lygonia, they had long since surrendered their charter to the crown, and upon their dissolution, twelve royal Provinces were established, of which, two were assigned to Sir Ferdinando; that the patent of Lygonia could possess no powers of government, since that dissolution—whereas Gorges had obtained a royal charter from his Majesty, and had by his agents and officers exercised a continued jurisdiction over the Province, many years; and that even if the legality of the claim rested upon a priority of grant, Gorges and Mason had a joint patent of the country, A. D. 1622, and the former had ever since had possession.

On the contrary, Cleaves could shew the original patent to Dye and others, executed A. D. 1630; a possession taken soon afterwards under it; a deed of the late assignment; and satisfactory evidence, that when the Plymouth Council was dissolved, there was a reservation of all prior grants and existing rights. Still, to avoid a rupture, he sent his friend Tucker to Saco, with a proposal of submitting the controversy to the magistrates of Massachusetts, and abiding their determination till a final decision should come from England. In return, Vines, not only treated

* Gov. Gorges' place of residence, while in the Province, was "about a mile above Trafton's ferry, near Gorges' point,"—the cellar of his dwelling-house remains to this day. "He went to England in 1643" and it has been said he returned and died at York.—1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 163.

the messenger with rough language but threw him into prison ;— A. D. 1644. not permitting him to depart, till he had laid him under bonds, to appear at the next court at Saco, and be in the meantime of good behavior.*

This outrage upon every principle of good faith, exposed Vines and his adherents to the severest reprehension, which Cleaves might not be indisposed to aggravate. He made representations of these facts to the Massachusetts authorities, and requested them to espouse his cause. He also, and the chief men of Rigby's Province, to the number of thirty, sent to the Commissioners of the United Colonies a written proposition, which they had signed, and in which they expressed their desires, that it might become a member of the confederacy.

To this, several objections were raised by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The Province of Lygonia, they said, had no settled and well organized government. She had not complied with an important article of the confederation, which was this ;—that *no Colony while adhering to the Episcopal Church-communion of England could be admitted to membership*. Rigby, though the best republican commoner in Parliament, was himself an episcopal professor, and a friend to the hierarchy ; and his provincials were of the same sentiments. However, in rejecting the proposal made, Massachusetts took a prudent stand, resolving to abate the excitement, and avoid, if possible, the resentments both of Cleaves and his opponents.†

Acts of wisdom, justice and impartiality usually give to antagonists fresh confidence, and to mediators additional trouble. Both parties insisted upon the arbitrament of the "Bay-magistrates," as the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts were called ; and were hardly restrained from immediate hostilities ; though it was repeated to them, that orders by the first arrivals from London would most assuredly be transmitted by the commissioners of foreign plantations, which would decide and settle the contest.

To allay or extinguish the excitement, a part of the magistrates were content to hear the litigants. They said, umpirage was

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 369.—Henry Joscelyn was as zealous as Vines.

† The Province of Maine [says Winthrop's Jour. p. 275,] was not admitted into the confederacy,—“ the people ran a different course from us, both in “ the ministry and civil administrations.”

A. D. 1645. common throughout Europe, in matters infinitely more important ; and a decision in this case, if not irreversible and conclusive, might effect a temporary reconciliation. Others said, the contending agents had no adequate power to bind their principals in the affair : and it was a matter wholly foreign, both to their jurisdiction and their duties.

June 3.
The result.

At length, however, the magistrates appointed a special court to be holden at Boston, June 3d, (1645,) to hear the case ; where Cleaves and Tucker, in behalf of Rigby, filed their declaration, which had been seasonably served on Joscelyn and Robinson, who appeared in defence of Gorges' Province. In the trial, which was commenced before a jury, duly empaneled, Cleaves was unable to show a sufficient assignment to Rigby, the one produced being executed by a minority of the original patentees ; nor could he make it appear by legal proof, that the territory in controversy, fell in fact within Rigby's patent. The defendants were in a similar predicament, for they could only produce a copy of Gorges' charter, attested by witnesses, without any verification upon oath, or official certificate.—The court, therefore, dismissed the cause, advising the disputants to live in peace, till a decision should come from the proper authority ;—and the contest remained undecided two years.*

Sir F. Gorges imprisoned.

Sir Ferdinando, after his nephew's return, appointed no successor ; leaving his Province to the management of his Council. He himself, though now more than 70 years of age, had joined the army of the crown, in the civil wars, and was with Prince Rupert the last year of his famous siege of Bristol ;† and when that city was taken by the Parliament-forces, Gorges was plundered and thrown into confinement.

Vines Dep. Gov. of Maine.

Richard Vines was elected Deputy-Governor in 1644 ; and a General Court being met at Saco, in August, 1645, he presided in the Council, consisting at that time of five members,‡ viz. Henry Joscelyn, Richard Bonython, Nicholas Shapleigh, Francis Robinson, and Roger Gard. The court confirmed the grant to Wheelwright and associates ; otherwise, they only transacted such business as the exigency of the times required.—

Wheelwright's deed confirmed.

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 370.—Sullivan, p. 314.

† The siege was in July, 1643 ; and city taken, Sept. 11, 1645.—5 Hume, p. 121, 184.

‡ 3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 135.

Mr. Wheelwright, in a few years, resigned the occupancy of his A. D. 1645. homestead to his son, who settled in Wells, and whose descendants have been some of the first men in the Province.

The anomalous government of Cleaves was at this time not much more than a general conservation of the peace, and a super-^{Lygonia: Cleaves and Rigby.}intendency of his principal's interests. As the agent of Rigby, he, as early as 1647, conveyed lands in Casco, in Purpooduck, in Spurwink, and upon the Islands.* Yet his deed of Peak's Island, in 1637, to Michael Mitten, his son-in-law, was in virtue of an agency from Gorges; as Cleaves had a commission from Sir Ferdinando, Feb. 25, of the latter year, 'for letting and settling 'lands and islands between Cape Elizabeth and Sagadahock.' Cleaves also conveyed another large tract to Mitten, the title to which seems not to have passed; for he afterwards conveyed to George Mountjoy, the great surveyor, and others,—parts of the same tract;—a confusion of claims, than which, nothing is more repulsive to settlers.

Rigby was the patron of episcopal ministers, and the friend of the enterprising, ignorant, poor. His early and generous exertions to send religious instruction to his Province, to the Islanders, and the fishermen upon the coast, give his character the traits of memorable excellence. At some time before his purchase of Lygonia, it is said, he encouraged Richard Gibson, before mentioned, to protract his mission in these parts.—To Robert Tre-^{R. Trelawney's grant.}lawney and Moses Goodyear, members or friends of the episcopal communion, the Council of Plymouth had granted Richmond's Island, though it was a part of the Lygonian patent. These men, in 1632, appointed John Winter to superintend the fishery at that place; who died, A. D. 1645, leaving a daughter, afterwards the wife of Robert Jordan, an episcopal clergyman. ^{R. Jordan.}Jordan lived upon the Island, and at Spurwink, till the first Indian war, and was an itinerant preacher to the people.† To finish the story of Jordan, he administered upon Winter's estate, A. D.

* *Sullivan*, p. 114—115, 193, 213.—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 54.—*Hubbard's Nar.* p. 232.—Cleaves, as Rigby's agent, conveyed lands, in 1661, at Cape Porpoise. Indeed, in 1650, Rigby himself confirmed 10,000 acres of his Province to Cleaves.

† Jordan died at Great Island, New-Castle, N. H. A. D. 1679, aged 78, devising an immense real estate to his sons, in Scarborough and Cape-Elizabeth.—*Folsom*, p. 80.

A. D. 1645. 1648 ; and for monies due Winter, on account of services he had rendered Trelawney, after he became sole proprietor, Jordan obtained an order from the Lygonian government to seize upon all the estate of the latter,—acquiring in this manner a title to lands, particularly in Cape-Elizabeth, which has never been shaken.*

Oct. 21.
Court at
Saco.—Of
ficers

At the court of elections under Gorges' charter, holden at Saco, Oct. 21, 1645, there were only three of the *charter* or *standing Councillors* present, viz. Messrs. *Vines*, Deputy-Governor, *Richard Bonython* and *Henry Joscelyn* ; when the board, to the number of seven, was filled by election,—*Francis Robinson*, *Arthur Mackworth*, *Edward Small*, and *Abraham Preble* being chosen. Mr. Vines was re-elected Deputy-Governor ; and he and the Councillors were always Provincial Magistrates. William Waldron† was chosen Recorder, and a limited administration organized.

Order of the
Court.

In this Court, the usual and some peculiar subjects came under consideration. The state of the Province was one.—‘ Having,’ said the Court, ‘ had no communication lately from Sir Ferdinand Gorges, the Lord Proprietor, by which any authority is ‘ given for the complete organization and establishment of the ‘ government, proposed by him to be formed under the charter, ‘ nor otherwise for some time heard from him, we have come to ‘ a resolution, and it is ordered, that until directions be received ‘ from the proper source, a Deputy-Governor be chosen every ‘ year ; and should Mr. Vines, according to his present expectation, depart the Province before his term expires, we have provisionally appointed Henry Joscelyn, to fill the vacancy.’

A Tax.

The Court laid upon the Province a tax of £4 11s., in the apportionment of which, they assigned to the Piscataqua planta-

* Cleaves styled himself, in his proceedings, the “agent of Col. Alexander Rigby, President and Proprietor of the Province of Lygonia,—of “Gray’s Inn, London.” Trelawney and Goodyear did not themselves come over ;—they had an extensive patent from the Plymouth Council and their houses were at Spurwink. After Trelawney’s death, his heirs neglected his affairs, and joined the crown party in the civil wars.—*Winth. Jour.*—*Joscelyn’s Voyages*, p. 50.—*Sullivan*, p. 114.—Winter took the estate for services.

† It seems Waldron was a man of good learning, but had been for some intemperance, excommunicated from Dover Church and removed to Maine. In Sept. 1646, he was drowned in crossing Kennebunk river.—*Hubbard’s N. E.* p. 523.

tions £2 10s.; to Georgeana £1; to Saco 11s.; and to Casco A. D. 1645. 10s.* By this we are made acquainted with the relative importance of those places, and with the fact of continued claim to the jurisdiction of Lygonia.†

John Bonython, of Saco, being in debt and guilty of some offences, had offered violent resistance to the officer, who had warrants and other precepts against him; contemned the authority that issued them; and threatened to take the life of any one who durst touch him. To the process by which he was summoned to answer for his contempts and menaces, he paid no regard; and therefore the court, after the usual preliminary proceedings, solemnly adjudged him to be *an outlaw and rebel—no longer under his Majesty's protection*; and likewise ordered, that if he could be taken alive, he should be transported to Boston, to undergo some extraordinary animadversion or punishment.‡

John Bonython outlawed.

Two law-cases occur at this session which are worthy to be mentioned, only because they involve the question of jurisdiction, then claimed and exercised from Piscataqua to Casco. One was an action of account, presented by John Trelawney, of *Piscataqua*; for services in the fishery at *Richmond's Island*, against John Winter, resident there; the other was a suit by Edward Godfrey of Agamenticus, one of the Council, to recover £20 awarded him by the High Court of Star Chamber in England, against George Cleaves, the Deputy-President of Lygonia, residing at *Casco*:§ wherein both judgments were for the plaintiffs.

Two jurisdictional cases.

But the paramount power, exercised by the government of Gorges within Rigby's patent, was at length brought to a final conclusion by the proper authority. The subject having been referred to the Governor-General and Commissioners of the American Plantations;|| they made their report in March, A. D. 1646. By this, they decided, 'that Alexander Rigby, in virtue

Commissioners' decision, March, 1646 in favor of Rigby.

* In Connecticut and New-Haven Colonies, there were, in 1645, 14 taxable towns.

† See 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* 101,—2.—A fast was ordered to be solemnly kept, Nov. 20, through the Province.

‡ John was the son of Richard Boynton. He lived 1-2 mile below Saco falls, on the east side of the river. About the time of the American Revolution, the remains were discovered of the chimney and cellar of his house, which was destroyed by the Indians, A. D. 1675.—*Sullivan*, p. 224.—Query—what had Massachusetts to do with an offender in Maine?

§ *Sullivan*, p. 309.

|| Ante, A. D. 1642.

A. D. 1646. 'of the deeds, and documents adduced, is the rightful owner and 'proprietor in fee-simple, of the territory or Province of Lygonia ; being a tract of land 40 miles in length and 40 miles in 'breadth, lying on the south side of the river Sagadahock, and 'adjoining unto the great ocean, or sea, called *Mare del Nort* ;* 'and in him is settled the right of planting, ruling, ordering and 'governing it. The Commissioners furthermore ordered all the 'inhabitants of the Province to yield due obedience unto its 'constitution of government ; and also directed the Governor of 'Massachusetts, in case of any resistance, to afford the officers, 'appointed by said Rigby, all suitable assistance.'

Divisional
line in the
river Ken-
nebunk.

According to this decision, the river Kennebunk proved to be the divisional line between the two Provinces ; and the only remaining settlements within Gorges' charter were those of Wells, Georgeana, Piscataqua and the northern Isles of Shoals.—— No decision could be more unwelcome and affronting to the adherents of Gorges. If the land-titles of settlers under him within the patent of Lygonia were not thereby put at hazard, three of his Councillors, Vines, Joscelyn, and Bonython, and several other officers, fell within Rigby's jurisdiction, and must either yield allegiance to his government or leave their estates and homes. To resist, would only expose them to the coercive power of Massachusetts, which they had reason to believe, she would be by no means displeased to exercise. Hence, Henry Joscelyn prepared to remove to Pemaquid ; and some others did actually quit the Province.

Cleaves
opens a
court at Sa-
co.—Offi-
cers.

Cleaves, exulting in successes, and in the good graces of republicans, both in England and Massachusetts, immediately opened a court at Saco, under the authority and auspices of Rigby, his principal ; at which place, at Casco, and Black-point, he held sessions at appointed intervals, three or four years. The officers commissioned or designated by the proprietor or Cleaves to govern the province, it seems, were a *Deputy-President* and 5 or 6 *Assistants*, who were probably Magistrates of a judicial character. A court at Black-point was holden by Mr. Cleaves, Henry Joscelyn and Robert Jordan. The administration possess-

* By the favorable interpretation of Mr. Rigby's patent of Lygonia, *Mr. Hubbard's N. E.* p. 510, says, they "brought it to the seaside ; where-
"as the words of the grant laid it 20 miles, and had put Sir F. Gorges out
"of all as far as Saco."

ed some energy ; and its tide of popularity was proportionate to A. D. 1646. that of the English republicans at home ; so much was its fortune reflected across the Atlantic. The style of the Court was the "GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF LYGONIA ;" consisting of Assistants and of Deputies chosen by the people.*

By the commissioners' determination, the territory of Gorges' Province was reduced to a remnant, and its political affairs thrown into a miserable dilemma. Vines had sold and assigned his estate to Robert Childs, and returned to England,† from which he proceeded to Barbadoes ; Mr. Godfrey being the only Councillor left, of Sir Ferdinando's appointment. To revive and organize a new administration, lately so mutilated and crippled, a court was convened at Wells, which elected *Godfrey*, Governor ; *Richard Leader*, *Nicholas Shapleigh*, *Thomas Withers*, and *Edward Rishworth*, Councillors ;—the latter being appointed also Recorder. Afterwards other courts had sessions under Gorges' charter and articles of combination, and held terms alternately in Wells and Georgeana, about three years.‡

Vines
leaves the
country.

Court at
Wells.—
Officers.

At the court of elections, Oct. 20, 1647, no changes in the officers of government are mentioned. Great and provident care was taken of the public interests, and the people enjoyed considerable prosperity. One act of the court was memorable ;—this was the formation of the Piscataqua plantations into a town by the name of KITTERY ;§ which embraced the present town

A. D. 1647.

Kittery in-
corporated.

*It appears, the Assistants in 1648 were, W. Royall, Henry Watts, John Cossons, Peter Hill, and Robert Booth :—and George Cleaves, Deputy-President."

†Vines' assignment to Child was in Oct. 1645. His house was near Winter Harbor on the sea-shore. He first came over A. D. 1609 and had been constantly in the country 30 years.—*Belk. Biog.* p. 354.—He was a high royalist.

‡Sullivan, p. 320, 325.

§ *Kittery* is the first and oldest town in the State :—*Georgeana* being a city corporate, not a town. The soil is either clay, sand, gravel or loam ; and towards the sea the land is broken and rocky. Navy-yard, Badger's Trefethern's, Clark's, Call's and Gerrish's Islands, belong to Kittery. The town records begin March 19, 1648. The town was divided, and *Berwick* incorporated June 9, 1713, and *Elliot*, March 1. 1810. In 1820, the inhabitants were employed in "husbandry, fishing, merchant-voyages and ship-building." The town produces annually 1000 barrels of cider ; but no wheat.—*Mss. Letter of the Hon. M. Dennet.*—The titles to the lands are derived from Sir F. Gorges. Sir W. Pepperell was born at Kittery-point, to which his father removed from Star-Island. A single lineal descendant,

A. D. 1647. of that name, the two Berwicks and Elliot. It was so called, from regard to the wishes of several settlers, who emigrated from a town of that name in England.

Isles of
Shoals.

A curious memorial, presented to the court, this year, reflects some light upon the faint delineations of these times:—Thus, ‘The humble petition of Richard Cutts and John Cutting, sheweth,—That, contrary to an order, or act of court, which says—*‘no woman shall live on the Isles of Shoals,* John Reynolds has brought his wife hither, with an intention to live here and abide. He also hath brought upon Hog Island a great stock of goats and swine, which by destroying much fish, do great damage to your petitioners and others; and also spoil the spring of water upon that Island, rendering it unfit for any manner of use— which affords the only relief and supply to all the rest of the Islands.—Your petitioners therefore pray, that the act of court may be put in execution for the removal of all women from inhabiting there; and that said Reynolds may be ordered to remove his goats and swine from the Islands without delay;—and as in duty bound is your petitioners’ prayer.’

In compliance with the request, the court ordered Reynolds to remove his swine and goats from Hog Island within 20 days, and also from such other Islands as were inhabited by fishermen. But as to “the removal of his wife,” it is ‘thought fit by the court,’ that “if no further complaint come against her, she may enjoy “the company of her husband.”* Never, truly, was there a juster decision, but why an order of court so uncouth and so hostile to woman’s rights and privileges, should ever blemish the page of a statute book, neither history, nor tradition, informs us.

Death and
character of
Sir F. Gor-
ges.

While Sir Ferdinando’s Province was deeply involved in difficulties, he died in England, about two years before the execution of Charles, his royal master. Seldom is a subject more firmly attached to his prince. He was a native of the kingdom, born, A. D. 1573, at Ashton Phillips, in the County of Somerset—of Spanish extraction,†—a descendant of an ancient family more

now indigent, is still living, of the Cutts family. Richard died Sept. 1810.—See *post. A. D.* 1652 and 1713.—*Sullivan’s Hist.* p. 241—4. Kittery was settled in 1623; and Georgeana, or Agamenticus, in 1624.

* 7 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 250. Also 1 Coll. ib. p. 103.

† *Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt* says “Gorges was a Spaniard.” It is said his father came over from Spain in the reign of Philip and Mary. 2 *Travels*, p. 244.

distinguished for respectability than opulence. Ambition, sagacity A. D. 1647. and enterprize, which made him delight in projects of adventure, Sir F. Gor were the strong features of his character; and what his mind ges. devised, his firmness of constitution, vigor of health and force of purpose, enabled him to pursue with unremitting perseverance. But his aims were too much elevated. Fame and wealth, so often the idols of superior intellect, were the prominent objects of this aspiring man; and though he attained to rank and honor, he never could amass riches. Constant and sincere in his friendships, he might have had extensively the estimation of others, had not selfishness been the centre of all his efforts.

In early life he was privy to the conspiracy of Essex against the administration of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards betrayed the whole secret. But if this transaction brought a blush upon his reputation, it had an effect to gain for him, subsequently, many marks of royal favor, and to attach him more closely to the interests of the crown. He was a naval commander before the close of the queen's last war with Spain; and in consideration of his services and merits he was appointed, A. D. 1604, Governor of Plymouth in the County of Devonshire. He was also a captain in the navy, A. D. 1625.*

He and Sir Walter Raleigh, whose acquaintance was familiar, possessing minds equally elastic and adventurous, turned their thoughts at an early period of life, towards the American hemisphere. Being many years the survivor, he had a proportionate advantage. He took into his family several transported natives, and by listening to narrations about their people and country, he was amused, informed and animated. Sanguine in the belief, that rich and powerful states would arise in this region, his mind and his tongue dwelt with rapture upon the theme. The facts he collected, he reduced to the form of a succinct History of this northern country; which, being found to contain many curious and rare particulars, was printed about ten years after his death.

In the grand patent of New-England, he was an active and able member, the principal advocate of their rights, and the most powerful champion in their defence. None did more towards planting a colony at Sagadahock, and subsequent settlements in the vicinity. He sacrificed his time, expended his

* 4 Hume p. 350.

A. D. 1647, money, and sent over his own son and kindred, fully confident Fir F. Gor- of final success.
ges.

But his schemes were often visionary, and his zeal sometimes partook of obstinacy. Determined to remove all obstacles averse to the establishment of the twelve royal Provinces, or a New-England empire, of which he was to be the Governor-General, he often assailed the charter of Massachusetts, as the chief embarrassment, and thereby brought upon himself and his measures, repeated censures.

In religion, a prominent article of his charter, he is not known to have uttered any intemperate or even conscientious sentiments. It is certain, though he was an episcopalian, devoted to the English prelacy, he never was a persecutor of puritans. Secular in his projects and pursuits, he had determined upon the acquisitions of dominion, riches and honors for his sons.

His death, at the advanced age of 74, in arms, on the side of his king, from whom he had received so many tokens of favor, gave full proof of his fidelity; and his life and name, though by no means free of blemishes, have just claims to the grateful recollections of the eastern Americans and their posterity.*

* His oldest son, John, succeeded to his estates and title, a man of no considerable energy, who survived his father only a few years. John left a son, Ferdinando, who inherited the title and some of his grandfather's energies.

CHAPTER VII.

The French in Acadia—The local situation and rivalry of de la Tour and d'Aulney—Their religious tenets—The warfare between them—La Tour applies to Massachusetts—Gov. Gorges' letter—La Tour obtains help—Drives d'Aulney to Penobscot—He is affronted with the Colonists—His agent visits Boston—Madame la Tour proceeds home to the river St. John—Defeats d'Aulney—He treats with Massachusetts—Attacks la Tour's fort, captures it and makes his wife a prisoner—Her death—La Tour's trading voyage—His piratical conduct—Sufferings of the English sailors—The Indians—D'Aulney's death—His widow marries la Tour—The English Colonists and Missionaries—The French Acadian settlements in Maine not flourishing.

To finish our memoirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whose life and labors were so intimately connected with the History of this State ;—the annals of Nova Scotia, as identified with a large part of the Sagadahock territory, have been for ten years necessarily suspended. In resuming the subject, we may remark, that not only were the Acadians and the Provincials of Maine, neighbors ; but a trade and intercourse were kept up between them with some profit and without intermission ; and in particular, the French commanders claimed and occupied the territory, and controled the tribes of Indians, situated about and between Passamaquoddy and Penobscot ;—circumstances which contribute interesting materials to fill our own historic pages.

After Razilla's death, mentioned in 1635, the command of the whole Acadian country devolved upon two of his subordinate officers, claiming equal rank and authority. For about four years, few of their transactions are known, except their multiplied contentions about jurisdictional rights, personal interests and military precedence. At length their rivalry approached to open rupture, and disturbed the tranquillity of their English neighbors.

One of these rivals was *Charles St. Estienne de la Tour*, whose father, it will be recollected, had purchased Nova Scotia

A. D. 1635
to 1640.
Nova Scotia.

Razilla, de
la Tour and
d'Aulney.

A. D. 1635 of Sir William Alexander, A. D. 1629 ;* and who himself claimed
 40 1640. the country from the triple title of that sale, and grants from the French king and the company of New-France. He selected and established his residence at the mouth of the river *St John* ; and raised fortifications on the east side of the harbor, where the city now is. Both in right of property, and of commission from Razilla, during his lifetime, which had neither been recalled, nor superseded, he claimed the exclusive command from the eastern extremities of Chiegnecto bay and the basin of Minas, westward to the Passamaquoddy.†

His antagonist was *d'Aulney de Charnisy*, who had seated himself 50 leagues westwardly of *la Tour*, in a situation equally eligible. This was the peninsula, on the eastern side of Penobscot bay, at *Major-biguyduce*‡ point, [in Castine.] Here he constructed fortifications, not far from a good harbor, which was well sheltered by Islands, and from which large ships might ascend the river 40 miles. He considered himself the immediate successor of Razilla, and entitled to the paramount government of the great peninsula, from Cape Sable to Canseau, especially at *la Heve*, where Razilla died ;—at Port-Royal, where *d'Aulney* himself sometimes resided ;§ and also at Passamaquoddy, where was the location of Razilla's own patent ; boldly claiming, moreover, by express commission from the latter, the right of command westward to Penobscot, and as much farther as the French dominions extended.

The commodious rivers, *St. John* and *Penobscot*, were also the ranging and residing places of two powerful Indian tribes ; and between them was another, at *Passamaquoddy*.|| These three, or sometimes, possibly, the latter only, were called by old writers

* Charles and his father could show “ a continued possession upwards of 30 years.”—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 341—2, who says, “ Port-Royal was theirs also.—p 307.

† From *St. John* to *Quako*, east on the north shore, is 36 miles ; thence to the promontory which divides *Bay Fundy*, 35 miles ; forming *Chiegnecto bay*, N. E. 50 miles in extent ; and the *Basin of Minas*, 80 miles easterly.

‡ So called from a French officer, a resident there at a period not ascertained.—*Ms. Let. of Col. Wardwell and Capt. Mansell*.—Here was the *New-Plymouth* trading house, in 1626. North-eastwardly, a few miles, *d'Aulney* had a mill and buildings. § *Winthrop's Jour.* p. 307.

|| These three places were noted for fishery and fur trade.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 122.

“*Etechemins* ;” and to their “country,” though altogether indefinite, the king, in 1638, ordered d’Aulney to confine his government ;” intending thereby to settle the contests of these ambitious Generals about jurisdiction.*

Nothing, however, had the tranquillizing effect desired. Nor could these rivals have reason to expect that their invidious contests, a thousand leagues from France, would arrest the attention of their king ; so long as he continued involved in hostilities with Spain ; or so long as the papists and the protestants, or Huguenots, in their civil wars, were drenching the kingdom in blood.

If d’Aulney, a catholic, made large calculations upon the countenance and assistance of partizans at home, and the Jesuit missionaries in his Province ; la Tour, a protestant, entertained the most confident expectations of favor, from the puritan colonists of New-England. In November, 1641, he despatched Rochet on a mission to Boston ; who, taking on the way, letters of introduction from Mr. Shurte, the chief magistrate of Pemaquid, made proposals to Massachusetts,—1st. That there should be free intercourse and commerce between her traders and Gen. la Tour ; —2d. That she agree to render him the assistance needed in prosecuting a war against d’Aulney, or in removing him from Penobscot ;—3d. That he should be allowed the privilege of receiving return cargoes of goods from England, through the colony merchants.

A. D. 1641.
La Tour applies to Massachusetts for aid.

To the first she readily acceded ; but declined an acceptance of the others, till Rochet could show some authority from la Tour to negotiate such a treaty.†

Visiting Boston, Oct. 6, the next year, a Lieutenant of la Tour, attended by a small retinue, presented the Governor with letters from his General, abounding in civilities and compliments, and closing with a renewal of his former requests.‡ A free trade, and nothing more, was now settled and opened, and several merchant vessels made profitable voyages ; the first one receiving from la Tour every testimony of respect which the arts of address could evince, and also details of d’Aulney’s machinations and measures. These representations, the master was desired to put into the hands of the Governor. On his return

Quarrel between la Tour and d’Aulney.

* 1 Hutchinson’s Hist. p. 122, 126. † 1 Haz. Coll. p. 198.

‡ Winthrop’s Jour. p. 265, 267.

A. D. 1643. homeward, he accidentally had an interview with d'Aulney at Pemaquid, whom he found in a fit of passion and resentment. *Here, said the latter, is a printed arret against la Tour, issued by the crown of France ; take it to your Governor and tell him, if vessels dare persist in a trade between the colonies and the river St. John, I will make prize of them.**

La Tour was thunderstruck by this royal edict, which proclaimed him an outlaw and rebel ; and ere he could obtain any relaxation of its penalties, his enraged enemy, early in the spring following, was prepared to attack him in his own castle. With an armament of two ships, four smaller vessels and 500 men, d'Aulney was able to cut off all communications with la Tour, by a complete blockade of his harbor, and to reduce the garrison to the depths of extremity.

To aggravate the distress of la Tour, he was eyewitness to the arrival of a ship, full of protestant fugitives from Rochelle,† and laden with expected succours, for which he was suffering. As he perceived she could not pass the squadron, he resolved to leave the garrison, and entrust the defence of it to his companions. Accordingly he and his wife, in the night of June 12th, escaped to the ship, and proceeded to Boston.

He was now enabled to show the Massachusetts magistrates, some official articles of favor from the French cabinet ; a commission from the vice-admiral and grand prior, by which he was appointed “ the king’s lieutenant-general in Acadia ;” a permission to send the ship back with freight and despatches ; and letters from the company of New-France, full of advices against the intrigues of d'Aulney. These were all invaluable documents to him ; which, with the powers of his persuasive address, collectively inspired him with the greatest confidence of success.

The request
of la Tour
discussed by
Massachu-
setts.

The magistrates, elders and merchants of Massachusetts, were strongly inclined to favor the subject of la Tour’s requests. But opponents raised many and powerful objections. War, said they, is an extreme remedy ; and the exact justice of the case, we cannot expect to know, since the French cabinet itself has vacillated in the affair. If d'Aulney has done us injuries, and pro-

* Hubbard’s N. E. p. 479.

† The number was 140 persons.—*Winthrop’s Jour.* p. 282.

voked us to hostilities ; it were more for our honor and the credit A. D. 1643. of our religion to take arms upon the grounds of self-defence, and protection, than to be mere "marginal notes" to a Frenchman's articles of warfare. Only a permission for la Tour to procure an outfit of men and munitions of war against d'Aulney, will arouse his resentments, and may possibly be deemed, by his king, an hostile act of the colony :—and who can divine, but that the smaller weapons, forged here, may not be swords in Christendom ? D'Aulney is powerful by land and by sea, in men, in artillery, and military stores ; our vessels and cargoes have hitherto floated securely ; and he has been content with our impartiality and forbearance. Nor had the objectors any great confidence in the sanctity of la Tour's principles ; much less could they be melted by his appeals to public sympathy. For, ten years before, he had killed two English colonists at Machias, and carried away the worth of £500 in goods, owned by New-England people,* without so much as an offer of reparation or even an apology. It is true, his wife was justly esteemed for her sound protestant sentiments, and excellent virtues ; whereas he himself was suspected of being a timeserving character, if not at heart a catholic, and in fact a coward.†

La Tour, in defence of himself, was able to prove, that the men killed were intoxicated, and began the affray by firing first upon his party, without provocation. 'The value of the goods,' said he, 'I will submit to a reference, and pay all that shall be awarded, nay, make amends to any extent determined. He proceeded farther, and with a kind of magic, urged his claims by pleas of merit. He found men, who were ready to depose, that at a time when the fates of the seas had cast them upon his fort, he had not only fed them with the milk and meat of human kindness ; he had also provided for them passages to their homes.

His supporters, or friends, were a respectable class of men. Many had unwavering faith in his protestant orthodoxy ; more were making calculations upon the greater profits, or gains, they could acquire in a trade with him than with d'Aulney ; and the disciples of religion thought it their conscientious duty, to extend the helping hand to a neighbor in distress. The outrageous

*Mr. Vines complained of la Tour's violence and rapacity in 1633.—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 301.

†1 Douglas' Summ. p. 306.

A. D. 1643. wrongs of d'Aulney at Penobscot, and elsewhere, are recollected by us, said the Colonists; and 'all history teaches that the 'greediness of spoilers and the ambition of conquerors, are in 'the ratio of their successes. If he could conquer la Tour, 'would the acquests of 200 soldiers, and booty worth 4 or '£5,000 satisfy his insatiate appetite?—A free intercourse and 'commerce with la Tour is already settled; and shall he be forbidden to hire ships and men at his own expense and upon his 'own responsibility, to effect a safe return of himself and family 'to his own plantation and fortress?—If there be fatalities, bloodshed is one of the destinies of mankind, in the defence of rights 'and the performance of duties.*

The French
rivals disturb
the
people of
Maine.

The same important and novel question agitated the plantations, between Piscataqua and Penobscot, within the government of Maine. La Tour was owing some persons considerable debts, which they feared might be lost, if he was driven from St. John's.† D'Aulney was generally disliked, and all desired his removal, to some situation more remote than Penobscot; lest future successes should encourage his encroachments and despotic measures, or flush and inflate his arrogance.

A letter from the Deputy-Governor of Maine,‡ written from his residence at Kittery-point, to Governor Winthrop, will show us his views of the subject.

"*Piscataqua, 28th June, 1643.*

"Right worthy Sir ——— I understand by Mr. Parker, you have written me by Mr. Shurt, which as yet, I have not received. It cannot be unknown to you, the fears we are in, since la Tour's promise of aid from you. For my part, I thought fit to certify so much unto you, for I suppose not only these parts which are naked, but all north-east, will find d'Aulney a scourge. He hath long waited, with the expense of near £800 per month, for an opportunity of taking supplies from his foe; and should all his hopes be frustrated through your aid, you may conceive where he will seek for satisfaction. If a thorough work could be made, and he be utterly extirpated, I should like it well: otherwise it cannot be thought but that a soldier and a gentleman will seek to revenge

Letter of
Gov. Gor-
ges.

* These arguments were reduced to writing in extenso, in 1643, entire in 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 502, 516.

† "St. John's," or "St. John's river."—*Hub. N. E.* p. 489.—*Winthrop*, p. 362.

‡ 1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 498.

himself; having 500 men, 2 ships, a galley, and pinnaces well provided. Besides, you may please conceive, in what manner he now besieges la Tour. His ships lie on the south-west part of the Island, at the entrance of St. John's river, within which is only an entrance for ships, and on the north-east lie his pinnaces. A. D. 1643.

It cannot be conceived but he will fortify the Island, which will debar the entrance of any of your ships and force them back, shewing the will, having not the power, to hurt him.

I suppose I shall sail for England in this ship—I am not as yet certain, which makes me forbear to enlarge at this time, or to desire your commands thither.

Thus in haste I rest—your honoring friend and servant.

THOMAS GORGES."

At length, Massachusetts informed la Tour, that though she could not as a colony, consistent with the articles of union, take any active part with him in the controversy; he might employ as many ships, and enlist as many volunteers into his service, as he could hire with his own means and pay. Full of acknowledgements for this favor, he chartered of Edward Gibbons* and Thomas Hawkins, June 30, at £520, for each of the two succeeding months, the ships Seabridge, Philip and Mary, Increase, and Greyhound, furnished with 50 men and 38 pieces of ordnance. He also enlisted 92 soldiers at the charge of £40 per month, whom he put on board; the whole being armed, victualled, and paid at his own expense. La Tour's outfit and success.

To secure the owners and purveyors, he mortgaged to them his fort at St. John's, his great guns, and all his other property, real and personal, in Acadia. All prepared, the squadron, preceded by his own ship, the Clement, sailed, July 14, and commenced the attack upon d'Aulney, immediately on their arrival. The onset was so unexpected and furious, that d'Aulney was compelled to quit his station; when his enemies gave him chase and pursued him to Penobscot.† Here he ran his two ships and a small vessel aground, for the purpose of fortifying himself in

* Gibbons was gay, young and wealthy, also a magistrate, A. D. 1650,—1 Hubbard's Hist. p. 150.

† Winthrop says, p. 307, it was Port-Royal; but Hutchinson and Sullivan, p. 277, say it was "Penobscot;" confirmed by subsequent facts.—1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 124.—Winthrop's Jour. p. 362.

A. D. 1643. the most expeditious manner, and then turned upon his pursuers.

The commandant of the Massachusetts' forces declined any farther prosecution of the enterprize; and a smart engagement with a party of d'Aulney's men, at his mill, not a great distance from the fort, closing the scene, though not without loss, as several on each side were killed or wounded in the action.* Within the limited time of the charter-party, the ships and men arrived safely in Boston harbor, without having lost a man; bringing with them a vessel they had taken from d'Aulney, laden with moose skins, beavers and other furs. These they divided in equal proportions to la Tour, to the ships, and to the men.

Disputes of
D'Aulney
and Massa-
chusetts.

A communication from Boston met d'Aulney, on his late return to his fort, unfortunately while in a most unhappy temper of mind.† It was in part an answer from the Governor, to a letter received by him in the preceding autumn; and furthermore, it was an explanation of the manner in which la Tour had obtained ships and supplies. 'Had we, said the address to him, been molested in the right of free trade, as you threatened us, we should not have been backward to do ourselves justice. But the colony government of Massachusetts has in fact taken no measures, nor granted any commission, against you. To permit la Tour to enlist and hire forces with his own money, violates no sound political rules, it is a mere attribute of our independence, while the laws of christian duty require us to relieve all distress. Yet surely nothing would be more grateful to our wishes, than reconciliation and peace.'‡

D'Aulney was unprepared for a rupture with that colony, and might have repressed his resentments, had there been no fresh or new aggressions. But he was now determined to subdue his rival, let Massachusetts act what part she pleased, and therefore applied again for assistance in France; giving out, that a force was soon expected sufficient to destroy him.

In the mean time, he resolved effectually to prevent all intercourse between la Tour and the English colonists. Nevertheless,

*Thirty of the N. England men with la Tour's men were engaged in this last skirmish, and 3 Frenchmen were killed on each side.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 483.

†The messenger was "led blindfold into the house and so returned, 6 or 7 hours after."

‡ *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 482.

for the purpose of collecting monies, due from la Tour, Vines of A.D. 1644. Saco, Shurt of Pemaquid, and Wannerton* of New-Hampshire, all men of eminence in their respective plantations, took passage for the river St. John's; yet when they arrived at Penobscot, d'Aulney detained them several days under forcible restraints—from which Mr. Shurt, whom he owed and esteemed, had hardly influence enough with him to obtain a release. The transaction was felt by them to be a violation of all social and sacred usages; and Wannerton was a man, whose passions and intemperance rendered him a fit instrument to devise acts of revenge. Confirmed in his belief, by reports at St. John's, that the garrison at Penobscot was destitute, both of effective men and competent provisions, he collected a party of twenty or more; and on his return, led them onward, armed with swords and pistols, to an attack of d'Aulney's farm-house, five or six miles from his fort. At the instant Wannerton knocked at the door it was opened, and he received a fatal shot and fell, one of his companions was wounded, and a French resident was slain. The others in the house surrendered; and the assailants, in the work of waste, killed the cattle and set the house on fire.† They then proceeded to Boston without booty, or any other reward, than censure.

Causes of
his affront.

So highly incensed was the injured General by this rash and unprovoked expedition, that at first no excuses, not the blood of Wannerton himself, would appease his rage. He determined to remain neutral no longer—and uttering the severest threats, that he would make prize of every colony vessel, found eastward of Penobscot; and accordingly issued commissions for the purpose.

But repentance is the consequence, and oftentimes the merit of hasty vows. The Governor, at Boston, required of him an explanation; reminding him of the violent manner in which he had seized upon Penobscot, and upon certain English colonists and their goods, at the Isle of Sables. 'Yet,' said he, 'I inform you, that no hostile act against either French or Dutch is allowed; la Tour cannot expect any more succours from this place; a merchant's trade is permitted between us and St. John's; and rest assured, it *will* be protected.' Afterwards d'Aulney ac-

* Winthrop calls him "Waverton," p. 341.

† Hubbard's *N. E.* p. 485.—This was at Penobscot.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 125.

A. D. 1644. knowledge he had been hasty ; having received command from his sovereign, to hold a friendly intercourse with all the English.*

D'Aulney's
negotiation
with Massa-
chusetts.

To show the civil authorities at Boston a late commission from the French cabinet, which denounced la Tour and his wife as traitorous deserters,—giving command to arrest them ; and, furthermore, to negotiate a treaty with the government of Massachusetts ; the Ruler at Penobscot sent thither M. Marie, Oct. 4, on a mission, with credentials and ten attendants. Unexpectedly, he was there informed, that Madame la Tour had, after a passage of six months, arrived at Boston from London, three weeks before him, and only eight days after her husband's departure for St. John's ; and that she had hardly escaped capture by d'Aulney, off Cape Sable, even though she was secreted under hatches.

In the negotiation commenced, the Governor strove for provisional terms, by which the belligerent rivals might become reconciled to each other.—No, said Marie, nothing but submission will save la Tour's head, if he be taken ; nor will his wife have any passport to St. John's, for she is known to be the cause of his contempts and rebellion. Nay, the vessel that shall admit her a passenger, will be liable to seizure. On the other hand, the Governor refused to make any stipulation for assisting d'Aulney, or preventing an intercourse with la Tour.

Treaty.--
Oct. 8.

Several articles of treaty, however, received the signatures of the Governor and of M. Marie,† October 8, which were to be ratified, or rejected, as it might be deemed politic, either by d'Aulney, or the Commissioners of the United Colonies. By these, a preliminary peace was established ; all hostile acts in future were to be deferred, till after amends demanded had been refused ; and both parties were allowed to enjoy the rights of trade to any place, without limit or restraint.‡

Never had a capitulation been more grateful to the interests and views of Maine and the more eastern plantations. They knew their defenceless condition ; and they had entertained many fears, that d'Aulney, in a fit of passion and haste to avenge inju-

* Winthrop's Jour. p. 356.

† Marie signed as "Commissioner of Monsieur d'Aulney, knight, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Majesty, the King of France, in "Acadia, a Province of New-France."—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 488.

‡ Winthrop's Journal, p. 357, 361.

ries or affronts, might take their vessels or plunder the inhab- A.D. 1644.
itants.

Misery and contempt, folly and meanness, mark the contro-
versy of these two ambitious Frenchmen; for civil war never Evils of this rival warfare.
reflects a baser image in miniature, than when it is reduced to personal quarrels, or the punctilious points of duelists. Our regrets are deep and many, that the English colonists, and much more the government, ever had any concern in the affair :—For it was impossible to live in amity with both. At one time d'Aulney pressed an English colony-coaster into his service, and compelled the master to go with him to St. John's, in order to communicate through him to la Tour the new arret, and ensure a safe return of the messenger. He was otherwise often an offender; and by reason of his threats, the frequent and successful applications of his foe to the rulers of Massachusetts, and the measures adopted or opposed by them; the people were unhappily divided through the whole country into parties.

Madame la Tour, unable to visit her husband or home, commenced two suits at law, one was against Bayley, the master, for Madame la Tour's lawsuits,
transporting her to Boston and not to St. John's, whither she was bound; the other was against Berkley upon the charter-party, for an unnecessary detention of six months on board, owing to a circuitry of voyage for the sake of a gainful trade. The trials before the Court of Assistants lasted four days; in which she labored to shew her damages, to be equal to the cost of a force and outfit, sufficient to cope with her enemy, in the event of a rencounter; and extravagant as the verdicts of the juries may appear, they gave her £2,000. With this money, obtained from the proceeds of the cargo, she chartered three London ships in Boston harbor, and proceeded to St. John's.*

When d'Aulney was apprized of her flight, or rather departure, D'Aulney.
he was excessively chagrined, for one of his schemes was now frustrated; he having had the fullest intentions of making her his illustrious captive. In this malignant warfare, chivalrous gallantry, once the pride of Frenchmen, seems to have lost its charac-

* *Winthrop's Jour.* p. 363—4.—Here the Journal closes. Afterwards the recorder of the Court and one of the jurymen, were arrested in London and compelled to find bonds for £4,000, to answer in a Court of Admiralty—where they were discharged.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 491.

A. D. 1645. ter ; and the married wife was marked for triumphant seizure.

His expedition and defeat.

Jealous now of Massachusetts to a greater degree than ever, he determined to consider the obligations of the late treaty with her government as broken ties ; and his king's directions relative to the English, as nullities. He knew, the protestant interest in France was sinking ; his monarch was a child ; and the administration was too much distracted with foreign and domestic wars, too feeble and too partial, to arraign him for his conduct, provided he acted zealously the part of a catholic. From the friars and other treacherous fellows, dismissed by lady la Tour after her arrival home, he had information, that her husband was on a cruise in the bay of Fundy ; and his garrison being supplied with only 50 men and poor provisions, might be easily captured. Therefore the Commander of Penobscot, proceeded thither early in the spring ; and meeting with a New-England vessel off the coast of the peninsula, laden with supplies for his enemy, he made prize of her, turning the crew upon a desolate island, without fireworks, gun or compass ; and proceeded on with his prize. A miserable wigwam was their only shelter ; the snow was deep, and a part of their clothing was withholden from them by their piratical captor.

Arriving in the harbor of St. John's, d'Aulney moored his ship in a well-chosen position, near the fort ; and then discharged his ordnance upon it, with considerable effect. But he was contending with a heroine of consummate valor :—She returning the fire with such spirit, that 20 of his men were killed—13 were wounded ; and his ship was so much shattered and disabled, that he was forced to warp her away under the shelter of a bluff to prevent her from going to the bottom.

On his return, he took the plundered crew from the Island after ten days' suffering, and sent them homeward in an old shallop, without the necessary comforts of life.

His conduct towards the Colonists.

Massachusetts, justly incensed by his base conduct, accused him of breaking a sacred treaty, and demanded immediate satisfaction. But he refused to admit into his presence the messenger, till he had explained how la Tour's wife effected her return home ; and then he charged the colony with assisting his mortal enemy ; killing his domestic animals ; and burning his build-ings ; and furthermore, added he,—I warn you to *beware of my sovereign's resentments*.—It is true, the messenger replied, he is a mighty prince, and also one of too much honor to com-

mence a rash attack ; yet should he, we trust in a God, who is A. D. 1645. the infinite arbiter of justice. When the messenger furthermore informed d'Aulney, that the treaty negotiated by Marie, had been ratified by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, he utterly refused to give it the sanction of his own signature, till all difficulties were settled. Still, said he, ' so much more is 'honor with me than emolument, that I will wait for an explanatory answer till next spring ; and in the mean time, there shall 'be no act of hostility on my part.'

Impossible as it evidently was to enjoy peace and a free trade, with both the contending Generals at the same time ; the Governor and magistrates of Massachusetts resolved upon farther negotiation rather than war, so long as it could be managed upon honorable grounds. The place and manner were questions of debate. Some thought it would neither be wise nor consistent with the rules of etiquette, to go and treat with d'Aulney in his own castle, supposing Pemaquid would be a fitter place. Others saw an expediency in such approaches to one, who professed to stand so much upon his 'honor ;' when he, being apprized of their deliberations, sent them a note, to trouble themselves no farther upon the subject, for he should commission messengers in due time, to wait upon them and settle difficulties.

The delay was long and unexpected, extending even to the 1646. 20th of the next September, (A. D. 1646,) when three commissioners of his, Marie, Louis, and his Secretary, arriving in Boston, were received with all the testimonies of respect due to their master. After a review of mutual grievances, the commissioners, in the sequel, demanded £800 damages, for injuries done d'Aulney at different times. But the Governor and magistrates thought the colonists were the greater sufferers :—nevertheless, to evince their high sense of justice and *honor*, and to give d'Aulney satisfaction, on a re-establishment of the former treaty, they made him a flattering present. This was an elegant *sedan* worth 40 or £50, which being sent by a Mexican Viceroy to his sister in the West Indies, fell into the hands of Capt. Cromwell, and was presented by him to the Governor.*

By protracting the negotiation, d'Aulney had been successful in deterring the English colonists from trading at St. John's, or

D'Aulney
and a Tour.

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 496.

A. D. 1646. affording his enemy succours. His vigilance was unremitting ;— he being often made acquainted, probably by the treacherous friars, with every movement and the true condition of la Tour ; who himself appeared to be destitute both of prudence and sagacity. Finding his provisions short in the close of the winter, he ventured to cruise from place to place in search of supplies ; leaving his fort and his estate in the care of his wife ; who, though a wise and valiant woman and a discreet manager, well worthy of his unlimited confidence, was at this time greatly needing and highly deserving the experience and energetic assistance of a husband, in trials so severe and fatal.

A. D. 1647. In April, General d'Aulney, at a favorable moment, again brought all his naval force into the harbor of St. John's ; and commenced with great spirit a cannonade of the fort. In the assault twelve of his men were killed and several were wounded. But against all opposition, he was able finally, after a short though severe siege, to scale the walls, when he made la Tour's wife a prisoner ; putting, it is said, all the others, both English and French to the sword. The amount of plunder, consisting of ordnance, plate, jewels, household-stuff, and other personal property, which he carried away, probably exceeded £10,000.

D'Aulney
captures la
Tour's fort.

This catastrophe taught la Tour the folly of presumption. Exposed as he was at all times to capture ; duty and honesty as well as prudence, required him to make the hands of friends the depositories of his effects : For, in this event, his own ruin was not all. Many New-England merchants, who were his creditors, were compelled to place their debts on the leaf of total loss. One of the greatest sufferers was Gibbons, whom he was owing more than £2,500, for monies and means furnished him, four years before, when he was in great distress. To secure himself more amply, Gibbons had taken, May 13, 1645, a revised mortgage of all his debtor's real and personal estate in Acadia ; excepting his frigate and a territory, about 72 miles square, upon the westerly end of the great peninsula. Of all the property so pledged, he also took formal possession, the same year ; yet he derived thence no avails towards the repayment or discharge of his demand.*

* La Tour gave Gibbons an inventory and deed of his personal estate, vessels, barques, and boats, conditioned, that if he paid Gibbons £2,084, and

The end of la Tour's accomplished wife was tragical. Driven A. D. 1647. from her native country by the sword of catholic persecution, and separated from her husband in a season of the greatest anxiety and trouble, she soon sunk under the weight of her complicated afflictions. Her home and her estate were gone—she was bereft of all that was dear or desirable in life—her lofty spirit could not endure the ideal dishonor of imprisonment, in the castle of her most inveterate enemy—and, within three weeks after she was made a prisoner, she died of grief. Death of la Tour's wife.

Her wretched husband visited Newfoundland, in eager hopes of assistance from Sir David Kirk,* a great trader of the age. Being unable in that way to obtain encouragement, he took passage in one of his vessels for Boston; where he had the courage to present schemes to his former friends for reviving his fortune, and to urge his pleas for the necessary help. He found several merchants, who still had confidence in his integrity; and some of them, at length, furnished him with a vessel, manned by Englishmen and Frenchmen, under a master who was neither, and supplied with commodities suitable for the Indian traffic, worth £400. La Tour's villainy and absence.

La Tour sailed about the middle of winter for the Nova Scotia peninsula; and when he had arrived opposite Cape Sable, he developed the baseness of his soul. Consummate in the arts of intrigue and disguise, he conspired with the master and five of his own countrymen to drive the Englishmen ashore, and run away with the vessel and her cargo. In executing the piratical project, he was violently resisted; and fought in person, shooting one English sailor in the face with his own pistol.

This part of the crew, so barbarously turned adrift in the depth of winter, wandered up and down the coast, 15 days, in extreme suffering; till unexpectedly they were met by a party of Mickmack Indians, who treated them with a generosity highly creditable to the attributes of human nature. It is their due, further to add, that they manifested great nobleness in their conduct;† for they received the forlorn mariners into their wigwams, re-

the interest, by Feb, 20, 1652, the estate was to be again la Tour's.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 541—4—where the indenture is entire and the bond in latin.

* See Ante, A. D. 1628.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 498.

A. D. 1648. freshed them with venison and the best food they had, kindly loaned them a shallop, and provided an Indian pilot, to assist them in getting home. Yet it was not till the following spring, (1648,) three months after they left Boston, that these unhappy men, with all their exertions, and the kind assistance of the natives, were enabled to effect a safe return. La Tour went to parts unknown; some supposing he had taken a trip to Hudson's bay;*—as nothing was heard of him for more than two years.

Natives and
the French.

But though the Mickmacks of that Province were at this period friendly to the whites of all nations; the French found in the Mohawks a most deadly scourge. That ferocious and brave people, no force had been formed in Canada sufficient to subdue. No arts could tame them.—Massachusetts, though requested by the Canadian Governor, wholly declined any interference, for, 'never,' said she, 'have the Mohawks done wrong 'to the English, and they may always be a barrier in cases of emergency or rupture.' Even Father Dreuilletes, the great apostle to the Indians of Nova Scotia, was sent to Boston from Canada upon the same errand, without success.—Consequently, after the Mohawks had succeeded in subduing the Hurons, they determined to extirpate entirely the Canadian French, by a general massacre.† Alarmed by this news, the latter endeavored to shield themselves against destruction, by redoubling their efforts to secure the good-will of all the other natives within their acquaintance; displaying much apparent friendship; applying the arts of catholic worship; and inducing the sanctimonious Jesuits, to accommodate their zeal and instructions to the same desirable end: and thereby, no doubt, a much greater degree of French influence was attained among them,—especially among the Algonquins and the Eastern tribes. On the other hand to check the current, and inculcate, if possible, the protestant doctrines with more effect; a "*Society for propagating the Gospel in New-England*," among the natives, by visits, schools, and ser-

A. D. 1649. mons, was incorporated, A. D. 1649, by act of Parliament.

No other place in this eastern region was so much the resort of catholic missionaries, as the fortress of d'Aulney. He was for several years sole ruler of the country, and a religious zealot. But we hear little of him during the last four years of his life.

* Sullivan, p. 282. † T. Jeffrys, p. 100.—3—8.—1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 344.

He died, A. D. 1651 ; and the next year, la Tour returned and married his widow. A. D. 1650,
1651, 1652.

All the former possessions of la Tour in Nova Scotia, being now resumed by him ; very strong expectations were entertained in Massachusetts and Maine, that he would do his creditors justice. La Tour
marries the
widow of
d'Aulney. But they were wholly disappointed. La Tour thought more of present enjoyment, than of old friends. During his second connexion, he had several children,—he was seldom absent from his Province ; and when the only daughter and child of his wife, by her former husband, became a canoness of St. Omers, she bequeathed to her half brothers and sisters her whole inheritance.

Twelve years' predatory warfare between two ambitious rivals, —the subjects of the same crown, produced effects highly injurious to the settlements in the Province of Maine, and the plantations farther eastward. Sometimes they committed great wrongs and even depredations ; their menaces frequently excited alarming apprehensions ; free trade was interrupted ; and it was always difficult for the people, so to adjust their conduct by the maxims and rules of prudence, as to keep themselves out of the quarrel. The principles of d'Aulney's great and boasted honor were uniformly the servants of passion or interest.

He furnished the natives with firearms and ammunition, and taught them the great power and use of the gun.* His The natives
and the En-
glish mis-
sionaries. priesthood, consisting wholly of friars, made the savages believe, that catholic rites and ceremonies were the essentials of religion ; and that the dictates of the missionaries were equivalent to the precepts of Divine authority. Whereas the orthodox puritans carefully withheld from the Indians the hunting gun, so necessary among them to obtain the supports of savage life ; while their pious missionaries very honestly instructed them, that real religion consisted in regenerating the affections of the heart ; in the immaculate purities of life ; and in the practices and dispositions towards others, which we would wish them to exhibit towards us. But these were refinements, which the untutored, unenlightened savages could not understand. The usages of retaliation had acquired a kind of sanctity among them, which they believed nature herself tolerated. Indulgences, and superstitious forms, as allowed by the Jesuits, were altogether more

* 1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 127—159.

A. D. 1652. accordant with their notions and habits, than the self-denying doctrines of restraint, and the rigid precepts of reform, as taught by the protestant missionaries.

The French
Settlements.

Since this region has been in the occupancy of the French, neither the settlements at Penobscot, at Mount Desert, at Machias, at St. Croix, nor the places eastward,* had flourished. Most of the French emigrants were ignorant, poor and unenterprising; the government was of a despotic military character; and the commanders, as we have seen, were perpetually contending. The social regulations were under the direction of the ecclesiastics; rights and wrongs were not treated nor regarded in a proper manner; and no man of good sense and intelligence dwells contentedly, where life and property are insecure.

*These were at St. Johns, Quako, Petudiac, Gaspe, Port-Royal, le Heve, Cape Sable and other places.

N. B. Mr. Vines who was ill-treated and suffered by these Frenchmen, la Tour and d'Aulney, removed to Barbadoes, West Indies;—where he retrieved his pecuniary circumstances; and in 1647—8 wrote letters to Gov. Winthrop, who appears highly to esteem him—*See these letters in Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, p. 71—3.

CHAPTER VIII.

Four civil divisions of this Eastern Country—Province of Maine as bisected—The people combine—Governor, Councillors and administration—Lygonia under Rigby—Cleaves his Deputy-President—The Court of Assistants—Death of Rigby—Sagadahock territory—Pemaquid patent and the Drowne right—The Brown and Tappan Rights—Parker's Island, Arrowsick and Jeremysquam—Wiscasset—Cowseagan Claim—Evils of conflicting titles—Penobscot country—The four different characters of government, within the limits of the present Maine.

In returning to the civil history of Maine, we are necessarily reminded of the four great political sections into which we find it divided. These are, 1, the restricted province of Gorges, extending to Kennebunk river; 2, Lygonia; 3, The Sagadahock territory; and 4, the region between the waters of Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.

The Province of Maine, bisected in the manner previously stated, was laboring under great discouragements. The people were troubled and disheartened. Unable satisfactorily to determine what course of measures to pursue, the Provincial authorities, in June, 1647, addressed a letter to the Lord Proprietor; stating the unhappy condition into which the late decision in favor of Rigby had thrown his plantations, and requesting him to give them instructions in this emergency.

But they received no reply. They knew he was a man of advanced age; and a crown officer in the civil wars then raging in England. Furthermore, a rumor of his death was in circulation, the origin or truth of which could not be satisfactorily ascertained. In this state of doubt and suspense, it was considered most prudent, to act under the charter; and accordingly a General Court was convoked at Wells, October, 1648, when Edward Godfrey was re-elected Governor; and Richard Leader, Nicholas Shapleigh, Thomas Withers,* and Edward Rishworth, who had

A. D. 1647.
to 1648.

Civil Divisions.

1st. The Province of Maine.

The Administration

* Sullivan writes his name "Withers," p. 320—343.—He lived in Kittery.

A. D. 1648. been Councillors the two preceding years, were again chosen to the same office. As soon as the government was organized, another address was prepared and transmitted to England, with more earnest solicitude for directions in their political affairs. An anxious year elapsed without any return, and without any further intelligence, than the confirmation of Sir Ferdinando's death.

The certainty of this event induced the people of Wells, Georgeana, Kittery, and perhaps the Isles of Shoals, to hold a popular convention at Georgeana, in July (1649) for the purpose of a general consultation; when a discussion was had upon their rights, duties, and difficulties. 'To promote the settlement and the greatest good of the country, has been,' said they, 'our unchanging purpose; in which we have endeavored to manage and regulate its affairs, according to the express powers given in the charter to the Lord Proprietor; the ordinances established by him and the Provincial General Court; and the laws and usages of England. But most of his Charter Councillors have departed the Province—the Parliament of England has commanded us, not to intermeddle with the patent to Mr. Rigby—and since Sir Ferdinando's death, no instructions have been received, nor can any be reasonably expected from the parent country, so long as it is filled with its present distractions, and involved in civil war.'

Doubts were entertained too, whether the powers of the charter, or at least the administration of government, did not expire with the Lord Proprietor; and perhaps the inhabitants were fearful of displeasing Parliament, if they acted under that instrument.—Therefore, after premising that the privileges of Agamenticus, or Georgeana should be preserved entire, they formed themselves into a 'Social Compact,' thus:—"We, with our free and voluntary consent, do bind ourselves in a body politic and combination, to see these parts of the Country and Province regulated, according to such laws as have formerly been exercised, and such others as shall be thought meet, but not repugnant to the fundamental laws of our native Country."*

Social Compact formed.

It was further ordained, that a Governor and five or six Councillors, magistrates or assistants, should be annually chosen, "by most voices," or majorities of the voters; and in proceeding to

* 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 103.

an immediate election, they chose the same Governor and Coun- A. D. 1649.
cillors, who had filled the offices the preceding year ;—Mr.
Rishworth being re-appointed Secretary or Recorder. Thus or-
ganized anew, the administration was continued in the same
hands, the two following years ; during which, the proceedings
were conformed substantially, to the provisions of Gorges' char-
ter, and the usages already prevailing. Determined, according
to the dictates of wisdom and prudence, to be obedient subjects
to the predominant powers of the realm, they professedly approved
of their measures ; and when they heard, that Charles their sov-
ereign was no more, and that the reins of government were in
the hands of the Commons, they readily took directions from
that Body.

The *Lygonian Province* embraced a far greater extent of ^{2d. The} territory, than that of Maine as lately restricted, and probably as ^{Province of}
many inhabitants ; but in neither of the governments, were the ^{Lygonia}
lines distinctively drawn between the departments of legislation, ^{and its gov-}
of judicature, and of executive authority. The same tribunal ^{ernment.}
made laws—tried causes—and carried their sentences into exe-
cution. The administration under Gorges possessed the most of
system and energy ;—that under Rigby was the most popular ;
and both were regularly organized. Rigby's politics and the
sentiments of his provincial officers, were happily in unison with
the triumphant republicans in England, and the puritan rulers in
Massachusetts.*

* So much only of the records of the General Assembly in this Province
[Lygonia] have, on diligent inquiry, been found, as to shew, that its pro-
ceedings were conducted with regularity. For instance, a "petition of
Robert Jordan to Alexander Rigby, President, George Cleaves, Deputy-
President, together with the whole body of the General Assembly of
Lygonia, assembled this 22d day of September, 1648," &c.—was "referred
by this Assembly, September 24, to a Committee of this House, viz. to
Mr. George Cleaves, Mr. William Royal, Mr. Richard Foxwell, and Mr.
Henry Watts, to be set on the 10th of October next, at Richmond's Island,
to make report of the state of things petitioned for, to this Court at the next
Sessions ; under the hand of the clerk of the Assembly, Peyton Cook."
The Committee made their report, in December following, and the decree
of the Court upon it, was afterwards adjudged legal and valid, by the au-
thorities of Massachusetts.—So 'at a Court holden at Black-point,
the last day of May, 1648, touching the administration of P. Cooke, upon
the estate of R. Williams, this entry is found:—"We the judges for the
Province of Lygonia, do by our authority, ratify and confirm unto the

A. D. 1649. George Cleaves, under the title of Deputy-President, was chief-magistrate of Lygonia, from the time of purchase to the death of Col. Rigby. The Court of Assistants, in 1650—1, so far as we can learn, seem to have been *Robert Jordan*, an episcopal minister of Casco; *Arthur McWorth* of Presumpscot;* *Henry Joscelyn* of Black-point, who was a Councillor under Gorges, and might have become reconciled to Rigby; *Thomas Williams* and *Robert Boothe*, both of Saco, and *Morgan Howell* of Cape-Porpoise:—John Wadleigh, Jonas Baily, Thomas Morris and Hugh Moseer, were men of some distinction; yet, if they were clothed with any public trust, their political or official character is not ascertained. Cleaves, it is believed, held his Court principally at Casco and at Saco;†—the latter place having been the seat of government under different administrations, since A. D. 1636.

A. D. 1650. Sir Alexander Rigby died in August, 1650, both esteemed and lamented. Besides having a seat in Parliament, and a Colonel's commission—he was admitted to an order of knighthood, and thus acquired the title of “Right honorable Sir,” appurtenant to the honor conferred.

3d. Sagadahock territory.

The *Sagadahock territory* included several parts and settlements, connected by no particular bond of union or government. It extended from Kennebeck river to Penobscot. The principal plantation within its limits was Pemaquid,—a place of general resort for mariners and fishermen in the contiguous waters, and often visited by persons passing and repassing in vessels, between the French settlements and the English towns and harbors westward. It was the seat of government within the patent, to Elbridge and Aldsworth, and had been settled a fourth part of a century or more. The chief magistracy was still in the hands of Abraham Shurte, Esq. whose administration, with a few select

said P. Cooke, the aforesaid administration, according to the full tenor thereof. Witness our hands, under our Provincial Seal, the day and year above written.

(Signed)

G. CLEAVES,

H. JOSCELYN,

R. JORDAN.”

See Folsom's Saco, &c. p. 61.

* Mc Worth's house erected about 1633, was on the main land, 3 or 4 miles southwardly of Clapboard Island.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 240.

† One of the late entries of this Court of Lygonia was in 1648—Jordan ad'm. of Winter's Estate against Trelawney; and execution was extended on lands in Casco, Purpooduck and Spurwink, before mentioned.

Assistants, was rather an advisory conservation of the peace, A. D. 1650. than that of distributive justice and executive command.

The *Pemaquid patent* itself was ultimately resolved, into what has been called the "*Drowne Claim*." It was originally a joint-tenancy to Robert Aldsworth and Giles Elbridge, and enured wholly to the latter by survivorship. When his son, John Elbridge, who inherited it, died, he devised it Sept. 11, 1646, to his brother Thomas, afterwards a resident for a period at Pemaquid. In 1650, the latter mortgaged Monhegan and Damariscove to Richard Russell; and at the same time sold half of the patent, half of the household furniture, and half of the cattle to Paul White, for £200. Immediate possession was given by Thomas Elbridge's attorneys, Henry Joscelyn and Robert Jordan, in presence of Arthur Mc Worth, and Friend Lister. On the 27th of April, 1653, Elbridge and White, conveyed their respective moieties to said Russell and one Nicholas Davison; and the latter taking a conveyance from Russell, in 1657, of all his right, became the sole proprietor of the Pemaquid patent. One of his daughters married with *Shem Drowne*, and hence the origin of this claim. It embraced "all the town of *Bristol*, and part "of the towns of *New-Castle* and *Nobleborough*."*

"The *Brown Right*" is another important claim. It has its origin in a deed from a couple of Sagamores, July 15, 1625, to John Brown† of New-Harbor. Its southerly line or boundary, ran from Pemaquid falls to Brown's house, on the eastern shore; and from this line extended northerly 25 miles, including Muscongus Island, and covering "the most of *Bristol*, all the towns of *Nobleborough* and *Jefferson*, and part of the town of *New-Castle*." Brown, in August, 1660, conveyed to one Gould and his wife, eight miles square, about midway of the original grant; and William Stilton, who married their daughter, lived on the premises about the year 1720. John Brown, the namesake and heir of

* See the report of the Commissioners, in 1811, relative to the difficulties in the County of Lincoln. p. 7—12—23—Documents 33—80.—Russell and Davison lived in Charlestown, Mass. Drowne was of Boston.—See ante. A. D. 1623—30—36, and post. Chap. 14, 1664.

† See Commissioners' Report of 1811, p. 16—23.—Documents p. 167—170. Brown's deed is signed by "Captain John Somerset," and "Unnongoit," Indian Sagamores.—The deed to Gould and wife, was supposed to be about a third part of the whole Indian purchase.

A. D. 1650. his father, lived at New-Harbor, probably in the paternal mansion. A survey was afterwards made of the different claims; and James Noble and William Vaughan, in the right of Brown, "improved all the lands lying on both sides of the Damariscotta "Fresh Pond, to the head of it; also on the west side of the "river half way to Sheepscot, and on the easterly side nearly to "Pemaquid Pond."

Tappan
right.

Though "*the Tappan Right*" was of later date, it extensively interfered with the others, and ought to be mentioned in this place. It originated in three Sagamore deeds to Walter Phillips, dated A. D. 1661—62—74; and embraced "a great portion of the "same lands with the *Brown Claim*." Phillips conveyed to Rev. *Christopher Tappan*, Nov. 10, 1752, a greater part, if not all his Indian purchases, under whom surveys were made and possessions taken.* Though the colonies of Massachusetts and New-Plymouth, as early as 1633, passed acts which forbade such purchases from the natives without the license or approbation of their Legislatures; yet they were multiplied in Maine.

Parker's,
also Clark
and Lake's
claims.

A few others ought to be subjects of remark, before we leave this territory.† One was a purchase of an Indian, in 1649, by *John Parker* of the Island since called by his name, on which he then resided; and of all land on the west bank of the Kennebeck from Winnegance-creek to the sea, and westward to the waters of Casco-bay. Another sale was made by a chief the same year to Christopher Lawson, which he assigned, in 1653, to Thomas Clark and Sir Biby Lake.‡ This was finally confined below the northerly line of the present Woolwich, and embraced the most of that town. The same Thomas Clark and one Roger Spencer bought, in 1660, *Arrowsick* Island of a Sagamore,—a conveyance in which Lake was afterwards interested. One Robinhood, a Sagamore, in 1649, sold *Jeremisquam* Island to John Richards, a resident; and in 1654, the same Indian conveyed all the easterly part of Woolwich, to Edward Bateman,

Arrowsick,

Jeremi-
squam.

* The first deed to Phillips, was signed by Josle and Agilike; the 2d by Wittinose and Erledugles; and the 3d by Erledugles.—See *Com. Report of 1811*, p. 12—16.—*Documents*, p. 82—106.—Phillips' two first deeds embraced lands on the west side of Damariscotta, now New-Castle, extending to Sheepscot river.

† See *Sullivan's Hist.* for dates of several Indian deeds, p. [144—149.

‡ "Statement of Kennebeck Claims," A. D. 1785, p. 7—8.

and John Brown;* under whose titles the lands are holden. A.D. 1650 This covered a part of Lawson's claim.—George Davie, who was an early settler near *Wiscasset-point*, purchased in 1663, of the Sagamores in that quarter, a tract one mile or more in width on the west side of the Sheepscot, including the present *village of Wiscasset*; also another large tract on the eastern side of that river. These lands came by inheritance and transfer to gentlemen of wealth, who in 1734, associated at Boston, under the name of "*the Boston or Wiscasset Company*;" and were often called the '*Jeremisquam and Wiscasset Proprietors*.' In 1666 lands were purchased of the Sagamore, Jack Pudding, which lie on Monseag river near Cowseگان Narrows, southeasterly of Woolwich, called the "*Cowseگان Claim*:" and indeed all the lands on both sides of the Kennebeck,† and all the principal Islands in that vicinity, were purchased of the savage chiefs, about 1649, or within the sixteen following years.‡

Wiscasset
Company.

Cowseگان.

In these conveyances, different deeds often embraced the same lands, or otherwise their lines greatly intersected or clashed with each other; so that they multiplied perplexities in all the grants made here either by the crown, the Council of Plymouth, or the Indians. The most of these titles and claims in subsequent years were revived, and invited to their aid as often the complaining proprietor, as the distressed or suffering settler. Confusion, lawsuits and expenses were the evils naturally flowing from such a source;—evils which retarded the settlement of the country, and rendered the inhabitants indigent and discontented. In no other portion of New-England, were legal regulations more needed, or the want of them more manifest. Without them, all intelligent and discreet people saw, that neither life, nor property could be secure; titles to estates were not sound nor permanent; the interests of piety and education were not promoted; nor the

Evils of
these con-
veyances.

* Brown and Bateman lived there in 1666.—*Sullivan*, p. 169.—The early settlement was 1660, under Clark and Lake, who built mills there; (*Sir B. Lake's petition to the king, in 1650*;) and continued their possessions till 1675. Their fort was near Georgetown meeting-house. Hammond's fort was at Stinson's point, on Arrowsick, two miles from the other.—*Sullivan*, p. 172—3.

† In 1670, there were 20 families on the west, and 30 on the east bank of the Kennebeck.—*Sullivan*, p. 170.

‡ Swan Island was purchased of Abbagadusset in 1667, by Humphrey Davie; and afterwards claimed by Sir John Davie, a sergeant at law.

A. D. 1651. benefits of society in any wise enlarged or established. If the lower orders of people lose all reverence for civil authority, and are filled with distractions, by reason of numerous political changes which are needless;—what fond expectations of prosperity and success could be entertained by a people, under merely the faintest shadows of government?—Certainly very few;—nor were they the first to pant even for despotic power which could *protect* them—rather than to enjoy amid hazards and sufferings, the freedom of their own wills.

4th Division, or Penobscot.

The fourth political division of our present State, denominated *Penobscot*, and situated between the river and bay of that name and Passamaquoddy, is well known to have been for several years in the possession of the French. They called it a part of Acadia; we, a part of New-England. D'Aulney lived only about a year after his victories over la Tour, in unmolested command of this territory and Nova Scotia. His death, A. D. 1651, has been mentioned; and it is remarkable, that Gorges, king Charles,* Governor Winthrop, Rigby and d'Aulney, whose names are all connected with our History, should be called from the stage of life, within the short period of four years. The command exercised by la Tour, the successor of d'Aulney, was mostly of a military character, without any civil department whatever.

Character of the eastern governments.

If civil authority in these eastern territories of ours, had possessed the attributes of system, energy, retributive justice, and provident care, to the degree operative in the other colonies; our advancements in population, wealth and improvement might have fully equalled theirs. Our atmosphere was as salubrious and healthful, our soil nearly as productive, our water privileges, our conveniences for trade, our fisheries and navigation, were all superior; and enjoying the friendship of the natives among us, we had reason to repose equal confidence in public safety. But our political regulations were crude, injudicious and extremely defective. Though the several governments possessed distinguishing characteristics, neither was attractive to emigrants. At Penobscot, the ruling power, or government, was *Military*,—destitute of every property directly promotive of settlement; for

* Charles I. was beheaded January 30, 1649; and Governor Winthrop died the same year.

arms and civil liberties are regulated by different laws. At Pem- A. D. 1651. aquid, it was mostly *conservative*, without power or proportion, to any known extent. All the other settlements and places within the Sagadahock territory, were wholly destitute even of a civil magistracy ;—a circumstance, which, though it may be urged to prove the sobriety and peaceableness of those places, surely did not evince very strongly the wisdom and energy of the people. In Lygonia, it was *proprietary*, and of some force and regularity, though without the constitutional forms and executive vigor, necessary to render its rulers and ordinances respected. The death of the illustrious Proprietor, had spread a shade over the whole Province, and filled the people with doubts, whether all political authority and power had not expired with him. In the mutilated Province of Gorges, the government was now *confederative*. It possessed, it is true, the properties of system and union, yet not the strength and ability adequate to self-protection or defence.

Many of the Provincials were sufficiently apprized of their condition ; and, perceiving the colonists of New-Hampshire in the full enjoyment of privileges and prosperity, since they had become connected with Massachusetts, were strongly inclined towards a similar coalescence. Particularly, the inhabitants of Kittery were desirous of the event ;* and the government of Massachusetts, pleased with the project, saw, that by a new and plausible construction of its charter, the object might be attained upon the grounds of right and justice.

* Hutchinson's Coll. p. 314—17.

CHAPTER IX.

Massachusetts' Claim to Maine—Controversy between the General Court and the Eastern Provincials—Survey of the eastern boundary—The dispute continued—Lygonia—Commissioners appointed to admit the inhabitants of Maine as freemen—Kittery and York submit—Isles of Shoals—Yorkshire established—Courts constituted and privileges guaranteed—Officers—Deputies from Kittery and York to the General Court—The inhabitants of Wells, Saco, and Cape-Porpoise admitted freemen—Those places made towns—Officers—Regulations—Commissioners' protest—Support of Ministers required—Eastern opposition to Massachusetts—Records of Yorkshire collected.

A. D. 1651.

Massachu-
setts ex-
tends her
claims east-
ward.

As the charter of Massachusetts colony embraced all the lands “within the space of three English miles, to the northward of the river Merrimack, and to the northward of any and every part thereof;”—her government contended, that by obvious construction, all the territory south of a line stretching eastward, across the country, from a point three miles north of that *river's* source, to the same minute of latitude on the seashore, belonged to her jurisdiction.

This was a new claim ; and the General Court at Boston, in prosecuting it were quickened in their movements, by reason of late reports, that several provincials in Maine, had petitioned Parliament for a charter of government ; and that others, probably the majority, had expressly given a decided preference to be connected with Massachusetts.* There was no time to be lost. Even the commodiousness of the river Piscataqua, and the irreparable injuries to be sustained, if it were in the possession of any other than her friends, were urged as arguments against delays.

Proceed-
ings of her
Gen. Court.

The two branches of the legislature, being determined to proceed with all the civilities, which the delicacy of the subject re-

* *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 542.—In years past the Province of Maine had pursued a course disagreeable to Massachusetts, both “in their ministry and civil administration.”—*Winthrop's Journal*, p. 275.

quired, directed, at their October session, that addresses be prepared and transmitted to Edward Godfrey and his Council, and to the inhabitants at large in the Province of Maine; acquainting them with the grounds and reasons of their claim. They also appointed three of their most distinguished citizens, Commissioners,—viz. Simon Bradstreet, a venerable Councillor, Daniel Denison, Commander-in-chief of the Militia, and William Hawthorne, Speaker of the House; and gave them instructions to repair to the Province and admit the inhabitants, by their consent, into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Should they meet with opposition, they were directed to protest against all pretended combinations, government or exercise of authority therein; and in general to proceed according to the dictates of their discretion.*

The Commissioners made the appointed visit, but returned without success. Meanwhile Governor Godfrey convened a Provincial Court, Dec. 1, and they resolved to present another petition to the House of Commons, which was addressed thus;—
 “To the right honorable the Council of State appointed by Parliament;”—“We esteem it our greatest honor and safety to be ‘under the present government, established without king or house of lords; and request the benefit of the common safety and ‘protection of our nation. We beg leave also to state, that divers ‘inhabitants of this Province, by virtue of sundry patents, and ‘otherwise, have for these twenty years been under the power ‘and guidance of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had these parts ‘assigned to him for a Province. But he being dead, and his ‘son, by reason of heavy losses sustained, taking no care of our ‘political welfare; and most of the charter Councillors, or Commissioners, having died or departed the Province, we were under ‘the necessity of combining together for the purposes of government and self-protection, according to the laws of the realm. ‘It is our humble prayer, therefore, that our confederative union ‘may be confirmed; that we may be declared members of the ‘Commonwealth of England; that the privileges and immunities of freeborn Englishmen, may be granted and secured to ‘ourselves and our posterity, as established rights usually enjoyed

Gov. Godfrey's petition to Parliament.

* 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 84.—Hawthorne is the first Speaker mentioned of record.—1 *Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 150. [Note †.]

A. D. 1651. 'by other Provincial subjects ; and that the same favors may be bestowed upon us as upon the other colonies.'

"Per me EDWARD GODFREY, Gov.

"in behalf of the General Court."

In resisting the assumptions of Massachusetts, Godfrey and Cleaves, with their respective partizans, who had been till now inveterate foes, were naturally drawn into the same lists, as joint defendants and coadjutors. For there were apprehensions, that if the claim were pursued to its utmost extent, it would take in a large part of Lygonia ; and Cleaves, about to visit England, was to be the bearer of the petition, and also its advocate at court. More confident hopes of his success were entertained through the surviving influence of Col. Rigby, whose particular patronage Cleaves might urge with the greatest truth and propriety. He was also furnished with one argument, thought to be unanswerable ;—this was the Commissioners' late decision in favor of Rigby's Province. The petition itself was drawn up in very courtly terms, and he knew the Commons were strongly prepossessed in favor of colonial rights and privileges.

A. D. 1652.
Defeated by
Massachu-
setts.

But Massachusetts, aware of these proceedings, though they were intended to be kept secret, took immediate measures to defeat the petitioners ; and her agents at court with no inconsiderable ingenuity, stripped off the veil and exposed the disguise, by shewing the project to have originated exclusively among American royalists. These circumstances and the prevalence of the same religious and political sentiments in Massachusetts as in Parliament, threw the petition into oblivion.

North limit
of Mass.
patent sur-
veyed.

Massachusetts now determined to pursue her claim to its farthest extent, and with renovated vigor. At the May session, the Legislature resolved that the charter-line did extend eastward from a place, three miles above the northernmost head of Merrimack river ;—to discover and establish which, they appointed Simon Willard and Edward Johnson Commissioners of survey. These were directed to procure suitable articles and assistants, and with all convenient despatch take "a true observation of the latitude, at the place," with their utmost skill and ability, and make return of their discoveries and services, at the next session of the General Court.*

* 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 114—15. Three other Commissioners were also appointed to treat with the people of Maine upon the subject of union.

The skilful artists selected, were John Sherman of Watertown, A. D. 1652. and Jonathan Ince of Cambridge College. These and the Commissioners made the proper examination, and afterwards returned upon their oaths ;—" that at Aquahatan, the head of the Merrimack, where it issues out of the lake called Winnepuseakik,* " on the 1st day of August, 1652, we found the latitude of the " place 43° 40' 12'' ; besides those minutes allowed for the *three* " miles further north which extend into the lake."†

Governor Godfrey, in the mean time, addressed a letter to the Court, stating his surprise and resentments at their conduct. An attempt to hold the Province of Maine under your charter, said he, or by any other legal title, without the pretence either of purchase, prior possession or anterior claim, and also without the peoples' consent, is the height of injustice. Far different treatment have you received from your eastern neighbors. Yes, added he, when that charter of yours was heretofore threatened, with a *quo warranto*, at the Council Board in England, and your agents were struck with the muteness of statues ; it was I, who answered the objections and obviated the cavils. Hitherto you have declared yourselves satisfied, with your own possessions, as bounded on a line parallel with the Merrimack, three miles distant from its source, and its northerly bank, following its meanders to its mouth ; whereas you are now bursting your bounds, and stretching your claims across Provinces, to which, till lately, no man however visionary so much as imagined you had any right. Your commissioners, it is true, have communed with us plausibly about equal privileges ; yet such is the charity you have heretofore manifested, towards our religion, and other interests, that we trust you will excuse us, if we are the more wary of your proposals and promises.

The reply of the General Court, signed by Edward Rawson, their Secretary, was of the following tenor :—

Worshipful Sir—Our patent, by Divine Providence, continues to be firmly established, under the great seal. It is true, it was demanded, yet never prosecuted to final judgment ; and the Commonwealth of England has by express recognition since,

* Perhaps, ' Winnipiseogee.'

† That is, the point will be at 43°, 43', 12'', adding 3 miles to the above latitude.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 571—2.

A. D. 1652. given it fresh and full validity. Though the "Grand Patent of Plymouth" has been dissolved, ours, sanctioned by a Royal Charter, has successfully encountered every attack. Nor do we now claim an acre beyond its true limits ; and had you attentively examined its articles, you must be satisfied with the correctness of our construction. For several years, the extent of our jurisdictional rights were not fully understood ; and so long as doubts remained,—so long as the people of Maine were contented with the regular charter-government established among them, and a friendly intercourse between them and us, was continued uninterrupted ; we were disposed to forbear, though we have never abandoned the pursuit of our utmost claim and right.

In your resistance, (continued the General Court,) probably a majority of the provincial inhabitants are your opponents ; for they are greatly desirous of being united with us, and they richly deserve our protection and assistance. Most heartily we thank you, for any services rendered us before the Lords Commissioners of Plantations : but nevertheless, we are bound to inform you that the inhabitants and lands, over which you claim to exercise authority, are within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and that we demand our rights ; assuring you at the same time that you all shall share equal acts of favor and justice with ourselves, should a coalescence be amicably formed. If, however, neither rights nor reasons will induce you to hearken, we shall continually *protest* against all further proceedings of yours, under any pretended patent or combination whatever : And finally, that our conduct and accord in this affair may be such, as will be promotive of God's glory, and the peace of yourselves and us, are the aim and prayer of your cordial friends.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*.*

Godfrey's
2d letter.

Unhappily, this address had no effect towards abating the opposition and resentments of Godfrey and his adherents. He wrote another letter full of complaint and retort, in language of this import ;—Sir,——Our rights are equally invaluable as yours. Though you may boast of being owned by the Commons in Parliament, and expect to dwell in safety under the covert of their wings ; we also are under the same protective power, and are resolved to continue in the possession and exercise of our privi-

leges, till that venerable body shall otherwise order. The dissolution of the Grand Patent, had no more effect upon ours than upon yours; indeed, you have in various ways, for more than 20 years, acknowledged the authority of our patent; and we marvel greatly, at your movements and discontent, more especially since we have given you no occasion; and since it has been solemnly settled long ago, that your patent should begin on the seashore, three miles northwardly of the Merrimack. If according to your intimations, there be a party of malcontents among us; I am acquainted with two or three only of that character, and these are such as have fallen under the penalties of law. Yet, were they tenfold that number, it were neither honorable nor just, to proceed against us, on such grounds. No,—nor yet, for the uncertain or unknown favors which you proffer, ought we to barter away our rights and dear bought liberties: It would be treason.—To talk gravely of artists to settle your latitude, to run your lines, and survey your limits, in these parts, is preposterous. We ourselves know something of “geography and cosmography”—and our exclusive aim is the peace and good of the country.

“EDWARD GODFREY, *Governor*.”*

To bring this controversy to a speedy conclusion, three Commissioners from Boston met, by appointment, Godfrey and his Council, at Kittery-point, July 11, where they had a spirited conference, without coming to any terms of reconciliation. The Commissioners, finding their adversaries inexorable, publicly proclaimed to the people of Maine, the patent-right, which Massachusetts had to govern them as her colonists; denouncing all exercise of authority by the professed rulers of the Province, and promising to the submissive inhabitants, the full protection of their estates and other rights; also the same political privileges and acts of favor, as if they had always been under the government of Massachusetts. In concluding their mission, they virtually absolved the Provincials from all allegiance to Godfrey and his associates in authority, after the 10th of the ensuing October.

Altercation between the Mass. Commissioners and the rulers of Maine. July 11:

The proclamation and protest were traversed by another, signed by Godfrey and each of the Council. In this, they raised their voice to a high note of remonstrance against the minatory and

A. D. 1652. despotic treatment received ;—lamenting their fate, that after living 20 years in contentment, expending £35,000 in money, and enduring innumerable hardships, for the sake of rational civil liberty, they must submit to the dictation and control of others, against the principles of right and justice, and against their own consent.

But in vain were the pleas of reason and rights, urged against dominant powers :—and complaints too were vain ; still, enlightened citizens, could not but foresee and appreciate the advantages of living under the government of a well-organized Commonwealth, instead of one which had a name to rule without the ability to protect.

Bad condition of Lygonia.

During these agitations in Maine, Lygonia was in a still worse condition. It is not ascertained, that her Provincials ever entered into an organized civil combination ; nor that they renewed, or revived a regular administration, after Rigby's death. Cleaves, who is represented to have been a man of more ambition and activity, than of wisdom and fidelity, had gone to England ; leaving the Province to the management of the most influential and crafty. Edward Rigby, the heir, in this crisis, addressed a letter to the leaders of his Province ; and as it was a death warrant to their authority, it is in substance transcribed.

Edward Rigby's address to the people of Lygonia, and end of their government

“ To Messrs. Henry Joscelyn, Robert Jordan, Thomas Williams, Arthur McWorth, Robert Boothe, and Morgan Howell, and to John Wadleigh, Jonas Baily, Thomas Morris, Hugh Moore, and all others whom this may concern in Lygonia.”

‘Gentlemen :—It having pleased the Great Disposer of all things, to call out of this troublesome world my dear father, and thus to entitle me to the proprietorship of his Lygonian province, I have to state, that I am greatly displeased with the movements and illegal proceedings among you, of which according to the information derived from his *late* deputy-president, you are the instigators or advisers. They were unexpected ; nor shall your wrongs and abuses offered to our authority, be overlooked, without due and timely submission. All political power derived from him, you must be aware expired at his death ; and I command *you* whom I am addressing, and such others as have been commissioned by him to be the public officers of the Province, to desist and abstain wholly from further

‘ transactions, *virtute efficii*, till you have directions from me ; A. D. 1652.
 ‘ which I assure you will be communicated without delay.

‘ Heartily, Gentlemen, do I regret to learn, that my father’s
 ‘ kindness and generosity towards you, and his confidence in your
 ‘ probity, should be repaid in a manner so entirely prejudicial to
 ‘ his interests and mine. Again let me tell you, that if after re-
 ‘ ceiving this notice, you do not lay aside your private and secret
 ‘ combinations,* and abstain from unlawful measures, and unani-
 ‘ mously join with me, my deputy and other officers in the plans
 ‘ devised to promote the peace and good of the Province, I shall
 ‘ adopt and pursue such a course towards you, as will enforce sub-
 ‘ mission, and effectually rectify all your misdeeds and wrongs.
 ‘ At present, I will not enumerate them, nor dispute with you
 ‘ about them. Suffice it to say, *that I conceive all the official acts,*
 ‘ *either of the deputy-president, the six assistants, the judges, or*
 ‘ *any other officer whatsoever*, in the commission of my father,
 ‘ done subsequently to his decease, which was in August, 1650,
 ‘ are utterly void.†

‘ I am not unacquainted with the complaints heretofore made
 ‘ to my father by yourselves and others ; and I wish you to feel
 ‘ confident, that equal justice to all men and in every particular, will
 ‘ be done, so far as it shall consist with my office, power, or duty.
 ‘ To this end, I shall, as soon as convenience will permit, send
 ‘ back Mr. Cleaves,‡ accompanied by a kinsman of mine, with
 ‘ commissions to those whom I may think most worthy of trust,
 ‘ and also with instructions ; expecting your cordial concurrence
 ‘ in their appointment, and support in the course of measures
 ‘ which may be prescribed.—What remain are the respects of him
 ‘ who is your real friend, if you are not your own enemies.

“ EDW. RIGBY.”§

“ *London, 19th July, 1652.*”

This letter, which arrived at a most fortunate moment for the claim of Massachusetts, put an utter end to the expiring government of Lygonia, and left Saco, the seat of it, and other planta-

* Perhaps the people had informally *combined*, like their neighbors, for the purposes of civil government.

† This implies, they exercised authority after Sir Alexander’s death.

‡ Also called “ Cleve.”—We do not find that any such “ kinsman” ever arrived, or that such commissions were ever received.

§ 1 Haz. Coll p. 571.—See York County Records, A. D. 1652—3.

A. D. 1652. tions eastward, to act according to the dictates of discretion and policy, till he, who could shew a right to rule, might appear. Cleaves returned to Casco the following year; yet it is not ascertained that he brought any commissions with him, or was attended on his voyage by any kinsman of Mr. Rigby's. The patent seems to have slumbered in oblivion, till one Tummy, the agent of Rigby's heirs, revived the claim to the Province, 48 years subsequently, by presenting a petition to the General Court, praying to have it restored to them. But Massachusetts having previously purchased the country of Sir Ferdinando's heir, and afterwards kept possession of it; also finding it embraced in her Provincial Charter, her General Court considered the colonial right to it paramount to all others; and his petition and pursuit of the claim availed him nothing. This was the termination of the Plough-patent, or Lygonian government;—a title so solemnly settled in favor of Sir Alexander Rigby, in 1646, by the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations.

Northern
limits of the
Massachu-
setts' patent
extended to
Casco-bay.

At the October session, the General Court received and accepted the report of their agents, appointed to determine the northernmost boundary or limits of their patent. By this, the line was to commence at a place three miles north of the head of Merrimack river, in lat. $43^{\circ} 43' 12''$, and to extend directly east on that parallel, passing above the northern sources of Piscataqua or Salmon Falls river, crossing the Saco towards the mouth of Little Ossipee, 20 miles from the sea, touching the southernmost bend of the river Presumpscot, and terminating at "Clapboard Island, about three miles eastward of Casco peninsula."*

To assume the jurisdiction and settle a government through the country south of this line, without farther debate or delay,† the General Court appointed six distinguished gentlemen to perform the important trust. Their commission was of this tenor:—

Oct. 23.
Commis-
sioners
chosen to
adopt
Maine.

'To our trusty and well beloved friends, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, 'Mr. Samuel Simonds, Major Daniel Dennison, Capt. William 'Hawthorn, Capt. Thomas Wiggin and Mr. Bryan Pendleton.

'Whereas you are chosen Commissioners, by this Court, to

* See post, chap. 13, A. D. 1653.—The limit was "4 or 5 miles to the northward of Mr. Mackworth's house, "who dwelt many years near the mouth of Presumpscot river, on the eastern side; where he obtained a grant of 500 acres, A. D. 1635, from Vines, agent of Gorges.

† 1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 150.—(Note 1.)

‘settle the civil government amongst the inhabitants of Kittery, A. D. 1652.
 ‘the Isles of Shoals, and so to the most northerly extent of our
 ‘patent :—

‘You, or any three or more of you, are hereby authorized and
 ‘required, with all suitable despatch, to repair to those parts
 ‘and summon together the inhabitants, in places, which you shall
 ‘judge most convenient; and declare unto them our just right
 ‘and jurisdiction over those tracts of land where they inhabit,
 ‘requiring their subjection, and granting them equal protection
 ‘and privileges with ourselves.

‘We further give to any three or more of you, full power and
 ‘authority to summon and hold Courts there, for hearing and de-
 ‘termining all causes civil and criminal, according to the statute-
 ‘regulations and usages of our County Courts; to appoint com-
 ‘missioners, constables, and such other officers as you shall judge
 ‘needful for preserving the peace, and establishing order and a
 ‘civil administration of justice; to invest the commissioners with
 ‘such powers, as a major part of you shall judge meet, and admin-
 ‘ister to them and the other officers the proper oaths; to confirm
 ‘and settle all lawful proprieties; to grant the people protection
 ‘and the privileges enjoyed by other inhabitants within our juris-
 ‘diction, and otherwise to act in the premises, as this Court shall
 ‘give you further orders; doing whatever in your wisdom and
 ‘discretion, will be most conducive to the glory of God, the peace
 ‘and welfare of the inhabitants, and the maintenance of our own
 ‘just rights and interests.

‘And we do hereby command all magistrates, commissioners,
 ‘captains and other officers, civil and military, within the county
 ‘of Norfolk,* and all the inhabitants upon the Isles of Shoals,
 ‘and those beyond the river Piscataqua within the limits of our
 ‘patent, to be aiding and assisting these our Commissioners, as
 ‘they shall have cause to crave or require.—In confirmation of
 ‘all which, we have caused the seal of our colony to be hereunto
 ‘affixed, this 23d day of October, 1652.’†

Only four of the six undertook the duties assigned them, *viz.* They open
 Messrs. Bradstreet and Simonds of Boston, Wiggin of New-Hamp- a Court at
 shire, and Pendleton of Maine. They opened a Court at Kit- Kittery.
 tery, November 15th, and sent out under their hands a summons

* New-Hampshire was then in Norfolk County. † 2 Mass. Rec. p. 128.

A. D. 1652. to the inhabitants, requiring them in the name of Massachusetts, to assemble at the house of William Everett, between 7 and 8 the next morning, for the purposes of having an administration of justice established among them. Accordingly most of the townsmen appeared. A long parley ensued; views and sentiments were interchanged and compared; and rights, claims and liberties debated.

The negociation was continued four days: During which period, there were instances of excessive warmth, and some ebullitions of passion and abuse. One John Bursley uttered violent threats towards the Commissioners as well as towards individuals submitting; for which he was arraigned before the Court, when he was glad to escape upon the terms imposed of a submissive confession, which he readily made.

The inhabitants at length proposed to subscribe to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, provided certain articles and conditions, prepared and offered by them, could be the terms of union.—*No*—replied the Commissioners, *for according to our instructions you must first submit; and then you shall have from us a guaranty of your rights and of ample privileges.* The Court being determined—all farther debate was evidently useless; and, therefore, on the 20th, 41 became subscribers to this concession;—*“We whose names are underwritten do acknowledge ourselves subject to the government of Massachusetts bay in New-England.”**

People of
Kittery sub-
mit.

* *Kittery* was incorporated A. D. 1647.—[See ante, chap. VI. 1647.]—The names of those admitted in Kittery, alphabetically follow, viz.—John Andrews, Philip Babb, Mary Baylie, John Bursley, Humphrey Chadbourne, William Chadbourne, Abraham Cunley, Daniel Davis, John Diamond, Dennis Downing, Thomas Durston, James Emerie, Anthony Emerie, [Emory,] William Everett, Nicholas Frost, Charles Frost, John Green, Hugh Gunnison, John Hoord, Reynold Jenkins, Thomas Jones, George Leader, Nathaniel Lord, Antepas Manerricke, Robert Mendam, Joseph Mill, Hughbert Mattome, Richard Nason, William Palmer, Daniel Paule, Christian Remich, *Mr. Nicholas Shapleigh*, Jemima Shores, Thomas Spencer, Thomas Spinney, Jonathan Symonds, Richard Thomas, Robert Weighmouth, John White, Gowen Wilson, John Wincoln, *Mr. Thomas Withers.*—The latter gentleman and Mr. Shapleigh were two of Godfrey’s Council, *Richard Leader*, another, lived at Newichawannock. His name does not appear among the subscribers—though that place was then a part of Kittery. The preceding names may be a majority of the heads of families, but not all.

The Commissioners after this, enumerated the rights of the people which were to remain untouched, and the privileges which they were to enjoy, and then solemnly declared all the subscribers, freemen of the colony, without taking the usual oath.

Proceeding to Agamenticus,* they summoned the inhabitants of that place to appear the next Monday, between 7 and 8 in the morning, at the dwellinghouse of Nicholas Davis—to receive the rights and immunities of colonists, enjoyed in Massachusetts. The day of meeting was November 22d; when a spirited discussion was commenced and pursued till afternoon. A few appeared to be obstinate; and Governor Godfrey in particular, who was at the head of the opposition, continued inflexible, till upon a formal call for the vote, a large majority was found to be against him. He then submitted with the rest—himself and 50 others† taking the oath of allegiance to Massachusetts, and thus becoming free citizens of that colony.

The terms upon which the people, both of Kittery and Agamenticus acceded to the submission and formed a coalescence with Massachusetts, have been classified and arranged under the following articles, as ordinances of the Commissioners.

1. The Isles of Shoals and all the territory northward of Piscataqua, belonging to Massachusetts, were erected into a county by the name of YORKSHIRE. A County Court was es-

* The Commissioners call this "*Accomenticus*," in their Report; nor do they any where mention the name "*Georgeana*." Perhaps they were determined not to recognize the city charter.

† Their names in *Agamenticus* alphabetically arranged are these;—viz. Philip Adams, Sampson Angier, John Alcocke, Joseph Alcocke, Samuel Alcocke,—Richard Banks, Nicholas Bond, George Beanton, Arthur Bragdon,—Richard Codagon, Thomas Crockett, Thomas Curtoones,—John Davis, Nicholas Davis, John Davis (2d), William Dickson, Thomas Donnell, Henry Donnell,—Robert Edge, William Ellingham, Andrew Everett,—William Freathic, Hugh Gaile, Mr. EDWARD GODFREY, William Gomsey, Mr. *John Gouge*, John Harker, Philip Hatch, Robert Hetherse, Mr. *William Hilton*, Mr. *Edward Johnson*, Robert Knight, ——— Lewis, William Moore, Henry Norton, John Parker, George Parker, Mr. *Abraham Preble*, Francis Rayne, William Rogers, Mr. *Edward Rishworth*, Edward Stiet, Sylvester Stover, Mary Tapp, "[acts only]," John Twisdale, sen., John Twisdale, jun., Edward Wentome, Mr. *Thomas Wheelwright*, Peter Wyer, Rowland Younge.—*Note*.—"Rushworth" and "Rishworth" are the promiscuous spelling. Here it is spelt with an *i* in the first syllable. But in England the name is "Rushworth."

A. D. 1652, tablished, to be holden alternately, in Kittery and Agamenticus, at appointed times, twice a year, by such magistrate or assistant, as the General Court might from time to time designate, assisted by three or five resident *Associates*, elected for the purpose within the county. The jurisdiction and authority of this Court, in matters civil and criminal, were to be equal with those of the same tribunal in Massachusetts; and the Court was also directed to appoint, (as in that colony,) three commissioners in each township, to decide petty causes, where there was no resident magistrate.

Kittery and
York made
towns.

Their rights
and duties.

2. Kittery, incorporated A. D. 1647, was recognized as a municipal township, and the settlements of Agamenticus were made a town by the name of YORK;* and both at the same time, received a guaranty of equal privileges with other towns of Massachusetts; having severally the right and liberty of electing, every year, to the General Court, one deputy, or two, as the freemen or voters might prefer.

3. The inhabitants, having taken the oath of freemen, were eligible to any place of trust or honor within the government, and invested with full right to vote for governor, assistants, and other general officers of the country. They were also to enjoy equal acts of favor and justice with the people on the southerly side of

* *York* is the *second* town in the State. The name was probably taken from *York* in England, which was surrendered by the Royalists, to the Parliamentary forces, A. D. 1644, after the most bloody battles fought in the civil wars. Agamenticus, or Georgeana, was changed to the name of York, to avoid the city charter and Gorges' right. The place was chartered by Sir F. Gorges, April 10, 1641, a borough, and March 1, 1642, a city by the said name of Georgeana. It is now constituted a town, and vested with municipal privileges. It was the seat of government under Gorges; it was made the shire town of Yorkshire, in 1716, and has ever since continued the same. It is a very pleasant township, the soil is hard and rocky in many places, though productive in grass and apples. In each of the three first wars with the Indians, the Tribes made great exertions to destroy the place entirely, though without success. The land-titles are derived through Gorges.—*Sullivan's Hist.* p. 237—9.—“In 1764, the inhabitants, from an account taken, amounted to 2,298, including 21 French neutrals, and 56 blacks.” The climate is very healthy, it having been computed for 30 or 40 years, that one, in 6 or 7 who have died, was 70 years of age or upwards.—3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 6—12.—*See post.* A. D. 1713.—This was the residence of Johnson, Moulton, Hon. David Sewall, and other eminent men of the present and subsequent century.—Probably Georgeana enjoyed its city privileges till it was made a town, 1652.

Piscataqua; and no person was ever to be drawn out of his A. D. 1652. county to any ordinary or general trainings, without his own express consent.

4. Each of the towns and every inhabitant were forever to possess and enjoy, respectively, all their just "proprieties,"* titles, and interests in the lands and houses which they held, or have occupied, whether by grant of the proprietor, "the town, the *Indians*, or their former General Courts."

5. The boundaries of Kittery, York and Wells, were to be examined and set out anew, within the ensuing year, by their respective townsmen; otherwise the General Court were to appoint a committee to perform that service. Till they were so perambulated and settled, they were to continue as originally granted; or according to the survey and return of agents theretofore appointed by the Provincial General Court. If, when the lines were run, they should cross the marshes or lands in Kittery or York in new places, the ownership of the soil was not to be thereby affected.

6. To all who were admitted freemen, the Commissioners awarded an indemnity, and pronounced all breaches of the penal laws, and all the acts and exercise of civil power and government by them, prior to October, mentioned in the last protest, to be forever exempt from prosecution.

7. To receive the "imposts" and other monies due to the corporations of Kittery and York, and pay what they were severally owing for public services, supplies or otherwise, the commissioners appointed Mr. *Nicholas Shapleigh* collector, and directed him to make a report of his proceedings to them within one month: and in case of insufficiency collected, to discharge the people's engagements, it was to be supplied by an assessment or "rates, according to the former custom."† The Commissioners also appointed him "Shire-Treasurer;"‡—an office which was ordered subsequently to be filled from year to year by the County Court.

County Affairs and Officers.

8. In organizing an administration of justice, several men of intelligence and distinction in each town were appointed town commissioners, who were authorized to meet in their respective

* "Proprieties," or grants of realty in tracts.

† 1 Haz. Coll. p. 573.

‡ Sullivan, p. 367.

A. D. 1652. towns, between the terms of the County Court, and with the associates, hear and determine without a jury, all civil causes, or personal actions not exceeding ten pounds. Also each Commissioner, like a Massachusetts' assistant, or magistrate in his own town, was empowered to set alone in judgment, and decide upon misdemeanors and petty offences, and likewise in pecuniary matters or trials of 40 shillings; and at his discretion, to bind the offenders to keep the peace, admit them to bail, or commit them to prison:—in the exercise of which powers, he was fully authorized to issue in his official capacity any needful process, whether warrant, summons, attachment or execution. They were moreover, severally invested with authority to solemnize marriages; and to administer all qualifying oaths, as well to those who might wish to become freemen, as to those elected or appointed to office.

9. Any two of the Commissioners were empowered to confirm or sanction the choice of all military officers, of and under the rank of Captain; to grant licences for keeping taverns or "ordinaries," and for retailing spiritous liquors and wines; and it was enjoined upon them to provide their respective towns with "THE BOOKS OF THE LAWS" and such other acts, as had been passed "since the last book came forth in print."

Statute
Books.

The Legislative or Massachusetts' Commissioners next proceeded to select and constitute the officers necessary to carry these regulations into effect. The town Commissioners, they appointed in York, were *Edward Godfrey*, *Abraham Preble*, *Edward Johnson*, and *Edward Rishworth*; and in Kittery, *Bryan Pendleton*, and *Thomas Withers*, also *Hugh Gunison*, associate. A County Court formed by a Massachusetts' assistant, magistrate, or councillor,* and one of the above sets, was to hold a term in their respective towns once a year, having power to try all cases not capital. It was also ordered, that grand juries and juries of trials, at each term of the Court, should be selected and summoned from the towns of York and Kittery proportionably.

Edward Rishworth, was appointed clerk of the writs and county recorder; and Henry Norton, was "chosen" marshal. The constables appointed and sworn were four; viz. Thomas

* By all these titles was a member of the upper branch of the General Court, at that time called.

Davison, and Robert Mendam of Kittery ; Nicholas Davis of A. D. 1653. York ; and Philip Babb of Hogg Island, whose jurisdiction extended to all the Isles of Shoals, excepting Star Island. The innholders, or "ordinaries" licensed, were John Davis of York, and Hugh Gunison of Kittery. The latter was required to pay only "20s. the butt," probably for the quantity of liquor sold.*

Never was a revolutionary or political change managed with more prudence, success or acceptability. Besides rewarding the Commissioners amply for their services, the General Court, when the report was made, paid them a commendable compliment, by vote of public thanks ; resolving to make them a valuable present in wild lands. Nothing farther was done the current year, towards reducing the people of Maine to obedience ; and only one legislative act, relative to the Province appears ; which provided, that in the County Courts yearly holden in Yorkshire, on the last Thursday of June, a Massachusetts' Assistant was always to preside, as in other counties of the colony.

The General Court of Elections, at Boston, in May, 1653, admitted for the first time, two Representatives from Maine ;—*viz.* John Wincoln of Kittery and Edward Rishworth of York. At the same session, five local or town Commissioners were appointed upon the Isles of Shoals, to determine small causes of £10 ; and in other respects act as magistrates : Also the chief military officer there, was directed to take command of the militia upon all the Islands.

Richard Bellingham, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, a legislative Commissioner from that colony, and Thomas Wiggin, Edward Godfrey, Nicholas Shapleigh and Edward Rishworth, local Commissioners were designated to hold the June term of the County Court in Yorkshire, the current year ; and being convened there, they among other acts commanded the inhabitants of Kittery and York, severally to elect three associates, to assist at future sessions of the Court according to established law,—instead of the local or special commissioners mentioned. When Mr. Bellingham had finished the business of the Court, he was joined by Messrs. Dennison, Wiggin, Rawson, and Pendleton ; and this board of legislative Commissioners, repairing to Wells, immediately summoned the inhabitants of that town, Saco, and

Measures of
the Legis-
lative Com-
missioners
accepted.

May.—Two
Deputies
from York-
shire.

Isles of
Shoals.

Court at
Wells.

* See 1 Haz. Coll p. 573—6.—2 Mass. Rec. p. 144 to 153.

A. D. 1653. Cape Porpoise, to convene at the house of Mr. Emerson, July 4th, for the purpose of being admitted freemen of the colony. At the time and place appointed, six only in Wells at first took the oath. William Wardwell, when his name was called, refused to answer, and turning with contemptuous airs, left the house. But being brought into court in the afternoon by a constable, on a warrant to answer for his contempt, he was considerate enough to give an ingenious turn to the affair, by saying he only went to persuade his townsmen to submit, and he was presently discharged. But discussion was found to be vain, and opposition persisted in altogether fruitless; therefore the next day, about 20* submitted to terms, and took the freeman's oath of allegiance to Massachusetts. This completed the submission of the inhabitants within Gorges' restricted patent, and put all political declamation to rest.

Saco sub-
mits.
July 4.

Saco, the most considerable plantation within the Lygonian patent, had been the seat of different governments, and was a place of some note and importance. But the Provincials were now without any systematic or efficient regulations; they were tired of revolutions and anarchy, and the obstacles were found to be comparatively few and small, which lay in the way of the Commissioners,—assembled to discharge this part of their trust and duty. For on the first call, July 5th, 16† subscribed the submission, and took the oath. To this list, Mr. John Smith, one of the original patentees of Lygonia, caused his name to be added by proxy.

July 5.

* These are the names of those in *Wells*, who submitted on the 4th and 5th of July.—Samuel Austin, John J. Barrett, John Barrett, Henry Boad, Joseph Bowles, John Buck, Nicholas Cole, William Cole, Joseph Emerson, John Gooch, William Homans, Ezekiel Knight, Arthur Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, Thomas Littlefield, Edmund Littlefield, Francis Littlefield, jun., Thomas Millot, *John Smith*, John Saunders, John Thing, John Wadly, Robert Wadly, John Wakefield, John White, William Wardwell, and Arthur Warmstall.—Richard Ball, Edmund Clark, John Elson, and Richard Moore were admitted afterwards.—See *Wells, post, Vol. II. A. D. 1713*.—But query if John Smith was the same as the patentee.

† The names of the subscribers, in *Saco*, were these:—George Barlow, Robert Boothe, Richard Cowman, James Gibbins, Thomas Hale, Peter Hill, Philip Hinkson, Richard Hitchcock, Christopher Hobbs, Thomas Reading, Thomas Rogers, William Scadlock, Ralph Tristram, Henry Waddock, John West, Thomas Williams.

At the same session in Wells, twelve from *Cape Porpoise** A. D. 1653. appeared before the Commissioners; and by subscribing a sub- Cape Porpoise sub- mission, and taking the oath as others had done, all became free- mits. men of Massachusetts.

The Commissioners, in settling the political and prudential affairs of this section, declared the several plantations of **WELLS**,† Wells, Saco and Cape Porpoise made towns.

* The names of the subscribers in *Cape Porpoise*, [Arundel, or Kennebunk-port,] were these, viz. John Barker, Stephen Batons, Andrew Bussey, John Cole, Gregory Hoskeries, Morgan Howell, George Jeffreys, Griffin Montague, William Reynolds, Christopher Spurrell, Simon Teoft, Peter Teubatt, and Thomas Warner.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 190.

† *Wells*, (the 3d town in the State,) was probably so called from an English city of that name, in Somersetshire.—Wells is separated from Cape-Porpoise [Arundel] by Kennebunk river, from which it extends, south-westerly on Wells-bay and the ocean, 10 miles: It contains about 40,000 acres, of which, 1,000 is salt marsh. Sir F. Gorges, in 1641, gave Thomas Gorges, Deputy-Governor of Maine and Mayor of Georgeana, 5,000 acres of land, which he was permitted to select for a barony, with full power to divide the same into manors and lordships, and to hold Courts-baron and Court-lects within said Lordship; and he chose the tract near the small river Ogunquit, in the southwesterly part of the present Wells. On the 19th of April, 1643, Gorges conveyed a part to Rev. John Wheelwright, who had been banished from Massachusetts, on account of his *antinomian* principles; and another grant was made by Gorges to Wheelwright, Henry Boad, and others, of a tract towards Kennebunk, July 14, 1643.—*Sullivan*, p. 231, 408.—*See ante*, A. D. 1643.—3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 138.—*Folsom's Saco and Bid.* p. 65.—These grants by Gorges were confirmed at a Court holden at Saco, August 14, 1644. From the family of Mr. Wheelwright sprang all those of his name in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. The population in 1653, when it was made a town, might be 156 souls. Its Indian name was *Webhannel*. Courts were holden here occasionally for half a century. In King Philip's, King William's and Queen Anne's Indian wars, Wells suffered severely, especially in the two last; yet was never entirely overcome. Wells was represented in the General Court of Massachusetts, 1653 and 1676, three years, by H. Gunnison, F. Littlefield and Wm. Simonds. There were settled here in the ministry, Rev. Samuel Emery, A. D. 1701, and Rev. Samuel Jeffers, A. D. 1725. In 1750 the town was divided into two parishes; and the next year, Rev. Daniel Little was settled in the 2d or Kennebunk parish. In the 1st parish Rev. Gideon Richardson, settled in 1754, was succeeded by Dr. M. Hammenway, in 1759. —*Kennebunk*, or the northerly parish of Wells, was incorporated into a town, A. D. 1820. This latter place was first settled, about 1723, by emigrants from York and Wells. The piers built in 1798, and 1822—3, at the mouth of the river Kennebunk, cost \$12,000. The village of Kennebunk is on the river Mousum, 3 1-2 miles from the sea. Factories have been established at the falls by a company, mostly from Philadelphia, with a capital of one and half million of dollars. A Post Office was established here

A. D. 1653. SACO,* and CAPE PORPOISE,† to be towns, and parts of Yorkshire.—Though neither was permitted to send a deputy to the General Court, and though nothing is said about titles to lands acquired by Indian deeds; the towns were otherwise assured of the same protection, privileges and administration of justice, with the other towns in Massachusetts.

In Wells, Henry Boad, Thomas Wheelwright and Ezekiel Knight, were appointed town Commissioners; and these, with John Wardly and John Gooch, were designated selectmen; Joseph Bowles was clerk of the writs, and Jonathan Thing, constable. In Saco, the town Commissioners were Thomas Williams, Robert Boothe and John West, who were also the selectmen; William Scadlock was clerk of the writs and Ralph Tristram, constable:—Also, Griffin Montague was constable of Cape Porpoise.

The command of the militia was given to officers who were

in 1790, and a custom house in 1797 —The dwellinghouse of J. Kimball, near Kennebunk river, and that of Dea. Larabee, on the Mousum, were garrisons in the Indian wars. A large one, called Fairfield's garrison, stood on the easterly side of the former river at the landing. *M—S. Letter of B. Palmer, Esq.*

* *Saco*, (the 4th town,) is one of the oldest settlements of the State. Richard Vines passed the winter 1617—18, at Winter-harbor; and settlements were effected about A. D. 1623.—In the 2d and 3d Indian wars, the people were compelled to abandon the place. But the settlement revived in 1714, and the inhabitants on both sides of the river were incorporated into a town in November, 1718, by the name of *Biddeford*. (*See post, A. D. 1714.*) The town was divided in 1772, and the easterly side erected into a town, called *Pepperelborough*, which name was changed to that of *Saco*, February 23, 1805.—(*See Saco, post, A. D. 1772.*)

† *Cape Porpoise*, (the 5th town,) was first settled probably about 1630. In king Philip's and king William's Indian wars, the settlers suffered the same fate as those in Saco. The place was again inhabited about 1714, and its name changed that year to *Arundel*.—(*See post, A. D. 1714.*) It lies between Kennebunk and Biddeford, and is situated about Cape Porpoise harbor. This place was first settled by fishermen, and traffickers. One Jenkins, removed from Dorchester to Cape Porpoise; and in Sept. 1632, he took a quantity of goods, and, attended by a native went back into the country to trade with the Indians. At night while asleep in a wigwam with one of Passaconaway's men, he was killed by a savage, "dwelling near the Mohawk country," who took the goods; though they were returned by Passaconaway's subjects.—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 43. Arundel in 1790, contained 1,458 inhabitants. Its name has been changed since the Separation—to that of *Kennebunk-port*.

with great modesty, called "*Sargeants.*" Those in Wells were A. D. 1653. John Saunders and Jonathan Thing, and in Saco Richard Hatch; who were required "to exercise the soldiery in their respective towns." It was besides, an express stipulation, that the inhabitants of all the towns in Maine, should be forever exempt from public or colony taxes; being obliged to defray only their own charges including those of their courts,—and to discharge their own debts. Their rights and duties.

Such were the particulars of the civil and judicial regulations established by the Massachusetts Commissioners; and it must be acknowledged they were liberal and judicious. Though they, as a Board, possessed sovereign power and authority, they used and exercised it without abuse; and yet extended their acts and measures to matters prudential, judiciary, executive and ecclesiastical.

To mention several particulars—the inhabitants of Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise were required by the Commissioners, within one year, to lay out and make a road from town to town, sufficient for footmen and horses;* and to clear and fit for carts the highways from house to house, within their respective towns; otherwise their delinquency, as they were told, would incur a fine of £10.

A cause of peculiar character came before the Board, in which Morgan Howell and John Barker, both of Cape Porpoise, were antagonists. Howell charged Barker with uttering opprobrious speeches against ministers of the gospel, upholding strange meetings and pretending to have a spirit of prophesy;—conduct, which was alleged to be a great detriment to public worshipping assemblies in the plantation. The Board heard the evidence and ordered him under a recognizance† of £20, conditioned to appear and answer farther, at the next County Court in Yorkshire—to be of good behavior in the meantime, and never more preach publicly in any part of the colony. Barker's case.

A case of jurisdiction also occurs, which ought to be stated, as it exhibits to some extent the Massachusetts claim. Ann Mason, executrix of John Mason's will, sued Richard Leader, A. D. A case of jurisdiction.

* Sullivan, p. 365.

† This recognizance run to Richard Russell, colony Treasurer of Massachusetts. Howell recognized also in the sum of £50 to prosecute the respondent at the appointed time and place.

A. D. 1653. 1652, into Norfolk county, New-Hampshire, in "trespass and ejectment," for withholding possession of houses and lands which he then occupied at *Newichawannock*, belonging to her late husband. In an issue upon a plea and replication in abatement to the jurisdiction, the action was carried by appeal before the General Court in May, 1653; where at last, judgment was rendered against the defendant, and costs, £6. 10s. 4d. were taxed for his opponent. By this decision the sincerity and determination of Massachusetts in her pretensions, were put to the test—and a free course of justice opened throughout her jurisdiction.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

But of all the subjects which are touched by the hand of power, there is none fraught with more difficulty and danger, than those of professional belief and the religious tenets of men. Nevertheless, the Commissioners thought there were few others, which called more loudly for their interference. Instead of the christian sympathies, the mutual charities, and the graces of forbearance, which are the soul of all social felicity in a youthful community; the churches in Wells, in Saco and in Cape Porpoise, were disquieted by new-fangled doctrines, or rent in pieces by turbulent spirits, self-willed noisy disputants, or disorderly communicants. Particularly, the church in Wells, was greatly disturbed by Henry Boade, Edmund Littlefield, and William Wardwell, who had been excommunicated for some unsoundness in sentiment, or irregular walk, and still boldly claimed all the privileges of membership. The Commissioners heard the facts in this controversy, and sanctioned the excommunication; admonishing them to desist from all acts of obstinacy and disturbance, and pursue a course of conduct conducive to social happiness and christian fellowship; lest they, who had professed themselves to be the disciples of peace, should at last be the subjects of penal severity.*

The difficulty in Cape Porpoise was of a different nature. There, the church polity was so framed, that the members could not, without an infringement of its rules and principles, transfer their allegiance to any civil power. Therefore to relieve them of their conscientious scruples, the Commissioners entirely dissolved their professional connexion, and left them to re-embody under articles consistent with their allegiance to Massachusetts.

* 2 Mass. Rec. p. 187.

The inhabitants of Saco, distinguished for the purity of their A. D. 1653. principles and habits of sobriety, were destitute, though desirous, of a learned ministry. Aware of their solicitude, the Commissioners in the plenitude of their power, and in aid of public worship, as expressly desired by the people, licensed Robert Boothe, a pious layman, to take the lead and exhort in religious assemblies, till some provision should be made by law, for supplying this and other destitute places, with accredited ministers. Even here, one man was charged with extravagance in his expressions, —tenets,—visionary views,—and other eccentricities, which rendered him, it was said, a disturber of the peace. This was George Barlow;—and the Board, to tranquillize the public mind, commanded him never more to “preach or prophesy” in this place;—assuring him, his disobedience would expose him to pay a fine of £10 and costs.*

Apprehending opposition and difficulty in attempts to execute their commission farther eastward, the Board closed their official services with the following *Protest*, which the Marshal of the county publicly proclaimed:—

“Whereas we have declared the right of the Massachusetts’
 “government, to the towns of Wells, Saco and Cape Porpoise; Commissioners’ protest.
 “and the inhabitants thereof being summoned, did appear before
 “us at Wells, on the 5th of July, 1653, and acknowledge them-
 “selves subject thereunto, and took the oath of freemen and
 “fidelity to that colony; and, the undersigned, her Commission-
 “ers, have appointed and settled a government over them:—
 “We do now therefore *protest* against all persons whatever,
 “that shall challenge jurisdiction, or that shall exercise any act
 “of authority over them, or over any other persons to the north-
 “ward, inhabiting within the limits of our patent, which doth ex-
 “tend to the latitude, 43° 43’ 7” northwardly, but what shall be
 “derived from us as Commissioners, or from the General Court
 “of Massachusetts.

“Given under our hands, at Wells, in the County of York,
 “July 6th, 1653.

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| “Richard Bellingham, | Edward Rawson, |
| “Daniel Dennison, | Bryan Pendleton.”† |
| “Thomas Wiggin, | |

* 2 Mass. Rec. p. 190.

† 2 Mass. Rec. p. 191.

A. D. 1653. The thanks of the Legislature were presented to the Commissioners, for their fidelity and success ; and the charge of £28 13s. 3d., ordered to be paid them out of the public treasury.

Taxation. This, in effect, introduced a system of taxation into Maine ; for the county of York was required to reimburse a part of that sum, proportionate to their numbers and pecuniary ability : and so considerable were the public expenditures of the present year, that the colony treasurer, by order of the General Court, directed the selectmen of towns to make “ a double assessment.”*

If Massachusetts were actuated by motives of ambition in this enlargement of her borders, and the adoption of these plantations ; it must be acknowledged, she guided her measures by maxims of prudence, and manifested great assiduity and zeal for the good of the inhabitants so eagerly adopted. She endeavored to secure their contentment, and win their respect by acts of kindness, care and equal favor. Indeed, they enjoyed some *peculiar* privileges, for they were made freemen, on taking the oath, without the prerequisite of church-membership ;—contrary to the law and usage in Massachusetts. They were also exempt from all public or general assessments, their county and town taxes being all they were required to pay.

Provision
for public
worship.

It was found, as we have observed, that the settlements in Maine and other parts, were without an ordained ministry,—open to the doctrines of every itinerant, who called himself a preacher of the gospel, whether properly invested or not with the sacred office, or whether he disseminated errors, or taught the religion and morals of the scriptures. Of course, the people were under the necessity of listening to these preachers of doubtful character, or to hear none, as there were few others. To rectify or prevent these evils, the General Court made it penal for any one publicly to preach or “ prophesy,” without being first approbated by four neighboring churches, and also required each town, to provide means for supporting a pious ministry.

The whole number of men in the five towns who came under submission, or as some more harshly call it, “ subjugation” to Massachusetts, was about 150 in the first instance,† others taking

* Sullivan, p. 341.

† Supposed to be a majority of the males of and over 21 years. If there were 250 families in the 5 towns, and 50 families on the Isles of Shoals, at 7 in a family, the whole number of persons would be 2,100.

the oath afterwards. Hence the public mind became much tranquillized—still the minority was large and formidable, and in its ranks were several men of the most wealth and influence of any in the eastern plantations. A. D. 1653.

One was George Cleaves of Casco, late deputy-president of Lygonia ; another was John Bonython of Saco, a turbulent perverse spirit and an outlaw ;* a third was Henry Joscelyn† of Black-point, formerly one of Gorges' council ; and a fourth was Robert Jordan of Spurwink, an episcopal clergyman of learning, and the proprietor of a large estate. There were many other malcontents, though of less boldness, activity and influence.

Opposition
of Cleaves,
Bonython,
Joscelyn,
and Jordan.

To obviate the cavils of Cleaves, who was in England, when the first measures were taken towards subjugating Maine, the General Court in a respectful letter, stated anew to him the grounds of the claim, the generous course pursued, and the voluntary submission of five towns, assuring him of their full determination to prosecute and maintain their rights by patent, still farther eastward ;‡ and if the obstinacy of opposers could not be abated by force of reason, justice and liberal treatment, they must expect rigor.

The change already effected was followed by a legislative order, to collect all the remaining records of different administrations in Maine, into the office appointed to be kept by the County Recorder. It was a receptacle of documents and papers, never well arranged by the hand of care and skill ; and exhibits an intermixture of judicial, legislative and executive proceedings ;—many curious laws and ordinances ;—and not a few novel and ludicrous cases, some of which have been noticed. Wonderfully preserved, through subsequent wars, and numerous other perils, they still appear in the offices of the Clerk of the Courts and the Register of Deeds, in the county of York ; some of which are obliterated by the wastes of time, and others, penned in an antiquated hand-writing, are not read without considerable difficulty.

The records of
Yorkshire.

* Ante, A. D. 1645.

† Joscelyn lived a while at Pemaquid ; and in king Philip's war removed to Plymouth Colony.

‡ 2 Mass. Rec. p. 202.

CHAPTER X.

The Dutch, the Natives and the Eastern French—La Tour's conduct—Peace with Holland—The English ships sent to attack Manhadoes, turn against Nova Scotia—They reduce it, and Leverett is left there its Governor—The French complain ; but the Province is conceded to England—C. la Tour's death—Sir T. Temple commissioned Governor—A charter to him, S. la Tour and Crown—Temple and Crown purchase la Tour's right—Temple's character—The limits of Cromwell's charter to him, Crown and la Tour—The consequent difficulties.

A. D. 1651. **THOUGH** the people of New-England were now in the enjoyment of general prosperity, and numbers of them in the possession of something more, than a mere competent livelihood ; their domestic political relations were assuming a posture, evidently adverse to the public tranquillity. For hostilities commencing in October, 1651, between the English and the Dutch, had an immediate effect upon their respective colonies on this side of the Atlantic. Jealousies and suspicions were fomented ; a profitable trade between the Dutch colonists at Manhadoes and the people

English and
Dutch war.

A. D. 1652. of New-England, was interrupted ; and, the next year, an alarming report was in circulation, that the Dutch Governor was inciting the Indians to extirpate the English planters by a general massacre.

The Na-
tives.

At this time, the natives in Maine and through the country were numerous. Their principal employment, and even pastime, were hunting. In all their opportunities for becoming acquainted with the gun, they had proved themselves very apt learners. Already many were expert marksmen. Hence they grew bold, and were sometimes insolent. It was more difficult, than formerly, to keep them in awe, and their neighborhood was greatly deprecated. Every serious hint or thought of a rupture with them, filled the country with alarm.

A. D. 1653. The excitements and fears occasioned by the rumors, brought together at Boston, April 19th, the Commissioners of the United Colonies. They investigated the reports, examined the Indians, and wrote to the Dutch Governor for information. He re-

April 19.

plied with some spirit, 'that there was not a word of truth in the A. D. 1653. scandalous report raised about his conduct; and marvelled much at the novel course pursued, of placing any confidence in Indian testimony;' offering to make explanations to any extent required, if within his power.

Influenced by a spirit of deliberation and forbearance, the Commissioners adjourned without declaring war.* Still the jealousies of the western colonists in New-England had not in the least abated. So highly was he suspected of inciting the Mohawks, and other tribes to acts of hostility, that the government of New-Haven despatched agents to England, for the purpose of laying open unto Cromwell, the Lord-Protector, their dangers and grievances, and praying for assistance or protection.

In the same spring, rumors spread extensively through the country, that "some thousand Indians" had collected about Piscataqua; and that the people in these eastern parts were greatly terrified. To quiet the public mind, therefore, at this important season of seed-time, when the report had diverted many from their agricultural employments, Maj. Gen. Dennison, commander of the Massachusetts militia, ordered thither a party—of 24 men to make discoveries, and† if possible allay the people's fears.

The eastern French were also viewed with considerable dis-
 pleasure and distrust; and the neighborhood of la Tour, since The eastern French disliked. his intermarriage with d'Aulney's widow, and a re-occupation of his Acadian Province, afforded little or no satisfaction. For he manifested not the least disposition to do justice to friends, who had lent him money and credit, and espoused his cause against d'Aulney, in seasons of extreme hazard and anxiety; nor did he labor to inspire the natives with cordial feelings towards the English colonists, from whom he had in former years received so many testimonies of partiality and favor. Possessed of d'Aulney's wife, he apprehended no evils from the surviving influence of his deceased adversary; and in his returning prosperity, he proved himself to have no genuine principles of honor or moral honesty.

As the aspect of affairs darkened, the General Court prohibited

* 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 166—7.

† 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 170—191.—The Sargeants' pay was 2s. and a private's 1s. per day.

A. D. 1653. the transportation of provisions, either to the French or Dutch, under penalty of forfeiting both vessel and cargo. La Tour complained of this measure, as an undeserved severity towards him in his necessities ; and the General Court so far relaxed their order, as to permit a small vessel to be freighted thither with flour and other provisions for his relief ; intending probably to make a merit of the favor and use it as a boon to secure his good-will, and gain the influence of the French missionaries, whose ascendancy over the natives was a cause of dread.

Cromwell, when made acquainted with facts and circumstances by the agents from New-Haven and other informants, put in requisition three or four ships, for the reduction of the Dutch colony at Manhadoes ; and called upon Massachusetts to afford the necessary assistance in the enterprize. But so great and unavoidable were the delays, that the ships did not arrive in Boston till June, 1654. However, in obedience to the Protector's directions, the General Court, on the 9th of that month, passed resolves for encouraging the enlistment of 500 men,* to be commanded by Maj. Robert Sedgwick of Charlestown, a man of popular manners and military talents, and once a member of the celebrated artillery-company in London ; and Capt. John Leverett, of Boston, a correct tactician, and an animated patriot.† The expedition was not unpopular, yet ere the forces were ready to embark, news arrived, June 23d, that articles of peace had been signed on the 5th of April,‡ and that all hostilities must consequently cease between the English and Dutch colonies.§

Peace June 23.

Reduction of Nova Scotia.

If this were a disappointment, it was followed by an expedition far more interesting to the eastern colonists, than the conquest of Manhadoes ;—that was, the projected capture of Nova Scotia. Twenty-two years had elapsed, since the country had been ceded or resigned by the treaty of St. Germain's to the French ;—an arbitrary transaction of the king, which the republicans in England and in the colonies of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Maine, heartily disrelished and secretly censured. Cromwell had a thorough knowledge of British rights, and the preceding intrigues of the crown ; and though it was a time of profound

* 2 Mass. Rec. p. 226.—1 Haz. Coll. p. 587—595.

† Elliot's Biog. Dic. p. 297.

‡ 1 Haz. Coll. p. 589.

§ 2 Mass. Rec. p. 233.

peace between him and France, he determined to subject the whole region of Nova Scotia to the government of the nation, as an act of justice. A. D. 1654.

Accordingly he gave secret, informal instructions to the captains of the ships, before they left England, that when they had reduced the Dutch colony,*—to turn their arms against Nova Scotia and make conquest of it; and consequently the expedition was undertaken without loss of time.

The ships met with no resistance at Penobscot, nor yet at the river St. John,† the place of la Tour's principal fortress and immediate residence.‡ He was wholly unprepared to repel such an unexpected invasion; and neither interest, nor ambition, nor any affection for his sovereign could arouse his opposition. Indeed, he manifested no great reluctance to undergo a change of masters, provided he could be protected in the enjoyment of his ease and his estate. The English in a few weeks subjugated the whole Province,§ Port-Royal capitulating in August,|| when the temporary command of the country was entrusted to Capt. Leverett.

The French complained of this, as an unprovoked outrage in time of peace, and laid the case before the English cabinet; alleging, that they owned the country by cession, and also by a purchase of the English right, at the dear rate of £5,000 sterling. But the court of the Protector refused to restore it;—claiming it under an older and paramount title, and supposing the cession was never fairly made and completed, nor any engagement to pay purchase-money performed. The next season, the whole Acadian Province was confirmed to the English,¶ who held it thirteen years; after which it was re-surrendered under the treaty of Breda.** During the French occupancy, M. Denys and le Borgne were part owners of the Province, the latter being

A. D. 1655.
The Province confirmed to the English.

* 1 Doug. Sum. p. 306.

† 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 169.

‡ 1 Doug. Sum. p. 306—7.

§ Mass. Letter Book, p. 103.

|| 1 Chalmers, p. 187.

¶ Holmes' A. Ann. p. 301.

** *Hub. N. E.* p. 550.—The names of the places captured, and particularly noticed, were *Pentagoet*, *St. John's*, *Port-Royal*; *La Heve*, eastward of Liverpool on the south shore of the peninsula; *Cape-Sable*, the south-western extremity of the peninsula; *fort la Tour*, west of Cape-Sable; *Cape-Fourcha* midway between the N. and S. shore, at the west end of the peninsula.—*Lockwood*.

A. D. 1655. a Governor of the country,—an arbitrary and a bigoted catholic. The priests bore rule ; and the soldiers, engaged in reducing the French settlements, reported, that they occasionally found scripts of the friars, and schedules of their rules and maxims, or modern “phylacteries,” by which they resolved to govern their own conduct, guide their disciples, and direct political affairs.*

La Tour's
death and
character.

La Tour, who was in immediate possession of the interior country, upon the bay Fundy, had “the Province previously confirmed to him by the court of France, on his renouncing the protestant religion.”† But he died not long after the late subjugation :—a man of equivocal character, either catholic or protestant, as was most concomitant with interest. He possessed specious talents without honor, punctuality, or principle. He was a subject of great vicissitudes. D'Aulney captured and plundered his fortification, and kept his wife a prisoner till her death. For a period, he was a voluntary exile. After a second marriage, he rebuilt his fortress, which Donee demolished, because it encroached upon the royal prerogative. Once and again was he wealthy, and as often poor, and sometimes distressed. He borrowed money in Boston, and afterwards of M. Belleisle, a rich French trader to North America, and mortgaged his provincial possessions several times for security ; and yet he never made his creditors any payments. He left one heir and a large territorial estate.

Temple,
Gov. of
Nova Scotia.

After the French had conceded and confirmed the country to England, Cromwell erected it into a Province, and appointed Sir Thomas Temple, Governor.‡ It was a territory considered of great value ; and Temple and one William Crown aspired to become Proprietary Lords of it, or at least the owners of extensive tracts.

In the meantime, Stephen de la Tour produced such documentary evidence of his right to very large territories, as an inheritance from his father, that Cromwell was induced to confirm his ancestral claim to the extent proved. But neither the father nor son ever exhibited any title to lands southerly of the Passamaquoddy waters, and a moiety of their northern possessions was embarrassed by Belleisle's incumbrance ; yet the soil of the great

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 550.

† 39 Universal Hist. p. 256.

‡ 1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 190.—Temple was a kinsman of Lord Say.

peninsula, an immense region, principally remained ungranted. A. D. 1656. Some parts of this section might have been purchased by Temple and Crown, as we believe it was; for we find that the Lord Protector gave to them and la Tour a joint charter* in 1656, by which he granted to them and their heirs forever, 'the territory 'sometimes called L'Accadia, and that part of the country called Nova Scotia, from Merliquash [Lunenburg] to Penobscot, 'the river St. George, and the Muscongus—situated on the confines of New-England.'

A joint charter of Nova Scotia to la Tour, Temple and Crown.

It is stated by one author,† that the grantees were "hereditary" or proprietary governors; and yet it is certain that on the 18th and 20th of September, the same year, (1656,) Cromwell directed Capt. Leverett, the commander at Penobscot and the river St. John, to deliver up the country to Col. Temple only; adding, that he had received a commission to govern it, from Merliquash on the east, to St. Georges, near Muscongus, on the west.‡ In this way a large part of Maine fell within his jurisdiction. However, before Sir Thomas embarked for America, he and Crown purchased of la Tour all the right and title of his father or himself to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, and took from him a regular legal assignment.§

Sir Thomas first came to New-England in 1657.|| In entering upon the duties of his office, he opened a lucrative trade in his province,¶ and continued Proprietary Governor ten years. He was a gentleman of humane and generous disposition, remarkably free from the bigotry and religious prejudices of the times. To cite an instance of his disinterestedness,—when the courts of Massachusetts were trying Quakerism, as a capital crime, in 1660; he went and told them, that if they, according to their own declaration, 'desired the Quakers' lives absent, rather than their deaths present,' he would carry them away and provide for them at his own expense. 'Yes, and should any of them return,' said he, 'I will again remove them.'** Two years afterwards, he

A. D. 1657. Col. Temple's character.

* The charter runs to Claude, the father, and enures to the son.—See the charter in *French*.—1 *Huz. Coll.* p. 616—19.—*Chalmers*, p. 187.

† *Palairer*, p. 14.—Or the charter might have been drafted before the father's death.

‡ *Mass. Letter Book*, p. 104.

§ *Palairer*, p. 10—15. || 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 190. ¶ *Sullivan*, p. 158.

** He did not succeed to his mind, and the quakers, at least some of them, were executed.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 184 (Note †).—He was a great friend to Massachusetts.—*Ib.* p. 194.

A.D. 1657. was recommissioned to the same office of Provincial Governor, by his restored sovereign ; and at some period he seems to have been considered the sole proprietor of the country.

Mistakes in
the charter
of Crom-
well.

It is worthy of particular notice in this place, that the phraseology and terms of Cromwell's patent to la Tour, Temple and Crown, have proved to be the grounds or causes of endless confusion, and severe conflicts. Both Acadia and Nova Scotia are mentioned, yet the limits and extent of them, as expressed, have long perplexed the ablest statesmen ; or in other words, the language of Cromwell's charter has been urged by opponents to shew, that Nova Scotia must have embraced another and greater region, than what is contained in the charter to Sir William Alexander.

It was beyond doubt the design of Cromwell to confirm the soil and freehold to the patentees, as vested rights, and for that purpose to express himself in the charter, so broadly and specifically, that all French claims might be forever barred—never again to be revived with success. For, in the language of the charter, he granted the ‘territory called Acadia, a part of the ‘country called Nova Scotia, extending from Merliquash and including the port and cape la Heve, Cape Sable, port la Tour ‘or l’Esmeron, Cape Fourcha, the cape, river or bay of St. Mary’s, Port-Royal, the region about the bay of Fundy, and the ‘bay and fort of St. John’s, the region of Pentagoet and the river ‘St. George, near Muscongus, situate *about the confines of New-England*.’—In this, it was a great mistake and misfortune to have called Acadia a part of Nova Scotia, extending it to the river St. George ; or to have considered them “as two different countries, which were in truth the same.”* For Acadia never had any other southern limit, than that of latitude in the 40th degree, mentioned in king Henry’s charter to de Monts, A. D. 1603 ; whereas the southern extent of Nova Scotia, was well understood to be limited and bounded by the river St. Croix, as described, A. D. 1621, in the charter of king James to Alexander ; and both extended over the same territory eastwardly, to the shores below the gulf of St. Lawrence. A general recession afterwards, without limitation, laid open all the difficulties.

* 1 Chalmers, p. 188.—1 Holmes’ A. Ann. p. 368, Note 4

CHAPTER XI.

The New-Plymouth patent of Kennebeck—Difficulties there—A meeting of the people called—A code of rules and regulations adopted—A local Court established—The trade of the patent leased several years—The trade declines and becomes extinct—The patent sold—The period and value of the trade—The population—Remarks.

THE trade and interests of the New-Plymouth colony at Ken-^{A. D. 1649}nebeck, were at this period, in a state of decline. The judicious ^{to 1652.} and rigid rules and regulations of the colonial government pre-^{Kennebeck}scribed, for cultivating an honest and honorable intercourse with ^{patent.} the natives, were not strictly observed. There was a diminution of game and furs; an increasing number of traders; and an avaricious disposition manifested, by temporary residents, to acquire gains in any event. The parent colony was too remote to enforce her laws with uncompromising energy; and the local administration of justice was a mere conservation of the peace. There was another fact of some importance. The territorial ^{Difficulties}right and title of the colony, especially her claim from Merry-^{there.}meeting-bay to the sea, was called in question. Therefore, about this time, Jeremisquam, Sebascodegan, and other islands in the vicinity, were purchased of the natives; when the practice of obtaining 'Indian Deeds' became fashionable, till nearly the whole patent was covered by them. The execution of one was proved before the Governor of Massachusetts;*—a circumstance connected with others, which served to recognize the natives' rights to some extent, without regard to prohibitory laws.

Beset by discouragements on all sides, the Plymouth colony, in consideration of £50† yearly rent, leased the trade three years, ending June 8, 1652, to a committee of five distinguished

* In A. D. 1648, a Sagamore conveyed to Governor Bradford, all the lands on both sides of the river to Wessarunset. Squam Island and others were purchased in 1649.

† Sullivan, p. 144—5—296; and Book of Claims.

A. D. 1652. colonists,* viz. Gov. Bradford, and Messrs. Winslow, Prince, Millet and Paddy. Still the difficulties and embarrassments were not diminished; and the colony spread her complaints before Parliament. To prevent encroachments and promote tranquility, the Council of State “granted letters under the great seal, confirming and enlarging her trade within the patent; and required all the English residents upon the river Kennebeck, to render implicit submission to the colonial government, in all their civil and social concerns.” An attempt was then made to revive the trade; and New-Plymouth, at the expiration of the first lease, extended it three years longer; requiring the lessees themselves, or some of them, to reside continually within the patent, under a penalty of forfeiting the trade.

A. D. 1653.
March 7.
A convention called there.

The next year, March 7, 1653, the General Court of that colony, appointed Thomas Prince, who was one of the Council, a commissioner to summon the inhabitants together at some convenient place upon the river, for these purposes, viz. 1, to take the oath of fidelity to the governments of England and New-Plymouth, or otherwise leave the patent territory: 2, to be made acquainted with the colony laws, applicable to them, and establish suitable rules and regulations to guide and govern them in their civil affairs: and 3, to choose assistants, who were to aid the commissioner, in framing and executing the orders to be adopted and settled.

A. D. 1654. In pursuance of a warrant issued by the commissioner to the marshal of New-Plymouth, May 15th, 1654, the inhabitants upon the river Kennebeck were summoned to convene on the 23d, at the house of Thomas Ashly, near the margin of Merrymeeting-bay. Accordingly Prince, the commissioner, was met by 16 men of that immediate neighborhood,† to whom, after he had published his commission, he administered the oath, prescribed in the following words:—

* Morton's Memorial, p. 135—147.

† Their names were these; *Thomas Ashley*; Thomas Atkins; John Brown, [of Woolwich;] James Cole; William Davis; Emanuel Heyes; William James; Thomas Parker; John Parker, [of Parker's Island;] THOMAS PURCHAS, GENTLEMAN, of Pegypscot; John Richards of Jeremismquam; James Smith; John Stone; Alexander Thawyt; Thomas Webber, and John White.—It is supposed *Atkins* lived on a bay above Small Point, since called by his name.

“ You shall be true and faithful to the State of England as it A. D. 1654.
“ is now established ; and, whereas, you choose to reside within Regulations
“ the government of New-Plymouth, you shall not do, nor cause
“ to be done, any act or acts, directly or indirectly, by land or
“ water, that shall, or may tend to the destruction or overthrow
“ of the whole or part of this government, orderly erected or es-
“ tablished ; but shall contrariwise hinder, and oppose such in-
“ tents and purposes as tend thereunto, and discover them to
“ those who are in place, for the time being ; that the government
“ may be informed thereof with all convenient speed :—You shall
“ also submit to and observe all such good and wholesome laws,
“ ordinances and officers, as are or shall be established, within
“ the several limits thereof.—So help you God, who is the God
“ of truth and punisher of falsehood.”*

This little convention of sworn freemen, under the Commissioner, as presiding officer, elected Thomas Purchas, Assistant, and John Ashly, Constable ; and established a code of succinct orders, or ordinances, classed in this manner.—*Firstly*—All capital crimes, such as treason against England or these colonies ; wilful murder ; solemn converse or compact with the devil, by way of conjuration or witchcraft ; the wilful burning of houses ; sodomy ; rape ; and adultery, were to be tried by the General Court at New-Plymouth.

Secondly—The trials of other crimes were within the jurisdiction of the Commissioner’s and Assistants’ Court.—*Theft* was punishable by restitution of three or four fold, according to the nature of the offence and the discretion of the local Court. The convicted *drunkard* was finable 5s. for the first offence—10s. for the second—and for the third, he was to set in the stocks. *Profaning wilfully the Lord’s day* was punishable according to the assistants’ discretion. As the *Indians* when intoxicated were often guilty of “ much horrid wickedness,” even “ the murder of their nearest relations ;” it was ordered, that *every inhabitant selling them any strong liquor*, should for the first offence forfeit double, and for the second, four fold, the value sold : and for the third, he should forever be debarred the privilege of trading with them. If the wrongdoer were a stranger, his fine for the

* See the *Records of Plymouth Colony*, legibly copied by order of the General Court, and deposited in the office of Secretary of State—Boston.

A. D. 1654 first transgression was £10, and for the second £20 ; one half Regulations to the informer and the other half to public uses.

Thirdly—In the prudential regulations established :—All fishing and fowling were expressly continued free to every inhabitant. If “beaver or moose” were presented to any one, for barter by the Indians upon the river, a trade with them was to be free, provided no prohibited article was sold to them. All actions between party and party were to be tried before a jury of twelve men ; but no civil cause above £20 sterling was triable in the local Courts, without the consent of both parties ; such belonging to the jurisdiction of the Courts at New-Plymouth.—The next term of the commissioner’s or local Court was appointed to be holden at the same place,* the Tuesday after the 20th of the ensuing May ; and probably from year to year in that month.

Trade.

An exclusive right to the fur and peltry trade, and the fisheries within the patent, had exalted the expectations of the people at New-Plymouth, to a height altogether unreasonable. They would not believe those interests and enterprizes were undergoing a decline, which must assuredly disappoint their hopes. The public mind was full of conjecture ; till a strange jealousy called in question the wisdom, and carefulness of the lessees, though they were the first men in the colony.

Seven years’ lease.

In February, 1655, all the towns in the government were required to express their opinions upon the course which had been pursued, or ought to be adopted, and especially upon the expediency of leasing the patent any longer. This educed a spirited though temperate legislative discussion, resulting in a further lease for seven years, at £35 annual rent, to be paid half-yearly, in money, moose or beaver at the current prices. By the leasehold-indenture, Bradford, Prince, and Willet, the lessees, engaged to improve the trade in a manner most beneficial as well to the country as themselves ; and to resign the lease, if any town should be dissatisfied with the terms.

But nothing had the effect to abate the popular discontent and jealousy ; and the General Court, at the July session, appointed a committee of four, to confer with the Council, or magistrates upon the subject ; to inquire into all the affairs of the patent,—

* 1 Haz. Col. p. 536.—New-Plymouth Colony records.

the regulations and government within it—the agency of Mr. A. D. 1655. Paddy—and the accounts of the treasurer; and to take measures for securing the public powder and property, and repairing, particularly, Jones' river bridge.

This investigation had a beneficial influence upon public opinion. It was at length perceived, that the discouragements were in consequence of events and incidents, which it was impossible to control. The facilities in taking game, gradually diminished. The deeds of the Indians conveyed rights, which they could not understand. Their hunting grounds were sometimes occupied or claimed by English hunters or sportsmen. For it was necessary, that the lessees should often underlet to applicants, though they were equivocal characters. The business of hunting and trading, was less profitable than formerly; the value of commodities exchanged for furs being better understood. The Indians were ill-natured and jealous,—the proselytes, if not the dupes, of the catholic missionaries, who were without intermission among the tribes.*

Amidst these increasing evils, the trade was let, in 1656–7–8, A. D. 1656 to 1659. at the same annual rent of £35; a sum which, though small, the lessees found they could not afford to pay a fourth year. A manifesto was therefore issued, July 7, 1659, by the New-Plymouth executive, which publicly stated, that there were unhappily “troubles among the Indians” themselves upon the river, some having been killed or carried away, and all of them too much discouraged to pursue their hunting with any ambition; that serious losses were already apprehended from the cessation of trade; and that the towns were in duty bound to instruct their deputies, what measures should be adopted to prevent its becoming utterly extinct.

At the October session, the trade was leased a year for the paltry pittance of only £10, free of embarrassments and outstanding dues, upon condition of permitting the Indians never to owe at one time, more than 500 skins. This lease was the last. The trade nearly extinct.

* Father Gabriel Dreuilletts, the first catholic missionary, to the Canibas Indians, commenced a residence in the wilderness of Kennebeck, in 1646.—1 *Charlevoix, N. F.* p. 435.—This author also says, ‘the Capuchin priests had a trading house and religious hospital at Pentagoet, in the same year, 1646.’ Dreuilletts was succeeded by James Bigot and Vincent Bigot, father and son, and by Father Rallè.

A. D. 1660. The next year, the lessees took home their agents, laborers and estates ; and the General Court granted to any volunteers the liberty of trade upon the river, without lease or price, proposing to sell the whole patent for £500.

A sale at last was negotiated by a Committee of three, appointed for the purpose ; and on the 27th of October, 1661,* the patent was conveyed to Artepas Bois, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow, for £400 sterling ; the deed of assignment being executed by eleven gentlemen who call themselves a committee.†

A. D. 1661.
October 27.
The patent
sold.

Remarks. In no other part of New-England, had the people devoted themselves so entirely to the peltry and fur trade, as they had within the precincts of this patent. Thirty-four years, it had been well improved by the parent colony ; within which period, her emoluments and net gains must have exceeded considerably in the aggregate, £1,600 sterling :‡ to which is to be added, the price of sale. There was no effort nor intent to establish a plantation upon the river. The government here was of a non-descript character, under which neither the laws nor the rulers were respected ; and many of the residents were transient people and hunters. The colony at New-Plymouth had no surplus population to transplant into these parts ; and though the territory of the patent embraced 700 square miles, there were at this period found within it of white people, not more, probably than 300 souls. Surely it is to be lamented, that the laudable endeavors, made more than half a century before, to plant a colony within the limits of this territory, should never have been effectually revived ; and that the patent itself, after the sale, was in fact permitted to sink so deep in oblivion, as to exhibit only a few settlements, fewer surveys,§ and a small number of the owners' names, for the greater part of an hundred years.

* 1 *Mass. Rep.* p. 484 — *Prop. of Kennebeck v. Coll.*—This Indenture was recorded in the county of York, A. D. 1719.

† *Sullivan*, p. 117, 304. The assignees erected a fort in 1662, at “ Mus-quequoite.”—[Maquoit.]

‡ Joseph Bane, says, he was taken captive by the Indians, A. D. 1692, was with them 8 years ; learned their language ; they called the mouth of the Kennebeck-river, “ Sunkadarunk ;” and the Plymouth trading house was at “ Cushenock.”—*Kennebeck Claims.*

§ Some surveys by Heath in 1719 ; and by Jones in 1731.

CHAPTER XII.

The statute-law and government of Massachusetts transferred to Maine—Elections of public officers—Courts—County officers—Towns, their duties and powers—The Militia system—General liberties—Particular laws—Marriage—Sabbath—Ecclesiastical affairs—Cambridge platform—Support of the ministry—Heresy, —especially of the Baptists, Jesuits and Quakers—Crimes and punishments—Employments—Humane laws—Education—Debtors—Taverns—Torture—Taxation and assessments.

THE adoption or subjugation of the western parts of Maine, A. D. 1640 to 1660. was followed by a train of events, as well as attended by a multiplicity of circumstances, unusually important to the Province. Maine connected with Massachusetts. A political connexion was formed, which, with some interruption lasted about an hundred and sixty-seven years. The territorial jurisdiction, though at first limited, was from time to time, extended; till it embraced the whole seaboard eastward, even to Passamaquoddy. The laws, regulations and politics of Massachusetts were immediately received by the adopted people; and they all became partakers in the administration of civil affairs.

The code of statute-law in that government, formed since the Statute-law. first settlement of the colony and of late considerably improved, was, in a few subsequent years, thought to be quite complete in itself, and in its adaptation to the people's interests, habits and wants.* To become acquainted with this system of political and legal regulations, by which the new subjects of them were to be ruled, was indispensable. For according to an adage of the 'times, no one might be endamaged under color of law or countenance of authority, unless in virtue of some legislative enactment sufficiently published; and when the law was defective, resort was directed "to the word of God."† They also deserve the more consideration and particularity, because, to them are

* Between 1640 and 1660, the General Court completed a system of laws and government, which had become quite perfect.—*Hutchinson's Hist.* p. 10, 11.

† Colony Laws, A. D. 1641, p. 44.

A. D. 1640 traced the origin and foundation of successive laws and measures, to 1660. even to the present period.

At the May session of the General Court, in 1654, next after the submission of the western parts of Maine—a committee of three was appointed to examine and arrange all the Legislative laws and ordinances, both written and printed; and prepare “fit titles and tables for ready recourse to any particular.” A volume was afterwards published;* and the General Court ordered, that all new laws enacted, should, within ten days after the session closed, be printed, and a copy distributed to every magistrate, court, and town, within the colony.

System of
government.

According to the articles and provisions of the colony charter, the government was administered by a Governor, Deputy-Governor—council of eighteen assistants, and house of deputies;—all of whom were chosen by a free suffrage of the people.†

Free suffra-
ges.

Freemen only were voters; and as early as May 1631, it was ordained, that none other than church-members should be freemen; and that they only, after 1636, might be elected to any office civil or military. Yet the severity of the law was mitigated towards the eastern people upon their submission; and church-membership was never a prerequisite in Maine, to qualify and entitle a man to the privilege of free suffrage. All who were admitted freemen took the oath of allegiance, either at the annual Court of Elections in Boston, or in the County Courts, where their names were recorded by the clerk, and transmitted to the Secretary of the colony; who kept lists of all the freemen, in the registry of the General Court.‡

Public Offi-
cers.

The Governor, Deputy-Governor, Major-General of all the militia, the Country-Treasurer, the Secretary, Admiral, and two Commissioners of the United Colonies§ were called “General Officers,” and were annually elected by the freemen at large, on the last Wednesday of May.||

On election days, the Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assis-

* 1 Mass. Rec. p. 209.

† They all sat together till A. D. 1644; when the Council and House separated; and each had afterwards a negative upon the other.—*Winth. Jour.* p. 323.—*Chalmers*, p. 166.

‡ In May, 1666, the names of the freemen were by law sent to the clerks of the shires, and the County Courts authorized to admit freemen, 3—*Mass. Rec.* p. 224.

§ These were chosen by the General Court, till A. D. 1646. || Patent,

tants chosen the preceding year, and the Deputies newly elect-
 ed, held a session together, usually in a meeting-house of Boston,
 where they received from each freeman of the colony present, a
 written ballot for the candidates, only one being voted for at the
 same time. In the exercise of this franchise, the voters advanced
 through one aisle or avenue, and laid their ballots upon the table,
 departing through another.* Such freemen as did not choose
 to attend, were permitted to give their votes in their respective
 towns, to their deputy in the constable's presence; which, being
 sealed, were transmitted to the election-table, with a list of the
 freemen's names who had so voted.† Generally, the person's
 name voted for was upon the ballot; sometimes, however, a candi-
 date was put in nomination, when a ballot marked was counted
 for him, and a blank ballot *against* him.

A. D. 1640
 to 1660.
 General
 Election.

In the choice of Assistants, there were some peculiarities. Assistants.
 The freemen of every town were convened, the first week in
 every April, by the constable; when they voted for any num-
 ber of Assistants, they chose to have, never exceeding eighteen.
 The whole were examined by the Governor and Council early
 in May and published; and those who had the greatest number of
 votes were declared to be in nomination. On the day of election,
 the name of *each candidate* on the list was severally announced,
 and the freemen voted by way of *corns* and *beans*; the former
 being counted for him and the latter against him. The freemen
 who exercised the right of suffrage at home, voted in the same
 manner for Assistants, transmitting their votes, sealed and labelled,
 to the election-table. For thirty years, only fourteen were annu-
 ally chosen; the number was then increased to eighteen;‡ and
 they, the Governor, and Deputy-Governor, were collectively de-
 nominated "Magistrates."

The Deputies or Representatives to the General Court were
 elected by towns. No town could send more than two. If it
 contained not above 20 freemen, it could elect one only; if less
 than ten, it was allowed none, though it might join in voting for
 Deputies with the freemen of the next town. Great latitude was
 given in the selection of candidates; for a town might elect any
 freeman within the colony, its representative; and these choices

Represent-
 atives.

* Ogilby, p. 163.

† Col. Laws, A. D. 1636, p. 42.

‡ After August, 1661, eighteen were annually chosen.

A. D. 1640
to 1660.

of non-residents were frequent. But no one could be a Deputy who was "unsound in the main points of the christian religion, "as held forth and acknowledged by the generality of the pro-"testant orthodox writers."*

Under the colonial charter, the whole number of deputies in any one year, never exceeded 52, nor were less than 25;† and Maine at no time after the connexion, returned more than four, or possibly five, though a greater number of towns were at different times represented.

The Judici-
ary.

The Judiciary power was vested in three tribunals, 1. the Court of Magistrates, or Assistants; 2. the County Courts; 3. the single magistrate's or three Commissioners' Court.

Superior
Court.

The *Court of Magistrates*, constituted of the Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants, was the highest judicial tribunal in the colony; having jurisdiction of all capital crimes, cases of divorce, and appeals from inferior courts. Their sessions were semi-annual, in the spring and autumn, and always in Boston. A jury was empaneled as early as May, 1631; and after 1634, the freemen in their respective towns and plantations chose their jurymen,‡ as they did their municipal officers.

County
Court.

The *County Court* was holden by the resident magistrate within the shire, or such other, as the General Court might designate; assisted by four such freemen of worth and intelligence within the several counties, as the towns in their annual meetings might select or nominate, and the legislature approve and put into the commission, called "*Associates*." Of the five, three formed a quorum, provided one at least was a magistrate. The sessions of this court in Maine, were twice every year. They appointed their own clerks or recorders, summoned juries of inquest and of trials, and had jurisdiction of probate matters, of all causes civil above 40s, all criminal cases not capital, and others not reserved to the Court of "Assistants."§

The third and lowest judicial court in the colony, had jurisdiction of all civil controversies within the county, wherein the sum

* *Col. Laws*, p. 42-92-98-117.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 238.—A day's absence of a deputy, was fined 20s.

† In 1654, there were 40; in 1662, only 27. In 1666-7-8, there were none from Maine, though in 1668, there were 50 members. In the next 10 years there were never so many as 50, except A. D. 1671-2, there were 51.

‡ 1 *Mass. Rec.* p. 76.

§ *Col. Laws*, p. 67-86.

demand did not exceed 40 shillings, and it might fine in criminal cases to that amount. It was holden by a single *magistrate* without a jury, in the town where he resided.—Three commissioners also, if it were required, were appointed* by the Court of Assistants, or County Court, in towns where no magistrate resided, to determine those small causes; and if any Commissioner was interested, a selectman took his place. Appeals lay from decisions in these petty tribunals, to the County Court.

A. D. 1640
to 1660.

A magis-
trate's
Court.

The County-officers were, 1. a marshal, who was the executive officer of the county; 2. the County-treasurer,—both of whom were elected annually by the freemen in towns, and 3. the clerk, or recorder of the shire,† appointed by the County Court, who was by an ordinance of 1642, made *ex officio* the register of deeds, which had previously been recorded since 1634, in town books.

County Of-
ficers.

Next to the regulations of counties, we ought to mention those of towns; for the original of almost all political measures and movements, might at this early period, be traced to the primary assemblies in these municipal corporations. Here the public monies were raised and collected; officers of trust and honor were voted for; and the various interests of society promoted and guarded. The town officers in these early times, were, 1. the selectmen, who had in trust, the prudentials of the town and assessed the taxes; 2. constables, whose official ensign was “a black staff,” and whose business it was to warn town meetings, collect taxes, serve the smaller legal processes, raise “hue and cry,” and take inquests on dead bodies; 3. clerk of the writs, who kept the town records, signed legal precepts, returnable before single magistrates or town commissioners, and recorded births and deaths; 4. surveyors of highways; 5. sealers of weights and measures;‡ and 6, tything-men—all chosen by their townsmen. Among the duties enjoined upon towns, they were required to make and amend their highways and bridges; and after 1659, to support their poor: also to per-

Towns and
their Offi-
cers.

* This was repealed in 1657, except as to Boston and Yorkshire.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 332. As to the choice of Associates—*Ib.* p. 32. They were put into the “Commission.”—4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 2-3.—2 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 32.

† His records were made by law, 1650, conclusive evidence.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 25.

‡ In 1674, F. Littlefield was indicted at York, for want of scales and weights in his mill as the law directs.

A. D. 1640 to 1660. ambulate the town lines once in three years; and as early as 1631-5, to procure a standard of weights and measures.*

Militia. The military was a very important department in the government. All able bodied freemen and others, who had taken "the oath of residents," belonged to the trainbands. Those, in a town, formed a company; and if their number were 64, they were entitled to a captain, subalterns and non-commissioned officers; otherwise they were exercised by sergeants, or perhaps by a subaltern. Till 1658, the captain, lieutenant and ensign, were elected by the freemen in town meeting; afterwards, they were elected by their respective companies; and in both cases, the choice was presented to the County Court, which either confirmed it, or rejected it and ordered another election.†

The soldiery of each county formed a regiment,‡ which was commanded by a sergeant-major, chosen by the freemen of the same county in town meetings. Each regiment was mustered once in three years: and at the head of all the militia in the colony, was a Major-General,§ elected, as previously stated, like the Governor, by the freemen at large. Ensigns and all superior officers, were at a subsequent period, commissioned by the General Court.

The militia were required to train by companies, six times in a year; and at least two thirds of the soldiers were required to have muskets, and be furnished with bandoleers; the residue might serve with pikes,|| provided they had "corselets and headpieces."

But all these were only the more prominent features of the system, devised and embraced by the early colonists. They, as emigrants, felt no veneration,—they cherished no love for the

* They were first sealed by those of the Governor's, brought from England; and in 1635, each town was required to have a bushel, peck, and the aliquot-weights from 1 lb. to 14; also a "mete yard,"—to be sealed by the standard in Boston, kept by James Pen, the marshal.—1 *Mass. Rec.* p. 46-103.
† Col. Laws, p. 42-128—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 371.

‡ In 1639, there were in Massachusetts, 2 Regiments, and 1,000 men.—*Winth. Jour.* p. 176.—In 1671, there were 6 Regiments including one in Yorkshire.

§ The military, till 1635-6, were under the Governor, Deputy Governor, and nine Commissioners, who could try offenders by Court-martial and put to death.—1 *Mass. Rec.* p. 93-142.

|| There were no pikemen in King Philip's war.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 435.

establishments in the country they had left. Their General Court legislated upon almost every subject, which could anywise concern the people in the various conditions of life. In 1641, when so many sound and liberal provisions received the sanction of the legislature, it was ordained, that 21 years should be the lawful age of all persons for transacting business: and with one general sweep, all impediments to the alienation of property—all feudal or servile burdens, so common in England, were wholly disallowed; and full liberty given for the conveyance of estates, by deed, will, or otherwise, without forfeiture upon the conviction of any crime, or offence whatever.*

A. D. 1640
to 1660.
Laws and
regulations.

Equal rights and rational liberty were the arteries of their whole civil system. Every one was free to hunt in the forests, to fish in the tide-waters and the great interior ponds, and to fowl in either; and also at his pleasure to remove with his family to any other place. No soldier was obliged to go out of his county to do military duty, nor out of the jurisdiction in actual service. Slavery and bondage were prohibited; and if any one was holden by purchase, he was to be treated with all the kindness prescribed in the Divine law.

Our ancestors, for the sake of freedom in matters of religion, are well known to have emigrated to this country; and it is not surprising, therefore, that such institutions as marriage and the sabbath,—the subjects of church-establishments, and orthodox faith, should have engaged their early and perpetual attention. New provisions, and those differing from the laws and usages of the mother country, were intended to be drawn from the scriptures. All christian fugitives from famine and persecution were by law to be succored, and have the charities extended to them, as enjoined in the Gospel,—also strangers were to have the same measure of justice as freemen.

Marriage,† every where a divine and sacred ordinance, was never to be contracted by maidens, without the parents' or guardians' approbation. Till that was obtained, all the arts of address employed in a secret manner, to win a female's affection, were declared by the legislature to be subversive of parental

* Colony Laws, p. 44.

† Before there was any Colony law, marriage was solemnized by the Governor and a minister of the gospel.—*Winthrop's Jour.* p. 20.

A. D. 1640 to 1660. authority and the divine honor, and were actually made a finable offence. The disposal of children in marriage was declared to be committed to the care and discretion of parents by God himself. Magistrates, and none other, were authorized to solemnize marriages, till 1656, when the power was given also to town commissioners, where no magistrate resided; yet there was a law as early as 1639, forbidding parties to marry, before their intentions had been published in three public meetings, or posted fourteen days.

Ecclesiastical affairs.

The Sabbath, instituted likewise by Divine authority, was esteemed a day of holy rest; and several strict legislative provisions were made for the sacred observance of it. The time limited was from midnight preceding, to that following the day; attendance upon public worship was enjoined; absences punishable; and servile labor, recreation and travelling strictly forbidden.

The Church relations, deemed by the primary colonists so highly important, were evidently intended to be formed and established upon free and scriptural principles. For it was resolved by the legislature, that "no injunction might be put either upon any church, or its officers or members in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord."* In accordance with this freedom, 'all the people of God, who were orthodox in their sentiments and not scandalous in their lives, were encouraged by a law, A. D. 1641, solemnly to *congregate* and embody themselves into a church estate; and authorized to elect and ordain their officers, provided they were able, pious and orthodox; and to admit, discipline, or excommunicate their members; yet no church censure was ever to affect any man's property, civil dignity, office, or authority.' In this way the churches were purely *congregational*, formed upon principles of equality, and *independent*† of each other.

But enured as the colonists were in their native country to the connexion of church and state, they knew not how to keep them entirely separate. They said, 'it was the duty of the civil authority, to see the rules and ordinances of the gospel observed according to the scriptures;' and they permitted no church to be formed without the approbation of three magistrates.

* Col. Laws, p. 101-2.

† Hence sometimes called "Independents."

Through this avenue once opened, a current of legislation was continually flowing into the pale of the church ; many ultimately suffering death from its violence. A synod, convened in 1646, at Cambridge, by direction of the legislature, and protracted by adjournments about two years, agreed at length upon a code of ecclesiastical rules, or articles of discipline, among the churches, which were submitted to them and to the General Court. They consisted of 17 chapters, and have been denominated "*The Cambridge Platform*;"—being subsequently the ecclesiastical constitutions through the New-England churches, inasmuch as they generally adopted them.*

A. D. 1640
to 1660.

Cambridge
Platform.

In connexion with this subject, we may take notice of the provisions made by law for the maintenance of an orthodox ministry. By an ordinance of 1654, after the admission of Maine, in which less attention had been paid to religious instruction than in some other parts—every County Court was ordered to appoint what support a town or congregation should render their minister ; and if it were not voluntarily provided and paid, it was to be assessed and collected like other taxes;† and all towns were especially required by law, to furnish their respective ministers with 'convenient habitations.'

But to affirm that man is justified by his own works, and not by Christ's righteousness, or to deny the immortality of the soul,—the resurrection of the body,—the morality of the fourth commandment,—or the ordinance or authority of magistracy—was harshly denominated, in a law of 1644, to be "damnable heresies," tending to subvert the Christian faith, and to destroy the souls of men. So early was intolerance only another term for what they erroneously considered a part of orthodoxy ; and it is the more remarkable, that the churchmen and legislators of those times should undertake to check, control or condemn the religious opinions of others, since they themselves had so lately come hither for the sake of enjoying freedom in matters of faith, worship and duty.

Heresy.

The heretical sect first assailed by the General Court were the Baptists.—They were found to have originated about a century

Baptists.

* 2 *Mather's Magnal. b. v. Ed.* 1820—p. 103–203, where the chapters are entire.—1 *Belk. N. H.* p. 70–1.—In some of the articles, "there is an appearance of liberty and tenderness, but none in reality."

† A. D. 1654.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 230.

A. D. 1640 before, and were declared to be incendiaries in church and state ;
to 1660. denying the lawfulness of wars, and the baptism of infants.* In 1646, it was made highly penal for men to withhold their children from that ordinance, or to leave the congregation when they were baptised. One Painter was the first who suffered. Convicted of a refusal to permit the baptism of his child, he was publicly whipped ; and within twenty years, before the persecution ceased, about thirty were either fined, whipped or banished, and a few were executed.

Jesuits. Next, the General Court, believing, as they said, the wars in Europe to be chiefly fomented by the *Jesuits*, devoted to the religion and court of Rome, ordered in 1647, every ecclesiastic of that order, coming within the colony, to be banished, unless he was a public messenger, and even then, if he behaved offensively.† No one is known to have suffered under this law, though frequent attempts were made to seize such of them, as were missionaries among the Indians.

Quakers. But no religious order was so violently attacked as the *Quakers*.‡ The legislature called them “a cursed sect of heretics,” pretending “to be immediately sent from God, and infallibly “assisted by the spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions ; “despising government, and the order of God in church and “state, reviling magistrates and ministers, speaking evil of dignities, and seeking to turn away the people from the faith.”§ To exterminate them, ordinances were passed, in 1656, only four years after their first appearance in England, by which their books were to be burnt by the common hangman, and themselves to be banished, and if they returned, to be executed.

* Col. Laws, p. 102–120.—1 Haz. Col. p. 538.—Hub. N. E. chap. 14.

† Col. Laws.

‡ 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 180–1—208.—The persecution of quakers extended into the Province of Maine, and an order of court was passed in 1660, that “whatsoever *quakers* shall act in town affairs as officers within the county of York, shall pay £5.” Major Nicholas Shapleigh of Kittery, seems to have favored that sect, for the constable of that town, had been ordered, in 1663, “to repair to his house on two sabbath days, taking sufficient witnesses with him, and to forbid him and all persons assembled, giving countenance to any such persons or their meetings contrary to the laws of this jurisdiction.”—*Folsom*, p. 141.

§ Col. Laws, p. 121–126.

Upwards of thirty suffered in Massachusetts under these laws, A. D. 1640 to 1660, and some were put to death.*

Nor was this all. It was made heresy, in 1652, to deny that the books of the Old and New Testament were the written infallible word of God—punishable for the first offence, by fine or whipping, and for the second, by banishment, or even death.

The whole criminal code was severe, and in some instances sanguinary. The colonists, in framing their statutes, preferred to adopt or imitate the laws of MOSES, rather than those of England; and of consequence have been thought by modern lawgivers, to have prescribed penalties disproportionate to crimes. Not only murder, robbery, burglary, treason, arson and the crimes against nature, but blasphemy, heresy, idolatry, witchcraft,† perjury, manstealing, adultery, and the striking of a parent by a child of 16 years old and upwards, were *capital*. Violence to female chastity was also a high crime; but it is remarkable, that while the adulterer or idolater suffered death for the first transgression, the burglar or robber did not, till the third conviction.

Criminal
code and
punish-
ments.

Punishments were numerous. Besides that of death, which was always to be by hanging; and of imprisonment, banishment, fines and the pillory;‡ convicts often suffered corporeally by branding, cropping the ears, and whipping; yet the latter was to be imposed only where the crime was shameful, and when the offender's course of life was vicious and profligate; nor were more than 40 stripes ever to be inflicted under one conviction.

Forgery was punished by double damages and the pillory; theft by treble damages; profanity and spreading false news, by fine, or the stocks; fornication by fine or enjoining marriage; gambling, assaults and batteries, and drunkenness, by fine or imprisonment. Idleness was viewed with marked reproach, as well

* Sept. 9, 1661, the king ordered all capital and corporeal punishments of the Quakers to cease. Still they were pursued.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 138.

† Hugh Parsons of Springfield, Mass. was, in 1652, the first one tried for witchcraft; and Ann Hibbins of Boston, in 1655, was the first one executed.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 165-173.

‡ Every town was required to be furnished with stocks, under a penalty of £5. It was a frame, fitted to a post with holes half-formed in a lower and half in a folding plank, through which the head, hands and ancles were put, of one in a sitting posture.

A. D. 1640 as an inlet of every evil;* and all strolling travellers, vagrant hunters, and "tobacco takers," were obnoxious to the law, whose offensive manner of life it was the duty of constables particularly to notice. To demand an exorbitant price for labor was made a finable offence in 1635; and afterwards the freemen of every town were authorized by law, to agree among themselves what should be the rates of workmen's wages.

Employ-
ments,

Almost all employments were manual or laborious, and oftentimes of the hardest kind. To convert forest trees into marketable lumber, woodlands into fields of cultivation, and logs into habitations, were the prominent features of industry at this period. House and ship carpentry, and the handicraft of the coarser artisans, were in general demand. The breeding of domestic animals was much encouraged; and so needful was wool found to be, for winter clothing, that in 1654, the people were expressly forbidden to transport any sheep out of the colony, and no butcher might kill one under two years old.†

Fisheries
and Fur
trade.

But the fisheries and the fur trade, affording the greatest attractions to foreigners, were so frequently abused, as to require the special interposition of the legislature. Fishermen often destroyed timber—perhaps set forests on fire, and were guilty of frauds or carelessness in packing and curing their fish. To prevent these evils, the County Court were directed, A. D. 1652, to appoint fish-viewers for every fishing place or station, within the county. The fur trade led immediately to an intercourse with the natives; and rendered legislative acts necessary to prevent frauds and disaffection. Foreigners, particularly the French and Dutch, furnishing the Indians with firearms and ammunition, were prohibited in 1650, all traffic with them in the colony, upon the penalty of confiscation.‡

Money.

All denominations of money, current in the early periods of settlement, were quite inadequate to the purposes of the people's convenience or wants. Emigrants brought small amounts with them; and after the removals to this country received a check, about the year 1640, and many returned back, the legislature,

* Charles Potum was presented by the grand jury at York, 1674, for living an idle lazy life, following no settled employment.

† *Col. Laws*, 188.—In king Philip's war, a soldier had only "one shilling per day, besides victuals.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 185.

‡ *Col. Laws*, A. D. 1633—50, p. 132—4.

in consequence of the extreme scarcity of a circulating medium, made corn, fish, and other products, a tender at the rates prescribed by law; also provided for extending executions upon real estate; made *wampum** current in payment of all debts, not exceeding 40s.; and established the rate of annual interest, at eight *per centum*. A. D. 1640
to 1660.

Many humane provisions were established by legislative authority, truly creditable to the early colonists. A record was kept in towns of all emigrants and their business; charitable relief was to be extended to necessitous strangers; a support for the poor was to be provided, under the direction of the County Court;† and all cruelty to brute creatures, kept for the use of man, was strictly forbidden. The Indians were not allowedly to be dispossessed of their planting grounds and fishing births; though all territorial purchases of them, followed by 5 years quiet possession, acquired to the occupants, especially in Maine, an indisputable title. Humane
laws.

So high and correct an estimate was set upon pure morals, good habits, and enlightened principles, that our ancestors believed these could never be well established, without an early and thorough education‡ of youth. To keep from men a knowledge of the scriptures, and of the languages in which they were written, and to impose upon them false glosses of their meaning, was, in the judgment of the legislature, a project of the prince of darkness. Actuated therefore by a strong sense of duty, and by motives of ambition and true policy, the General Court in 1647, required every town of fifty householders to employ a teacher, a sufficient time for the instruction of their children to read and write; and in every town, containing 100 families, a grammar school was to be kept, where youth might be fitted for college. Heads of families were directed by law to catechise their children and servants every week, in the principles of religion; and Education:

* Originally "*wampampeag*."—The value of *wampum* was 4 black and 8 white beads, for a penny.—2 *Mass. Rec.* 41, A. D. 1651; not repealed till A. D. 1661.—3 *Mass. Rec.* 5.—Corn was set at 4s. rye 5s. wheat 6s. flaxseed 12s. per bushel.

† By towns after 1659.

‡ In 1675, the Selectmen of Kittery, Cape Porpoise, Scarborough and Falmouth, were presented by the Grand Jury in several indictments, for not taking care, that the children and youth of their towns be taught their catechism, and educated according to law.

A. D. 1640 the selectmen were required to see, that the youth of their town to 1660, were properly educated, and trained to some gainful or useful calling.*

Imprison-
ment for
debt.

The law was particularly tender of personal liberty, and forbade the arrest of any debtor, who had sufficient visible property to pay what he was owing. If he, being poor, was imprisoned, he might under a law, as early as 1641, be liberated, by any court or authorized commissioner, provided his poverty was sufficiently manifest in his disclosure upon oath; being still holden if required to "satisfy by service" his creditor, though he might be "sold" only to one "of the English nation."†

To promote order and prevent the dissipation of morals, taverns were under strict regulations, in which all dancing and games at shuffleboard and bowling, were expressly prohibited. Some habits were treated with detestation;—particularly that of wearing long hair, like the Russians and Indians, was reprobated by public authority.

In the general view, we have taken of the fundamental regulations and legal provisions,‡ which characterize the colonial government, we find much to admire, and something to censure. If we regret to see heresy made by our ancestors a subject of severe legislation, and to observe punishments sometimes excessive and cruel; we must yet acknowledge our surprise, that a page of their statute-book, should be tarnished by an allowance of torture, however palliated. It is true, the law permitted no one to suffer what was barbarous or inhuman, nor be forced to confess his own crimes; but after conviction, he might be tortured, in order to compel a disclosure of his confederates.§ No instance of torture however is found on record; and we may boldly enquire of that *pious* age, where is the scriptural authority for its use or exercise on any occasion?

Torture.

Remarks.

As the people of Maine were only the subjects, not the projectors of these legal regulations, they felt no passion for their enforcement, beyond what appeared conducive to their prosperity and happiness. They made no calculations upon the honors and emoluments of office; and being strangers to the modern

* Col. Laws, p. 74.

† Ib. p. 48—9.

‡ See "abstracts of the Laws," &c. *Hutch. Coll.* 161—187.—"Fundamentals "of the Massachusetts."—*Ib.* p. 201—218. § Col. Laws, p. 180.

Jewish theocracy attempted in Massachusetts to be new-modeled by the gospel, and established there; they might prudently enquire, ‘what have we to do with projects of political ambition, ‘or with the weapons forged against heresy?’ They never believed, that the keys of church and state were rightfully committed to the hands of the clergyman and the magistrate. Influenced by a spirit of independence, anxious for an equality of rights, and remote from the seat and scenes of anti-christian warfare, they were generally friends to religious toleration; and Maine became in some degree an asylum for persecuted fugitives. Indeed, a single instance of persecution, which was expulsion merely, is all that can be found to stain her records. If men of letters and of the learned professions were not her boast, education was free from the ingredients of superstition; and if notions of liberty were less refined and more rural in the Province, than in Massachusetts, they were more rational and pure.

Before we close this chapter, it is necessary to consider the subject of taxation. For although the provincials were exempt from the public burthens, there were several charges which they were under obligation to defray. These were an annual stipend of £17, 10s. due the magistrate, who presided yearly in the County Court of Yorkshire, and the expenses otherwise incidental to the administration of public justice, and the management of town affairs.

To meet these charges, and to provide for the erection of a county prison, a tax was laid upon the provincials, in 1654, of £91, 15s. This necessarily required a system of taxation, and that of Massachusetts was adopted. At first, taxes were paid in that colony by towns and plantations, according to their population; afterwards in 1634, the manner was changed, and they were taxed in proportion to the value of their property real and personal, and the number of their inhabitants. At length, in 1646, the system was amended and improved; a single tax was set at £1,500, of which every poll, or male 16 years of age or upwards paid 12 pence, and 20s. worth of property paid a penny. In this way, apportionments were assigned to the several towns and plantations.*

* 1 Mass. Rec. p. 64, 68, 78, 139.—2 Ib. p. 218-235.—1 Doug. Sum. p. 533.—See post A. D. 1675.

A. D. 1640
to 1660.

Census and
valuation.

This method rendered it necessary to take a census of the taxable polls, and an inventory of the rateable estate; a business performed in each town by the selectmen and a commissioner chosen for the purpose. When completed, a session was holden by them in the shire town of the county, and the whole were revised, equalized and settled.*

Assess-
ments.

The commissioners, appointed in the first instance by the General Court in 1654 for the towns in Maine, were Richard Nason of Kittery, Abraham Preble of York, Jonathan Thing of Wells, Robert Boothe of Saco, and Griffin Montague of Cape Porpoise; who were required, with the assistance of the selectmen, and the advice of their deputies in the legislature, to take and equalize the census and inventory, "and assign to each town of their county its just proportion to pay, according to the custom of the country rates."† The sum of £91, 15s. mentioned, was apportioned in the spring of 1655, to the several towns according to property and taxable polls.‡

* In 1646, cows were valued £5, and cattle between 3 and 4 years old at £4.—1 *Mass. Rec.* p. 461. But A. D. 1651-7, the valuation was thus, cows, £3; cattle between 3 and 4 years old £2 10s; between 2 and 3, £2,—between 1 and 2, £1; every ox 4 years old £5; every horse-kind 3 years old £5; an ass, £2; a sheep 10s; a goat 8s; and a yearling swine 20s. All cattle under a year old were exempt from taxation.—*Col. Laws*, p. 70. 3 *Mass. Rec.* p. 16.

† 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 247.

| | £ | s. |
|---|-----|-----|
| ‡ Thus,—to Kittery and the Isles of Shoals [belonging to Maine] | 45, | 15. |
| York | - | - |
| Wells | - | - |
| Saco | - | - |
| Cape Porpoise | - | - |
| | 17, | 17. |
| | 13, | 10. |
| | 10, | 05. |
| | 4, | 08. |

£91, 15.

Of this sum, the polls in each town would pay in the same proportion, as the aggregate of the taxable polls in Massachusetts would pay towards a single public tax of £1,500. In 1662, the proportions were, to Kittery £10; York £7; Wells £7; Cape Porpoise £3; Saco £6; Scarborough £7; and Falmouth £6.

CHAPTER XIII.

Massachusetts patent extended to Clapboard Island—The people of Lygonia refuse to submit—The opposition—Militia of Maine organized—Shapleigh, Sergeant-major commandant—The natives—Intercourse with them revised—The Lygonians submit to Massachusetts—Articles of submission and union—Scarborough and Falmouth established as towns—Their powers and privileges—Pejepscot without the limits of Massachusetts' patent—Address of the eastern inhabitants to Lord Cromwell—Rev. M. Wheelwright's agency—Deputies from Maine—Yorkshire court.

AFTER the report of Sherman and Ince, by which the northern limit of Massachusetts patent was determined to be in latitude $43^{\circ} 43' 12''$;* the General Court despatched to the eastern coast, in the summer of 1653, two experienced shipmasters, Jonas Clark and Samuel Andrews, who found the same degrees, minutes and seconds on the northern point of an Island in Casco bay, called the Upper Clapboard Island. Here they marked several trees, one with the letters M. B. ; also a grey rock on the main shore, distant 1-4th of a mile.† An east and west line drawn through these points from the Atlantic to the South sea, was therefore supposed to be the northern boundary of that patent, within which the whole claim of Mason, the southwesterly section of Maine, and a part of Lygonia, were comprehended.

With great perseverance and unchanging purpose, Massachusetts labored more than three years, before the residue of the eastern people within the extended limits of the patent, could be induced to acknowledge her jurisdiction over them. Neither acts of favor, arguments nor complaints could overcome their obstinacy. In vain did the General Court assure them, that the decision of their own tribunals should remain unimpeached ; that justice and right should be fully administered to them in the Courts

A. D. 1653.

Massachusetts patent extended.

People of Lygonia refused to submit.

* See ante, chap. 9, A. D. 1652.

† It was " 4 or 5 miles northward of Mr. Mackworth's house."—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 240.—In 1553, Thomas Wiggin was magistrate, Edward Godfrey, Nicholas Shapleigh, Edward Rishworth, associates.—In 1654, Abraham Preble was county treasurer for Yorkshire.

A. D. 1654. of Yorkshire ; and that appeals from any judgment, after six days' notice to the adverse party, would be received by the proper Courts having appellant jurisdiction, upon the application of a party and the assignment of his reasons. They paid no regard to these proposals, nor to the authority of the County Court in Yorkshire, nor to the proclamations issued in 1655-6, by the Lieutenant-Governor and two Assistants, acting as Commissioners in those years, and requiring their submission.*

A. D. 1655. The greatest opposition was from Cleaves, in which his adherents were Joscelyn, Jordan, Bonython, and most of the principal men in their vicinity. Assisted by them, he endeavored to shew by maps and indubitable evidence, that their estates and habitations were within the province of Lygonia, independent of Massachusetts. To surrender these their inborn rights, would be pusillanimity and treason.

The dispute.

In return, the General Court undertook to convince them of their mistakes, by the depositions of mathematicians and surveyors, the words of the patent, and other authentic documents ; and to remove their fears and prejudices, by the strongest asseverations of justice, protection, and favor. 'Recollect the civilities and respect, (said the court) which the people of these parts have received, since our rights have been shown and established. Who has been threatened or injured? Nay, it is time, all combinations, and all resistance to our claims should cease. Our title does not rest under a shadow of doubt. So far are our thoughts from any infringement of the planters' rights and liberties, that we offer them the same we ourselves enjoy. Neither do we expect any assistance or relief from taxing your estates ; for we request nothing more than what you have always done, *viz.* "to bear your own charges."† In becoming fellow-citizens, you have no better grounds for objecting to our laws, because you have not participated in making them, than emigrants have, when they become subjects of the commonwealth. If men will in violation of rights and duty, presume any longer to resist us, we shall protest most solemnly against all their proceedings,

* In 1655 the Yorkshire County Court was holden by the "worshipful Samuel Symonds, Capt. Thomas Wiggim, magistrates; Mr. Edward Johnson, and Edward Rishworth, Recorder, associates.

† 2 Mass. Rec. p. 290, 353.—1 Haz. Coll. p. 593.—9.

‘and advise what course will be most consistent with the principles of honor and justice, in the sight of God and man.’ A. D. 1655.

Massachusetts was also opposed by Gorges and Rigby, who were receiving intelligence from Godfrey, and accusing her government of usurpation and avarice, before Lord Cromwell. To counteract the charges, she furnished Mr. John Leverett,* her agent at the English court, with facts and instructions, which in connexion with other considerations, were urged in her favor with so much success, before the Lord Protector, as to strengthen the favorable opinion he had long entertained of the New-England puritans and to render abortive all assaults upon her measures and interests.

The noted John Bonython of Saco, was another of her foes, A. D. 1656. both violent and abusive. Sworn never to submit to the government of Massachusetts, he defied the authority of the County Court, which had undertaken to impose a tax upon him and his townsmen; and besides refusing to pay his part of it, wrote an insulting letter to the legislature. For his contempts and rebellious conduct, that body sent a warrant after him, requiring the officer to arrest him and carry him to Boston. But being always on the alert, he could not be apprehended.†

Hitherto Massachusetts had courted obedience in Maine, by arguments and persuasives;—it was now time to think of asserting her authority. The militia was considered at this early age, the safeguard of the public; and the General Court caused military companies to be formed and established in Kittery, York, Wells and Cape Porpoise, erected the whole into a regiment, and appointed Nicholas Shapleigh, Sergeant-major and commandant. He was also required to meet with the company officers for improvement in military tactics, and to see that the soldiers were well armed, equipped and disciplined.‡

Among other circumstances, which made it necessary at this period to render the militia effective, we may perhaps mention

The Militia
of Maine
organized.

The English
and
natives.

* He was the same who led the troops into Nova Scotia. “Godfrey was active about his complaints.”—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 274—317.—1 *Haz. Coll.* 608.

† 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 307.

‡ 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 316.—In Aug. 1656, 70 of the inhabitants in Saco, Cape Porpoise, Wells, Kittery and York, addressed a petition to Lord Cromwell, stating that they were “a people few in number not competent to manage weighty affairs,” and praying to be continued under the government of Massachusetts.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 103.

A. D. 1656. the restiveness of the Indians. Not only in the late Dutch war, but in a recent difficulty with Ninigrate, Sachem of Narraganset, Massachusetts was apprehensive of an open rupture with them.* It had been enjoined upon the colonists by the charter itself, to win the natives if possible to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour, and of the Christian faith, “by force of moral example and religious effort and instruction; and hence among other measures, the laws about this time were revised and improved, as well for their benefit as for perpetuating peace with them. No strong liquors, not even cider nor beer, might be sold to them; every trading house erected without legislative license was ordered to be demolished;† and if the cornfields and crops of the Indians were, even through insufficient fencing, wasted by the cattle of the planters, the town was obliged to repair the damage, and pocket the loss, unless it chose to pursue the owner for a remuneration. All trade with them, in furs, peltry, boats, or other water-craft,‡ was taken into the hands of the government; and Indian commissioners were designated by legal authority for a determination of all matters among themselves, which a single magistrate might decide among the English.§

A. D. 1657.
The Lygo-
nians.

In 1657, the inhabitants within the patent eastward of Saco, who had not taken the oath of allegiance, were summoned to appear for that purpose, before the County Court, at the June term in Yorkshire; to which, however, they paid no regard. They were then commanded to answer for their defaults, in October, before the General Court. To this requirement, they, through the agency of Cleaves, replied by way of a protest, against the legality of the legislative proceedings; complaining of them also as a grievance, and repeating their unchanging resolution, never to become the volunteers of subjugation. Met by an independence, or rather an obstinacy so persevering and unusual, the General Court told them, that nothing but equal justice and their own particular good were requested—objects which forbade violent measures, and if they should suffer through want of government or protection, the occasion and blame were imputable solely to their own indiscretion.

* Hutch. Coll. p. 270. † Col. Laws, p. 134. ‡ Act A. D. 1656.

§ 2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 334.—It is said one magistrate with such Indian commissioners had the jurisdiction of County Courts—causes among the Indians.

This legislative mildness and forbearance fortunately achieved A D. 1657. what was altogether unattainable by menaces, or acts of compulsion. When their resentments and prejudices were overcome, which had rendered them blind to their own interests ; they became sensible of their defenceless condition, and of the evident advantages resulting from a well-organized administration under a free and equal government ; and consequently entered upon the consideration of terms best calculated, to form and establish the anticipated union.

Jordan, Joscelyn and Bonython becoming at last outrageous in ^{The opposition.} their opposition, the two former were arrested by order of the General Court and carried before that body ; where they, for the sake of regaining their liberty, and avoiding fines, thought it most prudent to subscribe a humble submission ; and after taking the oath of allegiance, were discharged.*

But Bonython, who was not only guilty of the boldest contempts and defiance of government, but of the most flagrant abuses to several individuals, escaping, was able to elude the arm of justice ; and the General Court pronounced him an out law and rebel—to be pursued and treated as a common enemy of mankind ; yet respiting the penalties of out lawry to the first day of August ensuing, and offering a reward of £20 to any one, who would in the mean time bring him before that body. The next year he voluntarily appeared before the legislative Commissioners in Casco ; offering a “ full and satisfactory ” confession of his offences, and making a solemn avowal of his allegiance to Massachusetts ; and therefore the out lawry was rescinded.

Samuel Symonds, Thomas Wiggin, Nicholas Shapleigh and Edward Rishworth, who filled this commission, opened a session in *Lygonia*, July 13th, 1658, under legislative instructions to admit the remaining eastern inhabitants of the patent, to settle a government among them, and to give them a guaranty of rights enjoyed by other freemen of the colony. The place of meeting and holding their court was at the dwellinghouse of Robert Jordan in Spurwink. Here the male inhabitants of the plantations and islands appeared, among whom were Joscelyn, Cleaves and Jordan ; and after a mutual agreement upon the terms of union,

A. D. 1658.
People of
Lygonia
adopted by
Massachusetts.

* Sullivan, p. 371.

A.D. 1658. they and nearly thirty others took and subscribed* the freeman's oath.

In the articles of submission, and union it was stipulated and agreed ;—1, that all the people in these parts should be exonerated from their allegiance to Massachusetts, whenever a supreme or general Governor arrived from England :—2, that all their opposition and other past wrongs be pardoned and buried in oblivion :—3, that the same privileges be secured to them as were enjoyed by other towns, particularly Kittery and York :—4, that appeals be in all cases allowed to the General Court, when sufficient indemnity is offered for the payment of costs :—5, that none of the privileges hereby granted and secured, ever be forfeited by reason of any “ differences in matters of religion,” nor be affected otherwise than by known and established ordinances and penal laws, formally enacted by the General Court : and 6, that a transcript of the rights and privileges, generally possessed by other towns, be sent to these plantations and inhabitants.

Scarboro'. It was likewise ordained by the Court of Commissioners, that the places hitherto called Black-point and Blue-point with the adjacent islands from the Saco to the river Spurwink, be erected into a town by the name of SCARBOROUGH,† extending back from the seaboard eight miles into the country.

Falmouth. Also Spurwink and Casco bay, from the harbor side of Spur-

* Of the whole number twelve made their marks in hieroglyphical characters, after the manner of the natives, each mark being peculiarly his own, in contradistinction of all the others.—*Mass. Files.*

† *Scarborough*, (the 6th town,) has a large tract of salt marsh adjoining the sea ; the interior is sand ; and other places, clay or loam. Upon the rivers, is good intervale. From the eminence at Blue-point the prospect is elevated. The charter of the lands by Gorges was confirmed in 1684, to Joshua Scottow and Walter Gendell and others, by President Danforth. The records are continued from 1681 to 1688. In the former year there were 56 rateable polls. Henry Joscelyn was an early settler and an eminent man. He married the Widow Cammock whose husband was Patentee of the place, and left a large estate at Black-point. Scottow was a very generous and valuable man. He gave 100 acres of land towards building a fort near the first meeting-house. He was a magistrate under Danforth. In 1682 there was a vote of the town “ to raise 2s 1d on each person for the Lord,” and in 1685 another vote to build a meeting-house on the plains near the fort, which after a dispute was erected there agreeably to the determination of Edward Tyng and Francis Hook, two of the Provincial Council.—*MS. Let. Rev. Nathan Filton.*—See post, Vol. II. A. D. 1714.

wink river to the Clapboard Islands in that bay, extending back A. D. 1658. from the water eight miles, were formed into a town by the name of FALMOUTH.*

* *Falmouth*, the 7th town established in the State, was so called for one of that name in England. It extended from Spurwink river to North Yarmouth, about three miles eastward from the river Presumpscot; and about eight miles back from the sea-board, mean distance; embracing an area of 80 square miles; also Richmond's Island, and all the others opposite to the town upon the coast. The first resident within the limits of the town, was Walter Bagnall, who set up a trading house on that island in 1623, and was killed by Scitterygusset and an Indian party, three years afterwards. The Province of Lygonia, or Plough-patent, granted to Dye and others, by the Plymouth Council in 1630, was described as lying between the head-lands of Cape Elizabeth and Cape Porpoise; and between the coast and a back line 40 miles distant. The next summer a company of emigrants in the ship Plough visited it, but effected no settlement. Richard Tucker and George Cleaves had then been residing on the easterly side of the Spurwink, near its mouth, about a year. But they were interrupted by John Winter, agent of Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyeare, who obtained a patent from the Plymouth Council, Dec. 1, 1631, of the land from Spurwink river to Casco or Fore river—possibly to Presumpscot; therefore Tucker and Cleaves, in 1632, removed and settled on the south-westerly side of the peninsula, called by the English *Casco neck*, and by the Indians, *Machigonne*. Five years after, they obtained from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a deed of 1500 acres between Fore river and Back Cove, or Presumpscot; and Cleaves, moreover, received from Gorges an agency for "letting and settling any of the lands or islands between Cape Elizabeth and Sagadahock, and back 60 miles." The same year, 1632, Arthur Mackworth settled east of Presumpscot, near its mouth; and afterwards obtained a deed of 500 acres there, executed by Richard Vines, the agent of Sir Ferdinando. In 1640 there were nine families in ancient Falmouth, viz: at Spurwink or Richmond's Island, John Winter, and his subsequent son-in-law, Robert Jordan; upon the Neck, Tucker, Cleaves and Michael Mitten, the husband of Cleaves' only daughter; at Back cove, four; and one, at Presumpscot.

The administration of William Gorges, which was commenced at Saco, March 21, 1636, embraced not only Falmouth, but North Yarmouth and Pejepscot. So also did that established by Sir Ferdinando, under his charter of Maine, granted A. D. 1639. But in 1643, April 7, Lygonia being assigned to Sir Alexander Rigby—Cleaves was appointed his deputy-president; and four years afterwards, the validity of the title was confirmed to the assignee. The seat of the Lygonian government was Casco neck; its jurisdiction extended from Kennebunk to Westecustego [North Yarmouth] inclusive; and its form was probably imitative of that in Massachusetts. The Provincial *Assistants* to the deputy-president in 1643, were Robert Boothe and Peter Hill of Saco, Henry Watts of Scarboro', William Royall and John Cossons of the plantation, now North Yarmouth. In July, 1658, Falmouth submitted to become a part of the Massachusetts jurisdiction.

A. D. 1638. These two towns had the privilege of sending one, or if they pleased, two deputies to the General Court; and of having Commissioners' Courts vested with power to try all causes without a jury, where the damages or sums demanded, did not exceed

Their
rights.

The first representative to the General Court from Falmouth, was George Cleaves in 1663 and 4.

But during the latter year, the King's Commissioners, June 23, assumed the government of the Province, and appointed George Mountjoy of Casco, one of the Provincial Justices. The Province of Maine was now bisected by Kennebunk river into two Divisions, the *eastern* and *western*, and Courts subsequently holden at Falmouth and York, by the Justices appointed for the whole Province. In 1666, if not before, Juries were empanelled, and justice regularly administered. The last General Court, under the authority of the King's Commissioners, was holden in May, 1668; when Massachusetts resumed the government of Maine, and Francis Neale was chosen one of the Associates.

At the commencement of the first Indian war, 1675, there were in Falmouth 46 families, viz: on the east side of Presumpscot, 9; on the west side of the river, 7; around Back cove, 10; at Capissic, towards Stroudwater, 5; on the Neck, 4; in Purpoodic, 9; and at Spurwink, 2, viz: Robert Jordan and Walter Gendell; 40 houses, 80 militia, and 400 inhabitants. In August (11th) of that year the town was assailed by the Indians, when 34 of the inhabitants were slain and 17 taken prisoners. The survivors upon the neck retired to Jewel's Island, and other places, and did not return to their desolate habitations till the peace of Casco was concluded April 12, 1678.

After the purchase of Maine by Massachusetts, a provincial government was established under the presidency of Thomas Danforth, in 1680—1; and *Fort Loyal*, located on the south-westerly shore of the Peninsula, [at the end of King's street,] was rendered defensible, and a garrison manned with 13 men, and furnished with munitions of war. A General Assembly was first holden at York, March 30, 1680, by the President, Council and deputies from all the towns, except from Cape Porpoise, Scarboro' and Falmouth; Walter Gendell appearing from the latter town was disallowed a seat because he had no certificate of his election. Anthony Bracket was appointed Lieutenant and Thaddeus Clark, Ensign of Falmouth company, and the next year the former was the deputy to the General Assembly. In 1688, at the beginning of the second Indian war, there were in town, 6 or 700 inhabitants. In May, 1690, the town was furiously assailed by the French and Indians, and on the 20th the garrison capitulated; and ill-fated Falmouth lay waste and desolate till the close of the war. See post Vol. II. A. D. 1714.—N. B. While this history was in press, the 1st vol. of Coll. of Maine Hist. Soc. was given to the public; in which is the first part of the History of Portland, "compiled by William Willis, Esq."—evidence of thorough research, and written in a perspicuous and energetic style. From this the preceding topographical notice of Falmouth is taken.

£50. Those appointed to this trust for the ensuing year were A. D. 1658. Messrs. Joscelyn, Jordan, Cleaves, Watts and Neal; and each of them was moreover invested with the same power as single magistrates, to determine small causes of 40s. and to solemnize marriages according to law.

In session they were authorized to approve and sanction the nomination or choice of all military officers under the rank of captain; to grant administrations and perform all other probate business cognizable by the County Courts in other shires; and in conjunction with four Associates chosen annually by the freemen, to hold a County Court with juries, every year, in the month of September, either in Saco or Scarborough, the day and place to be designated by the associates, and promulgated by the recorder, six weeks before the term. All other inhabitants who had not appeared, were upon their request, to be admitted to the rights of freemen before any three of the commissioners, upon taking the oath of allegiance.*

Falmouth and Scarborough were declared to be a part of York-shire; and were severally required forthwith to mark and establish their boundaries, and to furnish themselves with "the Book of the Laws."†

The legislative commissioners made a report of their proceedings, under date, July 14, 1658, to the General Court; when that body tendered them an expression of public thanks for their

* The first two ministers of Casco, were of the episcopal communion. *Rev. Richard Gibson* came over early in 1637, and preached at this place, Portsmouth and Isles of Shoals, about five or six years before he returned.—*Rev. Robert Jordan*, arrived here A. D. 1640, at the age of 28, lived in the country 39 years, mostly at Spurwink, occasionally preaching and administering the ordinances under the episcopal form, for 36 years, except when silenced by Massachusetts. He died at Portsmouth A. D. 1679, aged 68; leaving his widow and six sons a large landed estate at Cape Elizabeth, Spurwink and Scarborough.—*Rev. George Burroughs* graduated at Harvard University, 1670, began to preach at Falmouth 1674. His house was south of the stone meeting-house;—from which he was driven by the Indians, in 1676. He returned in 1683; and "when the town was sacked by the Indians, in 1690, Mr. Burroughs made his retreat to Danvers;" and two years afterwards he suffered at Salem for witchcraft. See post, A. D. 1692.

† The laws were printed in 1660, and sent to every town in the government.—2 *Mass. Rec.* p. 462.

A. D. 1658. services, and ordered the charges of the commission, being £44, 10s. 8d. to be paid out of the colony-treasury.*

A case of jurisdiction.

It being supposed that the jurisdiction of a large tract at Pejepscot belonged to Massachusetts, in virtue of a conveyance made, A. D. 1639, by Thomas Purchas, the original proprietor and settler,† the question was virtually determined in a suit at law.—One Elizabeth Way‡ pleaded him, before the County Court of Yorkshire, in an action which was tried by the jury, on an issue in abatement to their jurisdiction, as a matter of fact. The verdict being in his favor, the Court refused to have it recorded, and he appealed to the General Court. Here it was decided, that inasmuch as the plantation of Pejepscot, where Purchas lived, was not really within the patent of Massachusetts, though hers by deed, the cause was not cognizable by her courts; and it was dismissed.

A petition from Maine to Cromwell.

Strengthened by the accession of the eastern Lygonia to Yorkshire, the inhabitants of York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and Cape Porpoise, presented their memorial to Lord Cromwell, Oct. 27th, expressive of the satisfaction they felt in the government as administered by Massachusetts, with a request for its uninterrupted continuance. ‘Our numbers, said they, are few ‘and our dissensions, which have been many, owing principally to ‘malcontent royalists, are happily quieted by wholesome laws ‘and watchful rulers. Through their provident care, godly persons have been encouraged to settle among us, our affairs have ‘become prosperous, and a barrier is opposed to an influx upon us, ‘of “delinquents and other ill-affected persons,”—the fugitives of ‘punishment. Our pious and reverend friend, Mr. John Wheelwright, sometime with us, is now in England, whose thorough ‘knowledge of our affairs, he will, at your Highness’ command, ‘be happy to communicate.’§

Wheelwright’s agency.

Wheelwright, while there, lived in the neighborhood of Sir Henry Vane, who had been his patron in this country, and now took great notice of him. Through his instrumentality, the former being introduced to the Protector, says, “all his speeches

* 2 Mass. Rec. p. 410—412.

† 1 Haz. Coll. p. 457.—Ante, A. D. 1642.

‡ Probably the widow of George Way, co-patentee originally with Purchas. Eleazer, George’s son, in 1683, made a conveyance to Richard Wharton.

§ Hutch. Coll. p. 314—316.

“seemed to me, very orthodox and gracious. He spake very
 “experimentally, to my apprehension, of the work of God’s
 “grace ; and knowing what opposition I met withal from some
 “whom I shall not name, exhorted me to perseverance.
 “Stand fast (said he) in the Lord, and you shall see that these
 “afflictions will vanish into nothing.”*—Mr. Wheelwright, was a
 well-chosen agent for the memorialists, to appear before the
 ruler of England,—able and cheerful to represent their condition
 to the best advantage.

In 1659, Falmouth and Scarborough, joining, elected Ed-
 ward Rishworth, an inhabitant of York, their first deputy to the
 General Court ; and Saco about the same time, being admitted
 to the same privilege, elected Robert Boothe. The delegation
 from Yorkshire now consisted of five members, and might be
 ten. The assistants designated, this year, to preside in the
 County Court of Yorkshire, were Thomas Danforth, and Thomas
 Wiggin ;† and the people of Maine and Lygonia, in their con-
 nexion with Massachusetts, enjoyed peace and prosperity several
 years. In the County Court holden at Scarborough in Sept. of
 this year, Henry Joscelyn, Nicholas Shapleigh, Robert Jordan,
 Edward Rishworth and Abraham Preble were Associates. It had
 been so arranged, that one term should be holden, annually, in
 the *western*, and the other in the *eastern*, division or part of
 Yorkshire.‡

A. D. 1659.
Deputies.

Yorkshire
Court.

* Wheelwrights’ letter.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 170.

† Capt. Wiggin resided at Dover N. H.—an assistant from 1650 to 1664,
 in the government of Massachusetts, N. Hampshire and Maine united.

‡ The associates in 1660 and 1661, were the same as in 1659,—“chosen
 “by the votes of the major part of the freemen of this county for the
 “ensuing year.”

CHAPTER XIV.

Charles II. restored to the British throne—Lygonia lost to the heirs of Rigby—Mason and Gorges claim their respective Provinces—Gorges opposed—Isles of Shoals formed into a town by the name of Appledore—The ministry thereof of the Rev. Mr. Brock—Messrs. Jordan and Thorpe silenced—Decision in favor of Gorges' claim—Symptoms of revolution there—Yorkshire Court and trials—Temple re-commissioned Governor of Nova Scotia—Maine restored to Gorges—Project of Gen. Government revived—The Hudson and Sagadahock countries granted to the Duke of York—The extent and name of his eastern Province—Dutch at Hudson subdued by an English force—Four Commissioners appointed to settle difficulties in New-England—Their altercations with the General Court—Nichols proceeds to New-York, and the others eastward.

A. D. 1660.
Restoration
of Charles
II.

ALL political changes in England were, at this period, felt to the remote parts of her colonies. The restoration of Charles II. to the throne, in May, 1660,* was a memorable event, which greatly revived the desponding hopes and courage of the episcopalians and royalists, as well on this as that side of the water; and in like proportion filled their opponents with anxieties and fears. In a triumph after so severe a struggle of twenty years, it was apprehended, that foes could expect no favors and friends no denials.

Lygonia
lost to Rig-
by's heirs.

The counter claimants of Maine saw their interests suspended upon the vicissitudes of the times. Edward Rigby, the son of Sir Alexander, was the lawful heir to Lygonia. His influence with the Protector might have been sufficient to paralyze the exertions of Massachusetts, in her subjugation of his province, had he not been an episcopalian, and the associate of Gorges in the opposition. His rights, as once established, might in better days have been recovered; but they were now wholly disregarded. The distinguished part, which his father had taken in the civil

* The population of the colonies at this time was about 80,000 souls, in Virginia 30,000, Maryland 12,000, New-England 38,000, besides 5,000 in Maine.

wars was well remembered. Always himself strongly attached to A. D. 1660. the interests of the republicans, he durst not appear before the throne to solicit justice, much less to ask favor; and his patent sunk into oblivion. Nay, all attempts afterwards made by heirs and agents to derive some advantage from it, proved utterly abortive, and the loss was total.

But Robert Tufton, grandson of John Mason by his daughter Anne, having taken his surname and being a royalist, lost no time in laying his rights of proprietorship to *New-Hamp-*^{New-Hampshire.} *shire* before the king, and urging his complaints against Massachusetts, for her encroachments. Immediately the subject was referred to the King's attorney-general, who decided, Nov. 8th, that Robert [Tufton] Mason "had a good right and title to the Province." He also claimed *Masonia*, a territory in Maine of ^{Masonia.} 10,000 acres, situated eastward of Sagadahock, on which there had been inhabitants twenty-five years. The settlement was commenced at Nauseag, [in Woolwich.] under an Indian deed of Nov. 1, 1639, to Bateman and Brown,—a title which has prevailed against all others; so that neither the devisees in Mason's will, nor his heirs, however much they were the subjects of royal favor, could ever derive any benefit from this tract.*

The Province of *Maine* was claimed by Ferdinando Gorges, ^{Gorges claims Maine.} a grandson of the original proprietor, through his oldest son John. Discouraged by his father's misfortunes, or the turbulence of the times, John took little or no care of the Province; nor do we hear any thing memorable of him, nor yet of his son Ferdinando, till shortly before the restoration. In 1659, the latter published a *History of New-England*, which was compiled by his grandfather and improved by himself, and which, though a small volume, contains much rare and curious matter.† From the well known devotedness of his family and himself to the royal cause, and the politics of the ministry, he might make large calculations upon court-favor. For the same reasons, Massachusetts might apprehend the utmost from his influence and resentments.

His principal agent in Maine, and informant, was Edward Godfrey, a man of some abilities and education, but whose peculiar

* 1 Haz. Coll. p. 398 — 1 Belk. N. H. p. 89.

† It is in two parts—viz. "A brief Narrative," &c.; and "A Narrative," &c. of New-England—one of 51 and the other of 57 8vo. pages.

A. D. 1660. characteristics seem to have been an aspiring, restless ambition, and a studied dissimulation. Besides a residence in the Province, twenty five years, he had been some time Deputy-Governor ; and though he had taken the oath of allegiance to Massachusetts, and accepted an office under her government, he was still an adversary to her measures and interests.* Obtaining of the Lord Protector no redress of his pretended grievances, he actually went to England during the short administration of his son ; and in 1659, had his complaints referred to a committee of investigation.†

Opposed by
the Provin-
cials.

Unexpectedly he was encountered there, by a representation from the inhabitants of several towns in the eastern province ; in which they stated, that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts had been extended to them by their own request ; that they had enjoyed great privileges, prosperity and contentment under her government ; and that the exchange of acceptable and watchful rulers, for men of doubtful character and slender abilities to govern them, would fearfully bring upon them a return of all the evils, which they had experienced from civil dissensions and anarchy in former years.

The petitions and complaints of Gorges, prosecuted principally by Godfrey, and espoused zealously by Mason, had been presented to the king in council, and to parliament, and referred to a legislative committee of seven. Hence a citation to all concerned, ‘ was posted by the memorialists at the exchange in London.’

Addresses
of the Gen.
Court to
King and
Parliament.

Aware of these proceedings, the General Court in December, presented addresses both to the king and parliament. In one, they congratulated him on his restoration to the throne of his fathers, and besought him not to permit unfavorable impressions to be made “ upon his royal heart,” by their accusers, till opportunity was allowed for defence ; and in the other, they said they had extended their jurisdiction over the eastern plantations upon request of the inhabitants, after a careful survey of the patent, without any design improperly to enlarge their own dominions, much less to impair the rights of any man.‡

The Isles of Shoals, attached partly to Maine, and partly to

* Hutch. Coll. p. 322.

† Hutch. Coll. p. 317.

‡ Hutch. Coll.—The General Court also sent letters to several noblemen and others “ praying them to intercede in behalf of the colony.”—*1 Hutch. Hist. p. 194.*

New-Hampshire, were at this period inhabited by about forty A. D. 1661. families. Being places of note and great resort, the General Court, in May 1661, incorporated them into a town by the name of ^{Isles of Shoals called Ap-}APPLEDORE, and invested it with the powers and privileges ^{pleadore.} of other towns. As before stated, the first settlers and their descendants were a moral and industrious people, distinguished for their intelligence and love of justice and the christian ordinances.*

The pious and popular ministry of the Rev. John Brock, ^{Rev. J. Brock.} among these islanders, for twelve years from 1650, is worthy of particular notice. He came to New-England when a youth, and was one of the graduates at Harvard College, in 1647. From early life, he was distinguished for his remarkable piety; and in the pastoral office, he has been compared to the martyr Stephen, "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost." His animated discourses and frequent lectures excited and kept alive a glow of religious feeling in the heart; and gave a high relish to public worship. In his pastoral visits, his happy talent in conversation rendered him engaging and instructive to every capacity. A couple of anecdotes show some peculiarities of this godly man.

A fisherman of generous disposition, whose boat had been of great use in helping the people from the Islands to the house of worship on the Sabbath, had the misfortune in a storm to lose it. While regretting his loss, the man of God said to him, *Go home contented, good Sir, I'll mention the matter to the Lord,—tomorrow you may expect to find your boat.*—Considering its particular service to the poor, he made it a subject of prayer; and the next day, it was brought up from the bottom, by the flukes of an anchor, and restored to him.—One Arnold's child of six years old, lay extremely sick, if not really dead. Mr. Brock, supposing he could perceive some possible signs of life, arose, and with his usual faith and fervor, prayed for its restoration; using these words towards the close, *O Lord, be pleased to give some token before we leave prayer, that thou wilt spare the child's life. Until it be granted we cannot leave thee:—*and the child sneezed, and afterwards recovered.†

* Ante, A. D. 1639.

† *Mather's Magnalia*, p. 32.—7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 254.—He died at Reading, 1688, aged 68.

A. D. 1661. Quite the reverse was the character of Robert Jordan. He had given Massachusetts repeated trouble; and now the political changes evidently emboldened him in his irregularities. On a Sabbath after the close of public worship he presumed to baptize in Falmouth three children, though he was not then in priest's orders, having been suspended by Massachusetts. As he and Wales, their father, were holding offices under that colony, the General Court thought it their duty to make an example of the assuming man; and after giving him a severe reprimand, commanded him to transgress no more. The same Body also suspended one Thorpe from preaching, till his misdeeds could undergo a legal investigation before the County Court of Yorkshire. In fact, so powerful a preventive of "disorder, ignorance, and profaneness," was "an able and orthodox ministry" thought to be at this period, that the Legislature in 1661, enjoined upon Wells, Saco, and Scarborough, to procure religious instructors of that character, otherwise they must expect to suffer the animadversions of the law.*

Decision in
favor of Ma-
son, Gorges
and others.

The committee of Parliament, reported upon the representations of Mason, Gorges, Godfrey and others, that they were the lawful proprietors of extensive tracts in New-England, and had expended large sums of money in settling them;—that the latter, a zealous friend and uniform supporter of the known laws of the realm, who had resided in the territories of Maine twenty-five years, and been a considerable part of that period, Governor of the Province, had been displaced from that office, and dispossessed of his lands and estate, about the year 1652, by the government of Massachusetts, which after stretching their patent three score miles beyond its settled bounds, had made actual encroachments upon the eastern plantations, and compelled them "by menaces and armed forces," to submit to the usurped authorities of that colony; that her inhabitants had been a long time, endeavoring to model themselves into a Commonwealth, independent of the crown, exacting oaths inconsistent with their allegiance, issuing writs in their own name, coining money, and disallowing appeals to England; and that in the opinion of many witnesses, Mason and Godfrey have themselves been damnified

* Mass. Rec. p. 472, 482—185.—3 Ib. p. 5, 13.

at least £5,000, with what pretence of right, your committee A. D. 1662. have been unable to ascertain.*

Nevertheless, the General Court received from Charles a gracious answer to their addresses, proclaimed him king, August 7th, and according to his requirement sent to England two agents, viz : Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton.† These men, though well received, returned early the next summer, bringing with them the act of uniformity, by which about 2000 dissenting ministers were removed from their livings ; and also the King's letter, by which the charter of Massachusetts was fully confirmed.‡ It moreover ordered justice to be administered in his name ; the book of the common prayer to be used whenever wished ; the admission of any persons to the Lord's supper, who were sustaining fair characters, also their children to baptism ; and the permission of all freeholders, having competent estates, to vote in elections, without regard to their religious persuasions. All these, which had in general been previously conceded to the people of Maine, were, with no unnecessary delay, allowed in practice, or subsequently sanctioned by enactments of the General Court.

Charles
proclaimed.
His require-
ments.

The symptoms of revolution in Maine appeared every where strong. Although the towns, including Appledore, might send ten or eleven deputies to the General Court, not one this spring was returned. The body politic was dissolving ; many men of influence discovering great defection to Massachusetts. Indeed, it is said, that Gorges had resumed the Government of the Province by appointing several men to office ;§ and was united with others, in urging the king to commission and send over a Governor-General of New-England including New-York.

Revolution
in Maine.

To counteract these movements, the General Court displaced Nicholas Shapleigh, and appointed William Phillips of Saco, Major-commandant of the provincial militia ; and before the usual

Opposed by
Massachu-
setts

* 1 Belk. N. H. app. p. 300.

† 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 199—200.

‡ *Answer entire*—Hutch. Coll. p. 377—80.—The associates in 1662 were Henry Joscelyn, A. Preble, Ed. Rishworth, Humphrey Chadbourn and George Mountjoy.

§ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 234.—Note—The agent of Gorges, Mr. J. Archdale came into Maine with commissions to F. Champernoon, Robert Cutts and T. Withers of Kittery, E. Rishworth and F. Raynes of York, J. Bowles of Wells, F. Hooke of Saco, H. Watts of Blue-point, H. Joscelyn of Blackpoint, R. Jordan of Spurwink, Francis Neal of Casco and Thomas Purchas of Pejepscot, as councillors or magistrates.

A D. 1663. time of holding the County Court in Yorkshire, directed Richard Waldron of Dover (N. H.) to preside and discharge the ordinary business of the term. The Legislature furthermore sent a precept to the people of Maine, which was promulgated through the recorder and the constables, to all the towns. It was in these words :—

“To the Inhabitants of Yorkshire.”

“You and every of you are hereby required in his Majesty’s name, to yield faithful and true obedience to the government of this jurisdiction, established amongst you, according to your covenant articles, until his Majesty’s pleasure be further known.”*

Early the next year, Massachusetts, in support of her authority, sent them a mandatory address, by which they were required to choose associates, clerks of the writs, jurors, town commissioners, and constables ; to yield due obedience to the laws and the legislative commissioners ; and to discharge their duties with fidelity whether official or civil. The excitement had now in a good degree abated. Three deputies were returned to the General Court from the Province, viz ; Roger Plaisted for Kittery, Edward Rishworth for York, and George Cleaves for Falmouth and Scarborough.

Trials of offenders.

The Assistants, Thomas Danforth, William Hawthorne, and Eleazer Lusher, who were appointed to hold the Yorkshire Court this year, were instructed to confirm any officer, whether civil or military, whom they could approve ; and to punish every one pretending to possess or exercise adverse civil authority, unless he could show it derived immediately from the king.†

Complaints, unusual in number and novel in character, were presented to this court, many of which were the fruits of the late disturbances. Some ten or twelve were fined or otherwise punished, for acts of opposition to the government of Massachusetts ; and several for their contemptuous or slanderous abuses of its authority or officers. James Wiggin, being indicted for swearing with a profane oath, *that if his trencher of fish was poisoned, he would give it to the ‘Bay magistrates,’* was tried and

* 3 Mass. Rec. p. 53—53.

† 3 Mass. Rec. p. 59.—The associates, in 1663, were George Mountjoy, Humphrey Chadbourn, and Edward Rishworth.—A fine was imposed upon Robert Ford for saying ‘John Cotton was a liar and had gone to hell.’—Sullivan, p. 373.

sentenced to pay a fine and give bonds for his good behavior. A. D. 1663 When arraigned, he protested against the jurisdiction of the court, and said he was a marshal under Gorges, and they had no right to try him.—William Hilton of Cape Porpoise, was found guilty of *tearing a seal from the warrant, issued for choosing a deputy to the General Court*, and for this contempt of authority he was fined.* Even the town of Scarborough, as a municipal corporation, was fined for acts of disobedience; and unhappily among those who were arraigned, censured and fined for offences of this class and character, was Francis Champernoon, who had been a councillor under Gorges' charter; Robert Jordan, the episcopal minister at Spurwink; Maj. Shapleigh, who had commanded the Yorkshire regiment of militia and been an associate, and Francis Small who was a man of wealth and enterprise.†

The dissensions and conflicts about the political powers, rights, and will of competitors, which always weaken the foundations of society, had in the present instance an effect to bring into doubt the validity of many land-titles and grants. To prevent disquietude therefore, the General Court, in 1663, confirmed to the ter-tenants nearly all the lands in Falmouth, and seem to have allowed purchases to be made of the Indians. Nicholas Shapleigh and Francis Small, about this time, purchased of them a large tract between the Ossipee rivers, which have ever since been holden under their deeds.

For the purpose of enabling the rulers and proprietors of Nova Scotia or Acadia, after the conquest by Cromwell's orders, to defray the expenses of supporting the provincial government and garrisons; it was generally expected, that they were to have the exclusive control and profits of the Indian trade.‡ This privilege, the General Court of Massachusetts fully confirmed, by passing a penal act against transgressors; and for several years, the intercourse and commerce, coastwise, between New-England

* R. Boothe was presented by the grand jury, for saying of the Bay magistrates "they are a company of hypocritical rogues: they fear neither God nor the king."

† Sullivan.—There were a great number of other presentments by the Grand Jury for acts of opposition to the Massachusetts government. R. Jordan was presented for saying among other things, "the Governor of Boston is a rogue, and all the rest thereof rebels and traitors against the king."—*Folsom*, p 92—3. ‡ 1 Hutch. Coll. p. 254: A. D. 1654.

A. D. 1663. and the province while Col. Temple was Governor, was pursued with mutual benefit and friendship. The generous dispositions and acknowledged abilities and merits of that gentleman, secured to him great credit and confidence among all parties. He seems to have been one who escaped the umbrage both of republicans and royalists. After discharging the duties of Governor, with so much reputation under the Protector, he was re-commissioned by the king, July 17, 1662, to the same office, with an equally extensive jurisdiction, from the eastern extremity of the great peninsula to "Muscongus on the confines of New-England," which he had previously possessed. The crown also secured to him an exclusive trade with the natives in his Province, and armed him with power to seize all persons found violating his rights, to confiscate their vessels and goods, and, after notice, to treat them as a common enemy. Also the General Court, ever desirous to promote a friendly correspondence with the Governor, strictly forbade all violations of his rights, and gave him and his attorney the power and privilege of prosecuting offenders in any courts of the colony.*

The king
and New-
England.

Charles and the New-England puritans from the commencement of his reign, cherished a mutual fear and dislike of each other. He suspected their loyalty and attachment; they, his disposition to assail their privileges. His ear was always open to accusers, while he was half-deaf to all the prayers and defensive reasons and truths they could offer. So violent and successful were the persecutions against the rights and claims of Massachusetts in particular, that she not only feared the loss of New-Hampshire and Maine, but began to be apprehensive of having her own Charter taken from her. Therefore, the General Court appointed a committee of both branches, to keep it and a duplicate in separate places, thought by them the most safe and secure.†

A. D. 1664.
Maine or-
dered to be
restored to
Gorges.

On the 11th of January, 1664, Gorges obtained from the king an order to the Governor and Council of that colony, by which they were required forthwith to restore unto him his Province, and give him quiet possession of it; or else without delay assign their reasons for withholding it.‡ It was also rumored that several

* 3 Mass. Rec. p. 56-7.

† 3 Ib. p. 89.—1 Hutch. Hist. p. 210—11.—Chalmers, p. 254.

‡ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 234.—Note.

armed ships were preparing to cross the Atlantic, in which some A. D. 1664. gentlemen of distinction were to embark, and among them probably, a Governor-General of New-England.

The project of forming an American Empire, embracing twelve <sup>Project of an A. Em-
pire.</sup> royal principalities, or Provinces, was revived soon after the restoration, and had been hitherto zealously pursued. To effectuate so important an establishment, and pacify conflicting and persevering petitioners, the king saw the necessity of reducing under his subjection the Dutch upon the Hudson, and of settling the troublesome controversies in the eastern colonies of New-England;—both which he undertook to accomplish.

In the first place, his Majesty, March 12, 1664, granted to his <sup>Charter to
the Duke of
York.</sup> brother James, Duke of York and Albany, all the Dutch territories upon the river Hudson, including Long Island, which he purchased of Henry, Earl of Sterling, son of Sir William Alexander, the original owner and patentee of Nova Scotia;—to all which was given the name of New-York.* In negotiating with his lordship, the Duke became acquainted with the supposed western parts and limits of the Nova Scotia Province; and finding no royal grant extant, which covered the territory between St. Croix and Pemaquid, except those which were made when the New-England grand patent was dissolved, and the twelve royal Provinces or divisions were projected and assigned, A. D. 1635; he caused this region to be inserted in the charter to James. It had been named the “County of Canada,” and was intended for Sir William, in lieu of Nova Scotia, which had been taken from him by the crown and ceded to France.†

In the Duke’s charter now granted, the territory is described ^{Sagadahock.} to be “all that part of the main land in New-England, beginning “at a place known by the name of *St. Croix*, next adjoining to “New-England; thence extending along the seacoast to a place “called *Pemaquid* and up the river thereof to its farthest head, “as it tendeth northward; thence at the nearest to the river “Kennebeck; and so upwards, by the shortest course to the “river Canada, northward.”‡

This, besides being denominated ‘*The Duke of York’s Property*,’ has been called “THE TERRITORY OF SAGADAHOCK:”

* 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 187.

† See ante, A. D. 1635.

‡ 1 Trumbull’s Conn. p. 266.

A. D. 1664. But the Duke's agents called it "*New-Castle*," being the same name given to the south-western section of his patent on the Delaware. They also called it the '*County of Cornwall*.'*—By his thus becoming the territorial proprietor of these eastern and western regions of Sagadahock and New-York; the foundation was deeply laid for his appointment to the high office of viceroy over the whole intermediate country.†

The Duke, who was afterwards James II., continued his claim to his Sagadahock territory about 25 years, until his abdication; when it reverted to the crown of England.

The Duke's
patent.

This was a great encroachment upon the jurisdiction of Sir Thomas Temple, Governor of Nova-Scotia. Besides, if a line were stretched from the head of Pemaquid westward to Kennebeck, it would cross the Damariscotta and Sheepscot at the upper falls, of those two rivers, and terminate at the Kennebeck nearly opposite the foot of Swan Island; and in this way, the eastern moiety of the Plymouth claim above that place, would fall within the Duke's patent. It also embraced the greater part of the Pemaquid patent or "Drowne claim;" all the "Brown" and some of the "Tappan right;" and the whole of the Muscongus patent, to Beauchamp and Leverett.‡ The numerous islands along the seacoast are supposed likewise to be included, some of which were inhabited. The advancements in population, improvement and wealth of these eastern plantations, though they were settled early,§ had been quite gradual—probably owing in part to the evils suffered through inefficient legal regulations; and therefore we find substantial reasons, why the people of the new Province were less opposed to a ducal or royal government.

Conquest of
the Dutch
colonists.

To subdue the Dutch Colonists at New-York, upon whom the duke was looking with the greater jealousy and dislike, on account of their dissenting religious sentiments; the king despatched thither four frigates and about 300 men, under the command of Colonel Richard Nichols, and Sir Robert Carr. Unprepared

* 1 Doug. Summ. p. 381.—1 Trum. Conn. p. 266.

† Sullivan, p. 285.—Hutch. Coll. 422.

‡ See an account of these Grants and Rights, ante, Chap. iii. A. D. 1620–31, chap. v. A. D. 1637;—viii. A. D. 1650.

§ *Walter Phillips* lived at Damariscotta lower falls, (New-Castle); *A. Shurte* at Pemaquid; *John Brown*, at New Harbor; *Sander Gould*, at Broad Cove, on Broad Bay; *George Davie*, at Wiscasset point; and *John Mason*, at Sheepscot Great Neck—men frequently mentioned in this age.

to resist a force so formidable, or to repel an attack so sudden A.D. 1664. and unexpected, the garrison capitulated, August 27th, and Nichols assumed the government of the Province, as Deputy-Governor under his Royal Highness;*—claiming the command also of his eastern territories at Sagadahock.

Moreover, to settle the pretended controversies in the interior of New-England; to bring those to justice, who had traduced the government of the realm, and brought the ‘christian religion into discredit among the gentile or savage inhabitants of the land;’ and to ascertain more perfectly the state and condition of his loyal subjects in the colonies; the king, on the 15th of April, appointed Messrs. Nichols and Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Commissioners, and empowered them to hear and determine all complaints, appeals, and other matters coming before them, whether civil, military, or criminal—to proceed therein “according to their good and sound discretion,” and thus “settle the peace and security of the country.”†

* Smith’s N. Y. p. 11—22.—See 5 Hume, p. 435—7.—1 Hutch. Hist. p. 212, 289 —Chalmers, p. 386.

† See this commission entire.—1 *Hutch. Hist. App.*—No. XV. p. 459–60. *Hubbard’s N. E.* p. 577–8.—2 *Haz. Coll.* p. 638.—*Nichols* was a military officer of experience, and possessed a generous disposition, a weight of character, and a versatility of talents, which eminently qualified him to be placed at the head of the commission. He was the most popular of the four; and no decision of the others without him was to be valid. *Carr*, a high-toned royalist and episcopalian, was violent in his feelings and supercilious in his deportment—a man nowise fitted for his station. He died immediately on his return home, three years after his appointment, and thus was buried in oblivion all the philippics he had prepared against the colonies. *Cartwright*, though “naturally morose, saturnine and suspicious,” possessed an energy of intellect which brought him into the commission, and qualified him for the discharge of difficult public business. On his homeward passage, he was made prisoner by the Dutch, and all his papers, including his note-book, designed by him to be used against the colonies, were taken from him, which he was never afterwards able to recover. *Maverick*, an inhabitant of Massachusetts, was a stubborn and restless royalist, greatly disaffected towards his countrymen, both on account of their puritan principles and their blindness to his merits. He had spent two years in England after the restoration, constantly informing against the colony government, and urging the necessity of this commission. As a reward for his works, he was appointed one of the board. The last act of *Maverick*, mentioned, was his bearing a message, three years afterwards from Colonel Nichols at New-York to the government at Boston. *Maverick’s* wife was the daughter of Rev. John Wheelwright of Wells.

A. D. 1664.
Their ser-
vices.

When Col Nichols was at Boston, July 23d, on his way from England to New-York, he made public the Commission; and hence it soon became known throughout New-England.* Great and unhappy overturns were apprehended: nevertheless, the Bostonians adopted some measures to favor the expedition against the Dutch, which however, was 'crowned with success before 'the auxiliaries were embodied.'†

A. D. 1665.

Having settled the government of New-York, the Commissioners proceeded to Boston in February, where they were received with undissembled jealousy, and were soon encountered with direct opposition. For the General Court at a previous session in August, after resolving in a formal manner "to bear "true allegiance to his Majesty," determined "to adhere to their "patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed;" and addressed a memorial to the king, urging the validity of their chartered rights, which he himself had been pleased to sanction, and complaining to him of a commission, filled with strangers and foes, whose only limits of power and rules of conduct were their own "dis-
"cretion." 'Under the present administration, our people,' said the Court, 'enjoy great contentment with a few exceptions; and 'what government under heaven, they enquired, ever long existed 'entirely free of discontented spirits and disturbers of the 'peace.'‡

May 1.

About the first of May, the Commissioners entered upon the discharge of their trust, and communicated their *Instructions*.§ By these, they said, it is manifest, that the king was so far from abridging any concessions or rights in the charter, that he was ready to enlarge or alter them "for the prosperity of the colony;" and he had even directed them to remove every jealousy existing between king and people. With this view, they thought it their duty to enquire how the *acts of trade* have been regarded; to look into the colonial laws, the education of youth, and the titles and claims to lands; and furthermore to examine into their treaties with the Indians, and the provision made for their instruction.

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 581.—1 Hutch. Hist. p. 211-229.—App. p. 460-4.
—Morton's Mem. p. 187.

† Chalmers, p. 573.—Carr and Maverick arrived at Piscataqua about the same time.

‡ 1 Hutchinson's Hist. p. 213.

§ Chalmers, p. 888-9.

A conference between them and the General Court, soon de- A. D. 1665.
 generated into downright altercation, and at last, the Commis-
 sioners plainly asked the Court,—“Do you acknowledge the Opposition
of the
General
Court.
 “royal Commission to be of full force to all the purposes con-
 tained in it?”—To this pointed and embarrassing enquiry, the
 two branches excused themselves from giving a direct answer:—
 We prefer, said they, “to plead his Majesty’s charter” through
 which the civil power flows to this colony.—The Commissioners
 then endeavored to hear a complaint against the Governor and
 company, but they were prevented by the General Court, which,
 with characteristic vigor, manifested their opposition by ordering
 a sound of trumpet, and prohibited the people from abetting a
 course of conduct, so inconsistent with their duty to God and
 their allegiance to the king.* In short, to such a height were
 the debates ultimately carried by the parties, in contrasting the
 king’s Commission and Instructions with the Royal Charter and
 its rights, that the Commissioners thought it most expedient to
 break off the discussion. Nichols returned to New-York, and
 the others abruptly left Boston, early in June, for New-Hamp-
 shire, Maine and Sagadahock;†—denouncing upon the colonists
 and government of Massachusetts the doom due to rebels and
 traitors.

With the Commissioners, John Joscelyn says, came John Arch-
 dale, the agent of Mr. Gorges bringing orders relative to the
 Province of Maine, and a letter to Massachusetts, from his Ma-
 jesty, by which she was required to restore the possession and
 government of it to the proprietor. Archdale on his arrival, vis-
 ited every town in the Province, and granted commissions to
 Henry Joscelyn of Black-point, Robert Jordan of Spurwink,
 Edward Rishworth of Agamenticus, and Francis Neale of Casco,
 who took upon themselves to rule, and who with Archdale ad-
 dressed a letter to the government of Massachusetts, requiring a
 surrender of the jurisdiction to the Commissioners of Mr. Gorges.
 But the entry of the king’s commissioners into the Province sus-
 pended the civil authority of Gorges, which he never afterwards
 resumed.

* 1 Holmes’ A. Ann. p. 394.

† 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 228.—Hubbard’s N. E. p. 584-5.

CHAPTER XV.

Letter of king Charles to the provincials of Maine—Massachusetts reviews her claims to the Province—Three parties there—A County Court appointed—The measures of the king's Commissioners—They appoint eleven Justices for Maine and oppose Massachusetts—The General Court complain of them—The people of Lygonia displeased with the Commissioners—Their memorial to the king—Commissioners proceed to the Duke's Province—They open a Court at Sheepscot—Establish a county and appoint officers—Their other measures—Their official report—Indian Treaty—Sheepscot records—Commissioners return to York—Their account of the Duke's Province—War with France—Unhappy condition of Maine and Sagadahock—Treaty of Breda—Nova Scotia resigned to France—Disagreement of the Acadians and Puritans—Col. Temple's loss of Nova Scotia.

A. D. 1664.
June 11.

CHARLES having resolved to put Gorges into possession of Maine, addressed to the provincials a letter, dated the 11th of June, 1664, which was communicated, probably through the medium of his Commissioners.—

The king's
letter to the
people of
Maine.

‘To our trusty and well beloved subjects and inhabitants in the Province of Maine, and whom it may concern,’——‘We greet you well.

‘As we are informed,—Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the grandfather of the present proprietor, and a generous promoter of foreign plantations, obtained a royal charter of Maine, and expended in settling it, more than £20,000; and yet was wholly prevented from reaping the fruits of his expenditures and labors, by the unhappy civil wars, wherein he though advanced in age, bravely engaged in his master's service :—In the mean time, his opponents, intoxicated with success as we understand, and deaf to the voice of justice, have given countenance to measures by which the provincials have been brought within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts-Bay, and the proprietary deprived of all the issues and profits of his property; though according to the decision of our “counsel, learned in the law,” his right to the charter is fully established; the Province was in possession of the orig-

'inal proprietor and under his government several years; the A. D. 1664.
'large sums mentioned had been by him expended in settling and
'managing it; he has in the late civil wars, been plundered and
'imprisoned several times; and being exhausted by losses, and
'ill-treated by the "pretended committees of foreign plantations,"
'he and his agents in those times of trouble, had left the inhab-
'itants to the temporary government of their choice. Since the
'restoration, he, by his commissioners, has endeavored to repos-
'sess himself of his Province, and two years since, proclaimed
'his Majesty king, established courts, and gave to many the oaths
'of allegiance; but the government of Massachusetts prohibited
'all further proceedings of those commissioners, till they had or-
'ders from the supreme authority of the kingdom:—We have
'therefore taken the whole matter into our princely consideration,
'(concludes the king) and have thought fit to signify our pleasure
'in behalf of Ferdinando Gorges, the present proprietor, and do
'require you to make restitution of the Province to him or his
'commissioners, and deliver him or them peaceable possession
'thereof, or otherwise without delay show us reasons to the con-
*'trary:—and so we bid you—farewell.'**

When the General Court were made acquainted with the contents of this letter, they undertook to justify their conduct, to the royal commissioners, by recapitulating the grounds and reasons, which induced them to receive the provincials under the government of the colony. His Majesty, as the court believed, was greatly misinformed as to the amount of disbursements made by Sir Ferdinando. It might be true as the inhabitants say, that Mr. Thomas Gorges and Mr. Vines, after deducting their own expenses, did lay out £500 of the proprietor's money for the public good, or possibly £1,000 may have been expended in the whole, through mismanagement in building a house in York, breaking up lands, and a few unskilful enterprizes. Massachusetts however, was not the first to claim a considerable part of Maine, against the rights of Gorges. For, Baron Rigby, twenty years ago, entered upon a large portion of the territory, obtained a decision in his favor, and exercised government there till his death.†—Nay, did not all the agents of Sir Ferdinando abandon the Province, to self-formed combinations and revolutionists,

Remarks of
the General
Court.

* Hutch. Coll. p. 385-383.

† 3 Mass. Rec. p. 173-180.

A. D. 1664. long before Massachusetts asserted any right to it?—Yet what was the nature or character of her claim ; surely it was not to the soil—by sales of which she expected to derive any pecuniary profits or avails. No:—but on the contrary it was exclusively protection and civil government, such as the inhabitants themselves requested. They had bound themselves by their oaths, their articles of agreement, and other voluntary acts to live in subjection to the laws and authorities of Massachusetts, till their allegiance might be expressly countermanded by the supreme government of England. How then could they consistently with their solemn obligations, submit to another's control, who presumed to act without any evidence of such authority, or paramount right, and without process of law ?

The dispute.

Nov. 30.

To the letter in behalf of Gorges, addressed by Henry Joscelyn, John Archdale, Robert Jordan and Edward Rishworth, as before mentioned, unto the Governor and Council, requesting them to resign and surrender the jurisdiction of Maine, the General Court, Nov. 30, replied, that they had determined to yield none of their rights in the Province, until their duties in this particular were made plain and palpable. If the king's will were known, it was only through his address to the inhabitants, not by any mandate or express communication to the government of Massachusetts. Nor were the king's commissioners with all the power they possessed, authorized in a more special manner to take possession of Maine, than of any other Province.

1665.
Three parties in
Maine.

Thus, the features of the troublesome controversy are exhibited to us, at the opening of the year 1665. A party of the provincials were devoted to the king's will, and of course friendly to the anticipated visit of his commissioners. Many, especially such as were land or office-holders under the Gorges' family, were the advocates of the present proprietary, and some of them claimed to exercise official authority under his appointment. Massachusetts was inexorable ; and numbers of the eastern people were strongly attached to her government. Therefore when John Archdale,* the proprietor's agent, came forward with an order under the royal "sign manual," requiring her to restore unto him Gorges' province, which he said she "had shamefully encroached upon in the time of the civil wars," the General Court

* *Folsom*, p. 91-2. Archdale was in the Province a year.

told him, that "the distracted condition of the people in York-shire" required rather their protection and assistance, and that a government of their choice should never be hastily withdrawn from them. A. D. 1665.

By the orders of that Body,* early in May, we find they speak with a positiveness not to be misunderstood. A County Court will be holden at York in the present as in previous years. All civil officers will continue to exercise and perform their duties, and the inhabitants will show, as formerly, due obedience to the colony administration. If Edward Rishworth neglect his duty as County-Recorder, Peter Wyer will take his place, and to him the present incumbent will deliver the record-books and papers. Since there is no resident magistrate in that county, Ezekiel Knight of Wells, will act as such in every particular, till the further order of the Legislature. Messrs Simonds and Danforth will hold the usual term of the Courts in York, the current year; and all transgressors of the law, if any, will have its penalties measured to them with all retributive justice. County regulations.

The king's commissioners, having visited the towns and plantations between Boston and Piscataqua, made a short tarry in New-Hampshire and passed the river, about the middle of June, into Kittery. Here they summoned the people together and described to them their inevitable ruin, if they continued under the 'Bay-government.' Its rulers, said they, are rebels and traitors,—their contempts and crimes will soon be laid before his Majesty, —and their doom can easily be foreseen. June.
King's
Commis-
sioners in
Kittery and
York.

The position and authority assumed by the Commissioners were not only despotic and unwarrantable, but extremely indiscreet. They virtually assailed the charter of Gorges, telling the inhabitants, it granted privileges altogether too great and exclusive, ever to be possessed and exercised by his Majesty's most favored subjects,—Mr. Gorges being truly one. Hence they manifested a forwardness to assist them in obtaining security from the claims, both of him and the rulers of Massachusetts.

Next they exhibited a petition for signature, addressed to the king, praying for a new colony charter. This found signers, among those who were the friends or dupes of these arbitrary men; also among the licentious, who are ever impatient of re-

A. D. 1665. straint, and bankrupts, who were anxious of relief or respite from their debts. Such as were unyielding, they loaded with reproaches, the volatile they flattered, and the timid they threatened. All who did not comply, were told, that their names would be returned to his Majesty, and their disloyalty painted to him in its true colours. So affrighted and amazed were several of them, that they afterwards declared they did not know what they had done. Many of the better and more sensible people looked upon themselves in a condition to be utterly ruined; and began to entertain thoughts of removing with their families and estates, to some plantation or place of more quiet and greater security.

At York, the Commissioners passed several days, undertaking to form and establish a superstructure of civil authority, throughout the Province. In this, they seem to have acted according to the dictates of their own will, without regard either to the charter of Gorges or the claim of Massachusetts.

Their official order was essentially in these words:—*

“By the King’s Commissioners for settling the affairs of New-England.”

‘We having seen the several charters granted to Sir L. s. ‘Ferdinando Gorges and to the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay, and duly weighed the matters in controversy, do now receive all his Majesty’s good subjects, living within the Province of Maine, under his immediate protection and government. We also appoint and constitute *Francis Champernoon* and *Robert Cutts* of Kittery; *Edward Rishworth* and *Edward Johnson* of York; *Samuel Wheelwright* of Wells; *Francis Hooke* and *William Phillips* of Saco; *George Mountjoy* of Casco; *Henry Joscelyn* of Black-point; *Robert Jordan* of Richmond’s Island; and *John Wincoln* of Newichawannock, *Justices of the Peace*; and constitute them a Court to hear and determine all causes, civil and criminal, and to order all the affairs of the said Province for the peace and defence thereof;—proceeding in all cases according to the laws of England as near as may be, till the appointment of another government by the Crown.

‘In his Majesty’s name we require all the inhabitants of said

‘ Province, to yield obedience to the said Justices, and forbid as A. D. 1665. well the Commissioners of Mr. Gorges, as the Corporation of Massachusetts-Bay, to molest any of the inhabitants of this Province, till his Majesty’s pleasure be known.

“ Given under our hands and seals at York, within the said Province, the 23^d of June, 1665.”

“ Robert Carr.

“ George Cartwright.

“ Samuel Maverick.”

They also prescribed a form of oath, which they administered to these magistrates of their appointment ;* and resolved in support of their own authority, to oppose the two Assistants who were expected from Boston to join the Associates as usual, and hold a County Court, and if possible to prevent a session. Therefore, Carr, a bolder spirit than his colleagues, issued an order, July 2, to the commander of the militia company in these words ;—

Commissioners resist the authority of Massachusetts.

“ To Capt. John Davis, or in his absence to the next officer in command :

“ In his Majesty’s name, you are required to give notice to your company, that without fail, they do appear in arms on *Tuesday morning* next, in the field, where they usually meet, there to attend further orders.” R. Carr.

In the provincial form of government now established and put in operation, General Assemblies, composed of all in commission, and of burgesses or deputies from the several towns, were holden at York, which was evidently appointed to be the seat of government. The Royal Commissioners directed, whenever the Justices were equally divided on any subject, that Mr. Joscelyn should have the casting vote—if he be absent, Mr. Jordan. Another order allowed juries of *seven* men only, ‘ on account of the fewness of the inhabitants,’ to be impanelled for the trial of cases ; and the first inferior Court under this organization of the government was holden at Wells, in July following, the second at York, Nov. 7.—William Phillips was appointed Major-commandant of the military forces in the Province ; R. Hitchcock and John Lazer, officers of the Saco and Cape Porpoise companies.†

Government instituted.

* See post, Sept. 5, 1665.

† At the July term in Wells mentioned, the Court ordered ‘ every town to take care that there be in it a pair of stocks, a case and couking

A. D. 1665. When the Assistants arrived at Piscataqua from Boston, they were informed of the call made upon the militia, and the menaces uttered and spread by the Commissioners ; and therefore to avoid an open rupture with men, whose tarry and overtures in the Province must be short, they proceeded no farther ; immediately returning home and reporting the facts to their government.*

Never were men and their course of measures more universally unpopular. Massachusetts inveighed against them vehemently, charging them with a violation of their own commission and instructions : For no official acts or proceedings of the Board, without the presence and approbation of Col. Nichols, were to be valid ; nor were they ever to disturb any ancient establishment of patent claims, nor in any event interrupt the ordinary course of justice ; whereas they were authors of the boldest and most violent measures, without the king's consent, or knowledge ; and had struck a deadly blow at chartered rights, as well as at the public tranquillity. ' Are these the disciples of peace ? nay, ' in Job's time, said the General Court, it was the province of a ' day's man to appease antagonists, by laying the peace-maker's ' hands on both ; but the wisdom or artifice of these men, have ' converted the temple of peace into a forum of wretchedness.' The Court also, by way of a remonstrance, spread the Commissioner's conduct before the king, with a correct portrait of its deformities.

The Lygonians address the king.

August 1.

Equally opposed to the Commissioners and to Gorges were the eastern provincials, or inhabitants of Lygonia. They were fully aware of their unhappy condition, and in consideration of the king's letter, to them and the rest of Maine, the preceding year, they prepared a memorial to him, August 1, which was signed by George Cleaves, and twenty-one of his friends and neighbors.† It commenced, and proceeded thus :—

' [ducking] stool, erected between this and the next court.' The latter was the old instrument for the punishment of common scolds. It consisted of a long beam moving like a well-sweep upon a fulcrum ; the end extended over a pond, on which the culprit was placed and immersed. *Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, p. 96.

* 3 Mass. Rec. p. 207—8.

† Their names are George Cleaves, George Mountjoy, Francis Neale, Pinehas Rider, Richard Martin, Benjamin Atwell, John Ingersoll, George Ingersoll, John Wakeley, John Phillips, Robert Corbin, Henry

'The humble petition of the inhabitants at Casco in the Pro- A.D. 1665.
'vince of Maine, represents, agreeably to your Majesty's com-
'mand, our several reasons, why we could not submit to Mr.
'Gorges...But *first*—To our most gracious father, we, your hum-
'ble subjects, inhabiting a wilderness in the northern parts of
'your dominions, would return our most dutiful and hearty thanks,
'for your princely care of us and our children. Required by
'your Majesty to render submission to Mr. Gorges or assign our
'reasons for declining it, we are frank to say, we have no dispo-
'sition to oppose his government, whenever our obedience is ex-
'pressly commanded by your Majesty. In our union however,
'with Massachusetts, we all pledged our allegiance to her gov-
'ernment, till our royal sovereign should otherwise determine
'and direct. Yet we have found by happy experience, as your
'Majesty very justly intimates, that her maxims of policy, pru-
'dence and moderation, and her principles of amity and justice,
'so much the causes of her own eminence, have since our short
'connexion with her, been the means of our contentment and
'prosperity, far beyond what we have enjoyed during any former
'period of the same length. The Commissioners, nevertheless,
'forbid our submission to her government, and likewise to Mr.
'Gorges; and in return she withholds our allegiance from them.
'So unhappily situated, we humbly entreat your Majesty not to
'believe us disloyal, because our names are not found on the peti-
'tion for a change of government or rulers, as we have no just
'cause of complaint against either Mr. Gorges or Massachusetts;
'—being taught by the best authority, that '*obedience is better*
'*than sacrifice*,' and contentment is our duty, wherever the allot-
'ment of God in his Providence, and your Majesty's commands
'shall cast us.

'Threatened as we are, for not signing the petition and sub-
'mitting to the Commissioners, we beseech your Majesty to take
'these reasons and our case, under your fatherly eye and give us
'directions; for it is the design of our hearts to act correctly and
'uprightly; and we would rather submit to whatever government
'may be appointed over us, than to contend, or to direct what it
'should be.*'

A. D. 1665. The Commissioners, after spending more than two months in the Province, principally at York, Scarborough, and Falmouth, in settling or rather revolutionizing the government, proceeded to the Duke's territory of Sagadahock or New Castle. It is supposed to have been at this period and afterwards, that several Dutch families removed from New-York into the territory, and settled upon the eastern banks of the Sheepscoot, and the western banks of the Damariscotta, about the lower falls of those rivers.*

Sept. 5. A Court was first opened by the Commissioners, Sept. 5, at the dwellinghouse of *John Mason*,† who lived on the east bank of Sheepscoot river—at the Great Neck, not far from a block house or small fort; which was half a league westerly of Damariscotta lower falls.

Sept. 5.
Their measures at
Sheepscoot.

Being now within the Duke's own patent and Province, as they supposed, whereof the whole was under the administration of Col. Nichols the Governor, the other Commissioners were perhaps authorized to act now without his concurrence. Here were no conflicting jurisdictions. Destitute of any regular government, the inhabitants were not reluctant to render obedience unto any power, that was able and willing to protect them. The nominal administration at Pemaquid under Mr. Shurte‡ was still a mere conservation of the peace without much system or efficiency.

The Commissioners appointed *Walter Phillips* of Damariscotta, clerk and recorder, whose book of records was entitled “the rolls of such acts and orders, passed the first sessions holden in the territories of his Highness the Duke of York, on the eastern and northern side of Sagadahock and extending to Nova Scotia;—begun at the house of John Mason on the river Sheeps-

* *Sullivan*, p. 36—38—158—283—291.—At Woodbridge's neck on the eastern bank of the Sheepscoot river, a mile above Wiscasset point or village, there are appearances of a very ancient settlement—where the cavities of many cellars are now manifest, though there are trees in some of them of a large size.

† Mason purchased the land of two Sagamores, Robinhood and Jack Pudding. *Sullivan*, p. 66—289.—Mr. Randolph came hither after the Revolution, claiming through his mother, heirship to John Mason's lands, his ancestor. He said his parents told him he was born at Sheepscoot, and they fled with him when an infant to New-Jersey, to escape the tomahawk. He produced papers certified by Walter Phillips, and had a copy of General Dungan's commission. But his claim was obsolete.—*Sull.* p. 166.

‡ Shurte is supposed to have died at Pemaquid, A. D. 1690.

cot, Sept. 5th, in the 17th year of the reign of our Sovereign A. D. 1665. Lord the King, Anno Domini 1665."

They erected the whole territory into a county, by the name of *Cornwall*; named the Sheepscot plantation *Dartmouth* or *New-Dartmouth*; and settled the dividing line between it and Pemaquid.

Next, they summoned the inhabitants in the several settlements, to appear and submit to his Majesty's government, within the Duke's patent. Only *twenty-nine* however,* appeared and took the oath of allegiance, at this term;—probably a minor part of the whole number of men between Sagadahock and Penobscot.

In the construction and establishment of civil government they appointed a *chief constable*, *three magistrates* or justices of the peace, and a *recorder*. The justices were *Nicholas Raynal* of Sagadahock, *Thomas Gardiner* of Pemaquid, and *William Dyer* of Dartmouth, being, as the commissioners said, the ablest and 'best men to be found in those places.' The same oath was administered to these as to the justices appointed in the Province of Maine, to wit;—*You as justice of the peace do swear, that you will do equal right to the poor and rich, after the laws and customs of England, according to your cunning and power. You shall not be of counsel to any party. You shall not let or hinder for gift or other cause, but well and truly you shall do your office of justice of the peace.* Three justices in Maine, viz. *Henry Joscelyn*, *Robert Jordan*, and *George Mountjoy*, assisted by the preceding *three*, were constituted a Court, and directed to hold sessions for the trial of all causes, "till further order." Their jurisdiction southward or westward, was limited by the river Sagadahock, including about thirty or forty families upon the islands and eastern side of the river, formerly within the Plymouth patent. But the Commissioners being aware, proba-

Courts and legal process in the Duke's patent.

* *In Sagadahock*—William Friswell, Richard Hammond, John Miller, Robert Morgan, Thomas Parker, Marcus Parsons, Thomas Watkins, John White.—*In "Sheepscot"*—Wm. Dole, Wm. Dyer, (Esq.) Christopher Dyer, Nathaniel Draper, Thomas Gents, Wm. James, Wm. Markes, *John Mason*, Thomas Mercer, *Walter Phillips*, [Clerk,] Moses Pike, Robert Scott, Andrew Stalger, John Taylor, John White.—*In Pemaquid*—Thomas Albridge, [Elbridge,] Edmund Arrowsmith, George Buckland, Henry Champness, Thomas Gardiner.—*of Arroesick*—Nicholas Raynal.—*Sullivan*, p. 287.

A. D. 1665. bly, of the royal commission to Governor Temple,* and of the charter to Beauchamp and Leverett, seem not to have exercised any authority northwardly beyond Muscongus river.† In trying any cause, civil, ecclesiastical or criminal, if the justices were equally divided in opinion, Henry Joscelyn was entitled to a double or casting vote.

The chief constable had the power to appoint deputies; and the following precepts will show us the forms of process, also how he was authorized to act.

To the Constable on the eastward side of the Kennebeck river or his Deputy.—Greeting.

By virtue hereof, you are required in his Majesty's name, and under the authority of his Highness, the Duke of York, to apprehend the body or goods of C. Lawson, and take bond of him to the value of £120, with sufficient surety or sureties, for his personal appearance at a special court, to be held at Arrowsick, the 27th of this present November, then and there to answer to the complaint of E. Dawner, for not yielding a debt due by bill, bearing date the 3d day of June, 1665. Hereof you are not to fail, as you will answer it at your peril; and so make true return under your hand. Dated this 1st November, 1665.

NICHOLAS RAYNAL, *Jus. Pacis.*

The officers return.—

November, 1665.

I have attached the body of C. Lawson, and have taken bail for his appearance at the next Court, to answer to the complaint of Ed. Dawner in an action of the case: This is a true return.‡

RICHARD LEMONS, *Constable.*

Defects in
measures.

These imperfect sketches, are the prominent features of the civil administration, undertaken to be framed by these Commissioners.§ Short sighted statesmen—unacquainted with the genius

* Hutch. Coll. p. 244-5.

† “Governor Dungan, agent of the Duke of York, removed many Dutch families from the banks of the Hudson to his New Province on the Sheepscoot. They tarried there until the settlements were broken up by the wars which were soon after commenced by the savages.—Sullivan, p. 291.

‡ Sullivan, p. 291.

§ The laws of the Duke's Province, collected by Governor Nichols, and confirmed by the Duke, have been examined by the compiler of this history; but he can find in them no particular mention of his eastern patent.

of the people, their necessities, and the political remedies A. D. 1665. needed, they formed no regular system of government; their whole management giving full proof of their inadequacy to the magnitude of the trust to which they had been commissioned. No provision was made for legislation, trials by jury, military defence, taxation, religious instruction, or the education of youth. Though they found settlements scattered to a wide extent, some of which were more than forty years old, and also a population probably of three hundred families,* who treated their measures and authority with the utmost civility; their ill-nature prompted them to represent the whole as only “three small plantations belonging to his royal highness,” viz. “on the northeast of Kennebeck, on Sheepscot river and on Pemaquid;” ‘the largest of which,’ they said, ‘did not contain more than thirty houses, and all of them mean.’ The people, whose allotments were labor and poverty, being strangers to the pleasures and benefits of society, and strong in the hopes of finding the commissioners their benefactors, were represented by them, to be mere fishermen, and fugitives from justice, unused to the restraints of government. Listening to an instance of lasciviousness related to them, they gave it a turn of ridicule upon the planters generally, by stating in their report,† afterwards made, that ‘some of them have as many shares in a woman, as they have in a fishing boat.’

Commissioners report.

It is said the Commissioners established the form of an ecclesiastical constitution, which, though cast in an episcopal mould, was remarkable for its simplicity and liberal principles. Assurances were given the inhabitants, that their possessions and rights should not be disturbed.‡ But no adequate redress of wrongs was provided; and in all conveyances, as well by the planters as by the Duke’s agents,§ it appears the policy was revived of incumbering them with quit-rents.

But the unequal numbers of the inhabitants, compared with the natives, and some apprehensions of a rupture, induced the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Sagamores, which contained provisional articles, too judicious and memorable not

A treaty with the Indians.

* Eighty-four families in 1630.—*S. Davis’ Report*.—And 175 families in 1673.—*Sullivan*, p. 391.

† See this report.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 424—5.

‡ *Sullivan*, p. 170—188.

§ *Sullivan*, p. 162—3—374.

A. D. 1665. to be mentioned. For it was agreed, "that if any mischief should happen to be done either by the English or Indians"—redress was to be sought by complaint to the Courts, if an Indian were the sufferer, and to the Sagamores, when the English were injured :—and never were they, on either side, to seek revenge by acts of hostility. This, if religiously observed, 'might have 'been, as Mr. Hubbard* remarks, a perfect preventive of blood-'shed.'

Sheepscot
Records.

The "Sheepscot records" sometimes called the "Records of eastern claims of lands," which were commenced under the Commissioners by Walter Phillips, contained a registry of grants under the Duke, of Indian deeds and other conveyances, and were continued about fifteen years. Afterwards, the book was removed to the Secretary's office in Boston, and was considered to be of great authority, till it was lost.†

Commis-
sioners at
Casco and
York.

Early in October, the Commissioners returned to York. In passing or returning through Casco, they opened a Court, and among other arbitrary proceedings, pronounced all land-titles obtained from the Lygonian proprietor and all Indian deeds, the merest nullities. The avowal of such a sentiment, though it fanned the fire of indignation, seems to have been apprehended ; for it is said that Massachusetts previously confirmed all the lands in Falmouth to the inhabitants. Taking umbrage at every opposing measure of that colony, the Commissioners were ready to hear any complaint against her. The famous John Bonython‡ showed them a warrant which ordered him to be arrested and

* Hubbard's N. E. 335.—His Indian Wars, p. 297.

† It is said that Phillips, to avoid the Indian tomahawk, fled to Charleston, Massachusetts, A. D. 1680, where he died.—It is supposed the *records* were consumed by fire when the Boston Court House was burnt. Simon Frost of Kittery says, in his depositions of June 2, 1765, that 25 years before when Deputy Secretary, under J. Willard, Esq. he took copies from that book ; and when the Court House was burnt, in 1743, he was Representative from Kittery, and with others made search for the records soon after, but they could not be found ; nor have they since been seen.

‡ It is not known when or where this troublesome man died. He was furious, obstinate and unpopular. The grave stones of this man show him to have been interred at Rendezvous Point on the east side of the Saco—upon which some unknown hand inscribed this ill-natured couplet.

"Here lies Bonython the Sagamore of Saco.

"He liv'd a rogue, and died a knave, and went to *Hockemocko*.

carried to Boston, "dead or alive;" merely as he said, because A. D. 1665. he would not bow to her government.

At York, where they prolonged their visit, they pretended that the eastern inhabitants and a great Sachem also, had petitioned the king to receive them under his protecting hand, and appoint Sir Robert Carr their Governor. They gave quite a romantic account of the Duke's eastern country. They represented, that the numerous "islands, harbors and outlets, upon "the coast were richly stored with great fish, oysters and lobsters;" that the interior abounded with "wild ducks, geese, "deer," and other game, and also with "strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, barberries, several sorts of bilberries in their seasons;" and that they found "several kinds of oaks, and "pines,—and the chesnut and walnut trees, sometimes for four or "five miles together."*

Their account of the Duke's Province.

To oppose them in the exercise of authority, the General Court despatched Messrs Danforth, Lusher and Leverett, to hold a term of Yorkshire Court in October.† But they were stopped at Piscataqua, Oct. 10, by a sharp letter sent to them from Kittery by Carr, who ordered them to *desist from their purpose*, and *proceed no farther*.—They therefore returned to Boston and were soon followed by the Commissioners.

When they arrived, they were charged by the General Court, with disturbing the public peace; and were requested to meet a committee for the purpose of a conference.—*No, not a word need pass, replied Carr;—but remember, the king's pardon of the late rebellion is conditional, and the authors of the opposition among you must expect the punishment awarded the rebels in England—and you well know their fate.*‡

Here all intercourse with them terminated. Recalled by the king,§ they in a few months, departed the colony,—at a time when the public attention was arrested and occupied by the news of war, declared by the French king against England.||

1666.

They are recalled and depart.

In the first year of this war, extensive preparations were made by the British cabinet, for the reduction of Canada; and no other conquest, on this side of the Atlantic, could give equal

War with France.

* Hutch. Coll. p. 424.

† 3 Mass. Rec. p. 208.

‡ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 228—9. § 1 Belk. N. H. p. 97.—Hub. N. E. p. 586.

|| A war to aid Holland—against England.—5 Hume p. 440.

A. D. 1665. occasion for general joy. The king required Massachusetts to take the lead among the colonies in the enterprize; and Governor Nichols expressed the greatest anxiety for the speedy movement of her troops. He said it was reported that the French had 700 men under marching orders against Albany;* and nothing but the arms or enmity of the Mohawks,† while remaining unsubdued, could form any barrier, to impede the progress of the French and Canadian forces.

October: But the enlistments were not completed and the necessary preparations ready till October. It was then too late and wholly impracticable, in the opinion of the General Court and of Governor Temple, an experienced officer who had been consulted, to march a body of troops over rocky mountains, and through rugged deserts, a distance of 1,400 miles against a formidable enemy;‡—and the campaign was not undertaken.

Maine and
Sagadahock.

Never was a country more open and exposed to the incursions of an enemy, than the region was at that time, between Piscataqua and Nova Scotia. The inhabitants, scattered and defenceless, were without fortifications, without arms or military stores, and without even any common bond of union. All the settlements upon a seacoast, 200 miles in extent, were situated near the best harbors, tempting in every thing except poverty, to the visits of invaders. The enemy on their rear, who had by this time acquired a singular missionary influence among the jealous savages, hated the puritan planters, and especially coveted this eastern country. Nor was this all. Distracted with political dissensions, the eastern people had none to help or protect them; though it were well known how many claimed to control and rule them. In three or four years, all traces of the king's commissioners were obliterated, a few monumental evils excepted; and Massachusetts was evidently the only power, to which the inhabitants could look with any prospect of assistance,§ either in war or peace.

* "M. de Courcelles, appointed Governor of New-France, transported "the regiment of Carignan Salueres to Canada."—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 396. —And with it came *Baron de Castine*.

† The French established a peace with the Mohawks, A. D. 1667.

‡ 3 *Mass. Rec.* p. 268.

§ Massachusetts at this time had a militia, consisting "of 4,000 foot and 400 horse."—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 394.

Happily for them the war was short, though its consequences A. D. 1667. formed a lamentable train of evils. A cessation of hostilities in the spring was followed by two treaties, which the English concluded at Breda, July 31, 1667, one with France and the other with Holland. In these negotiations, the English agreed to surrender Nova Scotia to the French; and Holland resigned to England, the Dutch colony at the Hudson. ^{Treaty of Breda, July 31.}

The recession or return of the Acadian Province to France, was generally lamented throughout New-England.* Indeed, since Sir Thomas was the territorial proprietor, as well as the Governor, it was a great question among statesmen, and perhaps the English envoy himself doubted, if the crown could cede any other right than that of sovereignty or the government. For the cession was not in the treaty itself, but through the pressure and influence of the French embassy, was subsequently made an appendant article.

Except under the administration of Governor Temple, the Acadian French had been always disagreeable to their New-England neighbors. For their motives of action, their habits of life and thought, their pursuits and plans in business, and in fact, all the qualities and shades of their character, differed as widely from those of the English, as the two people were unlike in their language, their religious tenets and their political sentiments. In short, they agreed in nothing, except in the forms and gifts of nature. Let a bigoted catholic, ever servile to the dictates of Jesuit priests, a slavish subject, believing in the divine right of kings, a Frenchman devoted to savage society, the chase, the wigwam or an Indian wife, be contrasted with puritan piety, politics, intelligence and taste for refinements; and one will not find it difficult to understand the causes of mutual dislike, nor to determine on which side were enmity and the avenger. Among the disciples of papacy, all protestants were esteemed heretics, whose liberty, wealth and life itself, according to their creed, it was no sin to sacrifice. ^{The French and English Colonists.}

The Indians schooled by the same spiritual teachers, imbibed a similar disposition, and were easily bloated with the same opinions. The original estrangement and malignity of the eastern and western tribes towards each other, were observed to be grad- ^{The Indians.}

* Hutch. Coll. p. 489.

A. D. 1667. ually yielding to the vibrations of intercourse. Their natural cunning, sharpened by necessity, prompted them to trespass and pilfer at a distance from home. Hence, the people were satisfied, that the Eastern Indians were the perpetrators of certain mischiefs, committed in the autumn of 1667, among the domestic animals, and in the cornfields and meadows of Hadley upon Connecticut river; and the sufferers sent to Robinhood, a chief Sagamore at Kennebeck, demanding redress and threatening him and his tribe with the utmost severities, if the offences were repeated. To promote amity with them, license was at length given to the traders in fur and in peltries, to sell unto Indian friends, guns and ammunition.*

The proprietary rights of Temple to the territory of Nova Scotia, no one in justice could deny. But perceiving it was the determination of the French to obtain it, and the agreement of the English to surrender it, he entered into a negotiation with his master's ministry upon the subject. In consideration of a relinquishment, he exacted a reimbursement of the purchase money, and the expenses bestowed upon fortifications, and incurred in other improvements. The total estimate was found to be £16,200,—a sum which the crown agreed to pay him.†

A. D. 1668
to 1669.
Nova Scotia
resigned to
France.

Immediately afterwards, in February 1668, the article‡ of cession was tacked to the treaty of Breda, and all Acadia, without any specification as to boundaries, including by name, "St. John's, Port-Royal, La Heve, Cape Sable, and Pentagoet," or Penobscot, as being parts of the Province, was ordered into the possession of the French. Not being paid the money, he delayed the surrender, till by his Majesty's special command, in 1669,§ he was forced to submit, without the consideration promised him, which he never received; and Capt. Wibourne at Penobscot, and Richard Walker, the proprietary's Lieutenant-Governor, made at last a formal surrender of the whole, to Mons. le Grand Fontaine. It was a hardship sensibly felt by Sir Thomas; and as it occurred just before his death which was in 1674, he devised the money, or otherwise his interest in the Province, to his nephew William Nelson and his heirs. But being unable to avail

* 3 Mass. Rec. p. 269—272.

† Palairret, p. 18.

‡ Chalmers, p. 393. See the article in *appendix, post.*

§ Brit. Emp. in America, p. 22.—1 Hutch. Hist. p. 237.

himself of any advantage from the bequest, Nelson transferred it [A. D. 1730] to Samuel Waldo of Boston, who applied to the crown either to pay him the money, award him the Province, or grant him an equivalent in other American lands.* Nothing however was allowed him, and his claim sank into oblivion.

It is said, the first French Governor was M. de Bourg;† and after him Mons. Denys was appointed Lt. Governor in Acadia, who resided in the country thirty years; and in 1672, published a short history of it at Paris.‡ The French occupied the country from Cape Breton to Penobscot; and built stockaded forts at the latter place, at Port-Royal and at the river St. Johns.§

In returning to the administration of government, instituted by the king's Commissioners, we find that within the Province previously bisected into two divisions, by a partition line through Kennebunk river, the courts, established consisted of four, the General Assembly, Courts of Common Pleas, Courts of Quarter Sessions, and single Justice Courts for the trial of causes under 40s. by a jury of seven men. The first had sessions annually in May or June at Saco; the second three times, and the third four times in a year in each division, at York and at Falmouth. Offences were presented by grand juries, and facts determined by juries of trials. At a court holden at Casco for the eastern division, in July 1666, by Henry Joscelyn, William Phillips, Francis Hooke, Edward Rishworth, and Samuel Wheelwright, styled the "Justices of the peace appointed by special commission from the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Carr, Lt. Col. George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick Esq." it was ordered, that the selectmen of Falmouth should have the oversight of children and servants and correct such as were disobedient; that George Mountjoy have power to administer oaths, join parties in marriage, and see if the weights and measures in town were according to the king's standard at Winchester. The sale of liquors to the Indians was prohibited:—non-attendance at public worship, sabbath-breaking, and profanity, were made punishable by a justice of the peace.

A. D. 1668,
to 1669.
French rulers of Nova Scotia.

A. D. 1666,
1667, 1668.
Affairs of
Maine.

* Palairot, p. 19.

† Hutch. Coll. p. 489-548.

‡ Mass. Letter Book, p. 104. After him Manival was Governor.

§ 1 Brit. Dom. in Am. p. 246. 1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 399, 404.

A. D. 1666,
1667, 1668.

The courts when holding their terms in York, were evidently guided by the laws previously received from Massachusetts ; and the last General Assembly under the new government, was holden at Saco, in May 1688 ; after which the people sought to be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.*

* 1 *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.* p. 117-126.—George Cleaves died about 1666, much embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs. Henry Joscelyn, being greatly in debt to Joshua Scottow of Boston, made a conveyance to him, in 1666, of the Cammock patent at Black-point, except his homestead, and an adjoining tract ;—upon which purchase the grantee afterwards resided.

CHAPTER XVI.

Political confusion in Maine—Appointment of Commissioners by Massachusetts to settle the affairs there—Governor Nichols' opposition—The Commissioners visit York—Altercations between them and the Justices—Massachusetts resumes the government of Maine—Appointment of officers and courts of justice—John and Henry Joscelyn—State of the eastern Province—Re-survey and extent of the Massachusetts' patent, eastward—The county of Devonshire established—Its officers and regulations—Peace with the Dutch—A new patent to the Duke of York—Courts in Maine—The provincial militia and population—Taxes—Happy union of Massachusetts and Maine—Claim of Gorges and Mason—Visit of Edward Randolph—His representations—The agents of Massachusetts at the court of England—Their instructions—Decision by a committee of Privy Council—Maine purchased by Massachusetts.

AT the end of three or four years, after the king's Commissioners were recalled, the affairs of Gorges' Province relapsed into lamentable confusion.* His partisans entertained no great affection for this new non-descript administration; nor did he himself give it any special support. The Justices appointed were not the most popular men. In their attempts to discharge their duties, the experiment was unavailing;—for numbers called in question the validity of their authority, and the lawfulness of the power, which they were endeavoring to exercise. Many hearts beat high for a return of the prosperous days, enjoyed while connected with Massachusetts; and the principal men besought her government, to reassume the jurisdiction of the Province.†

The General Court, at their session in May 1668, observing the present to be the third year since any member had appeared from Maine, and finding a restoration of political order, and a

A. D. 1666,
1667.
Maine in a
confused
state.

A. D. 1668.
Its condition
considered
by the York
Court.

* 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 238.—The General Court said, they were in a state of "anarchy."—*Mass. Rec.—Hub. N. E.* p. 593.

† The last General Court holden under authority of the king's Commissioners, sat at Saco, May 29, 1663.—1 *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* p. 126.

A D. 1668. settled administration of justice, to be anxiously desired by that people, thought it was a religious as well as political duty, they owed both to the king and to the Province, to enter immediately into a consideration of the interesting subject. 'For while the inhabitants were choosing, as the Court said, to be under our charter, they were deprived of their invaluable privileges, and thrown into the depths of disorder, by Commissioners who were rather destroyers than promoters of his Majesty's interest, and the peoples' good;—men who have cast malignant aspersions upon our government, and have been the authors of transactions, for which they had in fact no lawful authority.'

Four Commissioners.

Hence, the General Court appointed four distinguished men, Commissioners, to hold a Court in York, on the first Tuesday of the ensuing July, according to legal and former usage; and commanded the people of the Province, in his Majesty's name to yield again all due obedience to the laws and government of the colony.* Also the colonial Secretary in conformity to a legislative order, issued warrants to all the provincial towns, directing them to elect Associates, constables, grand and petit jurors, and other officers. These precepts were distributed to the constables by *Nathaniel Masterson*, whom the legislature appointed marshal of the county.

The substance of the Commissioners' appointment was as follows :—

Their appointment.

'To Major General John Leverett, Mr. Edward Tyng, Capt. Richard Waldron and Capt. Richard Pike.†

'You are hereby required to repair to York, in the County of Yorkshire, and there all or any two of you, whereof General Leverett shall be one, are required to keep a County Court as the law directs. And in case you meet with any, pretending to possess other authority, or presuming to swerve from the due obedience they owe to this jurisdiction under his Majesty's royal charter, to which they have submitted and solemnly pledged allegiance;—you will bring them to trial before you, and pass

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 595.

† *Leverett* was commander in chief of the colony militia; *Tyng* was assistant this year for the first time; *Waldron* was deputy from Dover N. H. a speaker of the House; and *Pike* lived in Salisbury, and was afterwards an assistant.

‘sentence upon the guilty, according to the aggravation of their A. D. 1668. offences.

‘Furthermore, you are authorized to confirm all officers and Commissioners, civil and military, as you shall judge meet and proper, for the security and preservation of order or peace in the Courts of the Shire; Also, for the better enabling you to accomplish these duties, you are hereby empowered from the date of these presents, to take such measures preparatory for holding a Court, and settling the peace of the county, as you in your discretion shall judge to be expedient;—And all officers, civil and military, within this jurisdiction and all other inhabitants, are hereby directed to assist you as the matter pending shall require; and you are to render an account of your proceedings to this Court, at the next session in October.

‘In testimony of all which, this Court hath caused the seal of the Colony to be affixed, May 20, 1668.’

‘RICHARD BELLINGHAM, Governor.’*

Besides their Commission, they had a letter of instructions, by which they were directed to give unto the provincial inhabitants, a guaranty of the common privileges enjoyed in other places; to prevent or check, as far as possible, all disputes and questions about grants of land† made by their local “General Assemblies,” during the interruptions of the three preceding years; to leave individual rights, or claims to real estate, unaltered and untouched; to suppress disturbances; and otherwise, to exercise in their discretion as much power and authority as they might find necessary, in the performance of the trust delegated to them.‡

When Governor Nichols heard of these proceedings, he wrote a letter from New-York, June 12th, to the Governor and Assistants of Massachusetts; in which he inveighed severely against the course they were pursuing. ‘I am, said he, not a little surprised to find, that you are preparing to usurp again the government of Maine; at a time too, when the rights of ownership, which have been submitted to the king by different claimants, are still

Their instructions.

Governor Nichols's letter to Massachusetts.

* 3 Mass. Rec. p. 277.—Hubbard's N. E. p. 596.

† By this expression, it would seem that the inhabitants of Maine, during the three years interruption had ‘General Assemblies,’ which made grants of lands.

‡ 3 Mass. Rec. p. 278.

A. D. 1668. 'awaiting his royal determination. Nor can it be unknown to 'you, that according to his letter of April 10, 1666, whatsoever 'his Commissioners might do or direct, was to be conclusive, till 'farther commands were received from him. You possess power 'enough, it is true, to compel a submission of your weaker neigh- 'bors; and you may feel in duty bound to reestablish your 'courts of law, in answer to the petition of a few unquiet spirits, 'and under a plausible pretence of restoring order and peace: 'But I ought not to be silent, in view of measures so directly 'contrary to the injunctions of his Majesty's letter. Do you 'presume so much upon his forbearance and clemency, as to 'suppose he will never stretch forth an arm of power to defend 'his subjects from usurpation?—Unable myself to visit you, be- 'fore I leave these parts, I must express to you my fearful ap- 'prehensions, that "if you compel an alteration of government "in the Province of Maine, by subverting the present establish- "ments," you may, and probably will be the cause of bitter 'quarrels, and even bloodshed. For it is a dictate of reason,— 'it is nature's law, for men to defend their rights against all offi- 'cious invaders.'* This was one of the last official acts of Gov- ernor Nichols. He soon embarked for England, and was suc- ceeded by Col. Lovelace, who was five years, Deputy-Governor of the New-York and Sagadahock Provinces.†

Nichols suc-
ceeded by
Lovelace.

The letter of Gov. Nichols had no effect upon the civil au- thorities of Massachusetts. The Commissioners, (excepting Mr. Pike,) "accompanied by a military escort" arrived at York, Monday the 6th of July,‡ intending the next day, to take the Bench. They appointed *Peter Wyer*, clerk of the Court;§ and finding Nathaniel Masterson the county marshal, imprison- ed by the dominant party, they appointed another *pro tempore*, whose duties however, were soon suspended by the incumbent's release. Without much ceremony, or formality, they were pres- ently met at their lodgings, by Henry Joscelyn and the other Justices appointed by the King's Commissioners, when they all agreed upon a free conference the next morning.

Commis-
sioners ar-
rive at
York.

July 6.

Met by the
Justices.

'At the hour,' as the Court's Commissioners say in their state-

* Hutch. Coll. p. 427—S.

† Smith's New York.

‡ Chalmers, p. 484.

§ Rishworth, former clerk, took sides with the Justices.

ment of the particulars, ‘ we had a discourse with them, in which A.D. 1668.
 ‘ they produced their Commission, a transcript of the late ad- The alterca-
 ‘ dress from Gov. Nichols, and a packet of papers, and requested tions of the
 ‘ us to make ourselves acquainted with their contents ; declaring Courts.
 ‘ that they had a right to preside over the Province, that *not*
 ‘ *more than four or five in a town of any character, would be*
 ‘ *found in our favor ;—and that they, as justices, should execute*
 ‘ *the duties enjoined upon them by their Commission, according*
 ‘ *to their orders and his Majesty’s special command.*’

‘ All your papers and powers, said the Commissioners, our
 ‘ General Court have too thoroughly considered, to require any
 ‘ reperusal by us. Those under whom you aspire to act, never
 ‘ lawfully possessed the authority, which they assumed to exercise.
 ‘ His Majesty directed Massachusetts either to resign the Pro-
 ‘ vince to Mr. Gorges, or assign to him our objections ; and it is
 ‘ well known, we have chosen the latter alternative. The cause
 ‘ is still under his royal consideration ; and when have we been
 ‘ required by our common sovereign, to surrender the adminis-
 ‘ tration of justice to *your* Commissioners ?—By the returns, we
 ‘ shall presently ascertain what is the public sentiment ; and ac-
 ‘ cording to our ability, we shall discharge the trust committed
 ‘ to us. If we are opposed, we shall advise upon measures,
 ‘ which will not be inefficient.’*

The Commissioners then repairing to the meeting-house, opened a Court, by reading publicly their Commission, and explaining the purposes of their visit. Next, they ordered the marshal to make proclamation for returns of votes forwarded for associates and jurymen ; when those of five towns were presented ; and it was said, another town had been interrupted while voting, and the meeting of a second, wholly prevented by the justices.

In the midst of the canvass, the latter came to the door-steps, with a written paper and exclaimed, “ *Let all here listen and attend to his Majesty’s commands !*”—The marshal by the Court’s order replied, “ *whoever has a command from his Majesty, let him come forward and show it, and he shall be heard.*” The justices then entered the house, and exhibited the documents

* Randolph and others state that the Commissioners “ entered the Province in a hostile manner with horse and foot.”—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 488.

A. D. 1668. shown to the Commissioners, in private conference, and requested, that they might be read in the audience of the assembly. Being told their wishes might be gratified, if they would wait till afternoon, they retired ; and the Court finished the examination, formed lists of the associates and constables, placed the jurors upon their pannels, and adjourned to a future hour.

Altercations
of the
Courts.

It appeared, in the interim, that the justices, at some time previously, had summoned an assembly of the deputies from the towns ; and that they and the justices had taken possession of the meeting-house. A message was dispatched by the Commissioners, requesting an interview. "*It will be granted,*" said the justices, "*at this place ;*" and immediately their marshal, Nathaniel Phillips,* traversed the streets, proclaiming in all the more public places, unto whom it might concern—" *Observe ye and obey the commands of his Majesty's justices.*" Whence, inquired one and another, have you this authority ? Show us your warrant if you have any, for these commands and distractions of the public peace. "*We proclaim,*" they said, "*according to the charge given us in the king's name. Our orders are our protection :—We shall not show them. But we say to all opposers, beware of his Majesty's power.*"—These being palpable contempts of the Commissioners' authority, they ordered the county marshal to take the offenders into custody, and they were consequently put under a temporary arrest.

Issue of the
controversy.

The Commissioners then proceeded to the meeting-house, where they found the seats occupied, and the house full of people. "*Give place,*" exclaimed the marshal, "*to the Commissioners ;*"—who, as they approached towards the justices, remarked to this effect—" *You are the authors of an affront we little expected, but your course will avail you nothing ; you might have called your meeting elsewhere, and at another time.—Depend upon this—we shall not be deterred from executing any part of the delegated trust, to which we are commissioned.*"—A scene of confusion instantly ensued, several rose from their seats, and some began to speak. The Commissioners commanded silence, and ordered the marshal to clear the house.† As the justices were

* He was their Major of the Regiment, and an agent of Gorges.

† *Rundolph* says, the Commissioners turned out his Majesty's justices by "an armed force," in opposition to his authority, and declaration of April 10, 1666.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 526.

leaving their places, Mr. Joscelyn, one of them, prudently advised his partisans near him to retire. The assembly pressed to the door and departed. The justices, however, being resealed, entered into a conference with the Commissioners, then upon the bench; who, when again requested as in the forenoon, consented to read the king's mandamus letter, of April 10th, before mentioned,* and likewise the commission of the justices, yet declined to peruse Nichol's letter, as it was only a part of a private correspondence.

To these papers, the Commissioners replied—'We are commissioned to hold a court and settle the peace and order of the Province. What we have begun, God willing, we shall finish. We are fully aware of the irregularities occasioned throughout these eastern towns and plantations, in 1665, by the king's Commissioners; who were so bold as to charge Massachusetts with treachery and rebellion, and to threaten her before the year's end, with the dreadful retributions of our sovereign's severity. But through the divine assistance and his Majesty's power, she yet possesses authority, by royal charter, to assert her rights of government; and we fear not to compare her acts of justice and clemency, with the words of those, who can make words only their boast.'

The Justices retiring, Roger Plaisted, a juror from Kittery, enquired of the Commissioners, as he said, at the request of his townsmen, in what way they resumed the government; and how the people's submission was required?—The answer was a repetition of private statements, that all the civil power claimed and exercised was by virtue of the charter; and that the inhabitants would be secured in the enjoyment of the same privileges with the freemen of other counties. The memorial of Scarborough, requesting an enlargement of immunities was discussed, and referred to the Legislature.

In completing the organization and arrangement of affairs in the county, as connected with the administration of justice; they gave to the constables present and the jurymen their oaths, and approved and proclaimed five Associates elected, viz. *Bryan Pendleton* of Saco; *Francis Raynes* of York; *Francis Neale*

* See Nichol's letter, ante.

A. D. 1668. of Falmouth; *Ezekiel Knight* of Wells, and *Roger Plaisted* of Kittery. Few or no parties to law-suits were ready for trial; and therefore this branch of their official trust was soon dispatched.*

Militia organized. The military of Yorkshire were formed into six train-bands or companies duly officered, and united into a regiment. The officers were these:—In *Saco*, *Bryan Pendleton*, who was major of the regiment by brevet, and commanded the soldiery at Blackpoint:—In *Kittery*, Charles Frost, Captain, Roger Plaisted, Lieutenant, and John Gattery, Ensign:—In *York*, Job Alcock, Lieutenant, and Arthur Bragdon, Ensign:—In *Wells*, John Littlefield, Lieutenant, and Francis Littlefield jr., Ensign:—In *Scarborough*, Andrew Algier, Lieutenant:—In *Falmouth*, George Ingersoll, Lieutenant. Town commissioners, as heretofore were also appointed.

Local or special commissioners. To confirm and strengthen the authority of the County Court appointed next to be holden at York, on the 15th of the ensuing September; the Commissioners designated Messrs Waldron, Pike and Pendleton, to set with the Associates, for the trial of causes and the dispatch of business.

Report of Massachusetts commissioners. A written communication was presented to the Commissioners, July 9, just before they left the Province, and concluded the altercation between them and the justices. All that remains to be mentioned of the Commissioners' transactions is their report to the Legislature, made Oct. 23d. which was followed by a vote of public thanks for their services, and by an ample remuneration.†

This overture and change enkindled resentments, among the defeated party, which they were ill disposed to suppress. In their complaints and invectives, they were extravagant;—some continued obstinate, and a few left the Province.

John Joscelyn, after his second visit to this country in 1663,

* Francis Neale, Anthony Bracket, Arthur Anger, Mr. Foxwell and Robert Corbin, were town commissioners for Falmouth and Scarborough. —G. Ingersoll and George Felt, were jurymen from Falmouth.

† See the Commissioners' report in *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 596–600.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 240–5.—*Sullivan*, p. 376–382.—3 *Mass. Rec.* p. 295–7.—Nicholas Shapleigh was major, in 1665—N. Phillips in 1666—who, as Randolph says, only wanted an opportunity to express his duty to his Majesty. —*Hutch. Coll.* p. 500.

passed a large portion of his time in Scarborough, at the house of his brother Henry. In the "*account of his two voyages to New-England*," he wrote under the influence of strong prejudices towards Massachusetts, and has given a very incorrect relation of the preceding transactions. He states, that the king's Commissioners were sent over to put Mr. Gorges into possession of his Province, and to keep Massachusetts within due bounds. But as soon as they returned to England, Joscelyn says she "entered the Province in a hostile manner with a troop of horse and foot, and turned the judge and his assistants from the bench, imprisoned the major or commander of the militia,"* 'and highly threatened the Judge and all such as were faithful to the proprietary's interest.'† The Judge mentioned by him was evidently Henry Joscelyn, his brother. This man, who was one of Sir Ferdinando's provincial councillors, had been placed by the king's commission as before stated at the head of the bench both in Maine and Sagadahock. But after this, he left the Province, probably in disgust, and settled at Pemaquid; where, for several years, he assumed and continued to act, in his official capacity.‡

A. D. 1668.
J. Joscelyn's
voyages.

Henry Jos-
celyn's re-
moval.

At the General Court of elections in May 1669, at Boston three deputies appeared from Maine and took their seats; viz. Charles Frost from Kittery; Peter Wyer from York; and Richard Colicott from Falmouth and Scarborough. A presiding magistrate was delegated this spring to Yorkshire as usual; and for the accommodation of suitors, a legislative order was passed, in October, appointing the County Court to be holden alternately at York and Wells.§

A. D. 1669.
May.

Three depu-
ties from
Maine.

The resubjection of the Province to Massachusetts appeared this year, to be generally settled. Nichols had returned to England, and we hear no more of him or his colleagues in the Commission, among her accusers. Gorges was too necessitous, too irresolute, or too much discouraged by repeated defeats, to make any great exertions for the recovery of his inheritance. Yet it was always convenient for him to fill the king's ear with com-

State of the
Province.

* N. Phillips.

† Joscelyn's voyages, p. 199.

‡ *Small's deposition* taken Nov 11, 1737, Small then being 73 years old.—
Com. Rep. p. 99.

§ 3 Mass. Rec. 321.

A. D. 1669. complaints ; and he could find in England foes enough to Massachusetts, who were ever ready to encourage him in the pursuit of a right so manifestly just.

Wars between the Mohawks and N. E. Tribes.

The Eastern planters, being generally of republican and puritan sentiments, were contented. Numbers upon the seaboard were occupying lands under Indian deeds and possessory titles. The passion for fee-simple estates rendered the idea of quit-rents odious ; and the dreams of finding mines of precious metals, no longer inflated the hopes of the settler or the cupidity of the speculator. The natives were quiet. During the bloody and exterminating war, which had been raging six or seven years between the New-England Indians, and the Mohawks, the colonists had not been much troubled by Indian depredations. The decisive battle at last was fought in 1669 ; in which the former, who had been the besiegers, were worsted, and pursued by their fierce enemies with relentless fury.* If we may believe the tales of tradition, the Tarratines took part in the war ; and were followed to the banks of the Penobscot, by the victorious Mohawks, who set fire to their villages, and otherwise did the tribe considerable damage. To this, succeeded the small pox and other diseases, which carried off great numbers of the natives, especially in Canada, and greatly impaired the fur trade.

A. D. 1670.

Affairs in Maine settled.

In 1670,† the interior regulations of Yorkshire were perfected. Thomas Danforth, an experienced Assistant of ten years, was designated to preside in the Court of Associates or County Court ; and Elias Stileman, of Great Island, John Cutts and Richard Cutts, of Kittery, and three or four others in different towns, were appointed Commissioners as usual, invested with the authority of magistrates to try small causes, solemnize marriages, administer oaths and take the acknowledgment of deeds.‡ The Legislature, in fact, now solemnly enacted, that the several towns and inhabitants, should be secure in the enjoyment of the same civil and political privileges, which were granted to them when they were first brought under the charter ; and hence this system of administration was pursued several years, without any considerable alterations.

* 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 166-7.—1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 403-407.

† See in Hubbard's N. E. p. 646, a remarkable account of an excavation, A. D. 1670, in Wells, by a mineral vapor, rising over the highest oaks.

‡ 3 Mass. Rec. p. 364.—1 Brit. Dom. in Amer. p. 214.

As soon as the French were in full possession of Nova Scotia, A. D. 1670. and the country westwardly of it, including Penobscot, they Aspect of eastern affairs. boldly claimed jurisdiction over the residue of the Duke's eastern patent, even to Kennebeck river. It was observed that the administration of its affairs was still in the hands of Henry Joscelyn and other justices, appointed by the king's Commissioners; that there was existing a great contrariety of feeling between them and the inhabitants, towards Massachusetts; that a close alliance was established between England and France; and that Lovelace, the Duke's Governor at New-York, was treating the ducal territory at Sagadahock with utter neglect. De Bourg, the French Governor, was a bigoted politician, in every way different from Temple, his excellent predecessor; and the Duke was suspected of undue attachment to the French court, besides being himself at heart a catholic. In this aspect of affairs, Massachusetts and the Duke's colonists might with great reason inquire, whether any event were more probable, than the sale or resignation of his entire eastern patent to the French.

To contravene a measure so much apprehended, the General A. D. 1671. Court, in May, 1671, looked anew into the eastern extent of their patent; and suspecting the correctness of the former survey, A re-survey of Massachusetts patent. came to a determination to have another made. For this purpose, they appointed Thomas Clark, their agent, who was one of the firm of Clark and Lake,—landholders of large tracts between Sagadahock and the Sheepscot; and he employed George Mountjoy of Falmouth, to make the observations. This man was a skilful and celebrated surveyor of his time, an adherent probably to the interests of the Lygonian proprietary, and not otherwise a foe to Massachusetts.*

Though all new subjects require deliberation, no time was to be lost in the accomplishment of this critical business, as no pains were spared by Massachusetts to render her measures in the highest degree popular, among all the eastern inhabitants. The most acceptable men were appointed to office; and in the Isles of Shoals, or Appledore, belonging partly to Gorges and partly to Mason, Commissioners, appointed at the people's re-

* Sullivan.

A. D. 1672. quest, were empowered to try all causes of £10:—The next year they were annexed to the County of Dover.*

Extent of
the patent
eastward.

Mountjoy completed the survey and made his report to the legislature, A. D. 1672. In his search he found, as he believed, the northernmost source of the Merrimack to be about two leagues farther north, than had been determined by preceding surveyors.† To this, add three miles, according to the stipulation in the patent, and the parallel of latitude found, would be 43° 49' 12". A line from this point, stretched due east would cross the Sagadahock, near where Bath now is, and terminate at White Head Island in the bay of Penobscot. By this survey, if accepted and established, there would be brought within the charter an extensive seaboard, also Arrowsick, Parker's and Georges' Islands,‡ Monhegan, Metinicus and all the other Islands upon the coast, likewise the principal settlement at Pemaquid. Yet should the Duke be in this manner bereft of all his more commodious water-privileges and a great part of his provincials; he might in a fit of ill-humor resist this encroachment, though he being of the cabinet had passively consented, that the French by the treaty of Breda should have all his patent eastward of Penobscot; and though in fact he held the particular territory lying between Sagadahock and Pemaquid,—below the line extending from the head of the latter to the former, only by a possessory right, not by charter right.§ It was happy too, for Massachusetts, that the claim raised by this new survey, while it was of so doubtful a character, did not embrace Dartmouth, the seat of the Duke's government. But if this and some other incidents were merely plausible in appearances, one event of the war, lately declared by England against Holland, encouraged Massachusetts in the prosecution of her claim. This was the recapture of the fort at New-York, July 30, 1673, by a Dutch armament under Binkes, Evertzen and Clove, from the West Indies.|| For as soon as the capitulation of that colonial government was concluded, Governor Lovelace returned

Dutch war.

A. D. 1673.

* 7 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 243.—3 Mass. Rec. p. 380—408.

† Ante, A. D. 1652—Lat. 43°, 43', 12".

‡ Sullivan, p. 291—272—390.—“The seacoast being well inhabited and the fishing in a flourishing state.”—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 292.

§ See ante, A. D. 1664.

|| Hubbard's N. E. p. 611.—Smith's N. Y.—p. 29.

to England ;* leaving only a mere shadow of the Duke's authority at Sagadahock, and abandoning the planters to the destinies of their fortune and fate. A. D. 1673.

Encouraged by these eventful circumstances, the General Court gave their sanction to Mountjoy's survey ; and proceeded, during their session in October, to erect the easternmost section of the patent, beyond Sagadahock into a new county. For this purpose, the legislature appointed four commissioners, Thomas Clark, Humphrey Davy, Richard Callicot, and Thomas Gardiner,† who were directed to meet at Pemaquid, Cape Newagen, or some other convenient place eastward of Sagadahock river, hold a court and organize a county,—in legislative language, “according to the wholesome laws of this jurisdiction, that so “the ways of Godliness may be encouraged, and vice arrested.”

Commissioners appointed to form a new county.

Invested with powers, direct and discretionary, fully adequate to the trust, they opened their court, in May, 1674, at Pemaquid, which was attended by a considerable number of people. According to their express desire, the court first erected this section of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, from Sagadahock to Georges' river inclusive, into a county by the name of “*Devonshire*,”—in remembrance of one in England, having that name, of which Plymouth was the chief town. Next, they administered the oath of allegiance to 84 inhabitants present ; and proceeded to make appointments among them, though none were legally freemen, according to the colony laws.

Devonshire established.

They appointed *Thomas Gardiner*, county treasurer, *Richard Oliver* of Monhegan, clerk of the court and recorder, and *Thomas Humphrey* of Sagadahock, marshal, who as executive officer of the county, was directed to take charge of the prison. The constables, were Thomas Humphrey of Sagadahock, and Robert Gammon of Cape Newagen. *Mr. Gardiner*, *Mr. Gammon*, *Capt. Edward Patteshall* of Sagadahock, *Mr. John Palmer* of Monhegan, were appointed plantation or local commissioners, and empowered to marry parties legally published, to take the acknowledgment of deeds, to hold “a commissioners' court,” for

Officers.

* 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 292.

† *Clark* had been the agent, and was then an assistant. *Davy* was six years afterwards an assistant. *Callicot* had been a deputy to the General Court from Falmouth and Scarborough, in 1669, and for Saco in 1672. *Gardiner* was a worthy landholder, and lived at Pemaquid.

A. D. 1674. trying without a jury, small causes of £10, and to fine for criminal misdemeanors 10s, or award ten stripes, according to law, or any special order of the General Court. There were also, in the plantations last mentioned, four intelligent men appointed clerks of the writs, and eight grand jurymen* designated;—to whom, and to all the civil officers, were administered the qualifying oaths.

Militia.

In organizing the *militia*, the court formed five trainbands, viz. at Sagadahock, Pemaquid, Damariscove, Cape Newagen, and Monhegan; but appointed over them no officers of higher grade than sergeants and corporals; except two companies, the one at Sagadahock, which seems to have been put under the command of Capt. Patteshall; and the one at Pemaquid, which was placed under Capt. Gardiner, who was likewise “to have the command “and regulation of all the military forces and affairs throughout “the county.”

Commissioners' Report.

A report† of these regulations and appointments, the legislative commissioners certified “at Pemaquid, May 27, 1674,” which being presented to the General Court the same month, was confirmed; they receiving a return of thanks, and suitable remuneration for their services. The Legislature then ordered a County Court to be holden annually, on the 3d Tuesday of July, at some place in the county, probably at Pemaquid; appointed Humphrey Davy, Thomas Lake, Richard Callicot, Thomas Gardiner, and George Mountjoy, special commissioners, to hold the ensuing term; and directed the constables to call together, “at convenient times,” the inhabitants of their respective towns and plantations, and ‘read to them the colony laws.’‡

July.

Term of the C. Courts.

Taxes.

At the July term, the County Court, holden by the special commissioners, levied and apportioned a tax of £20, to defray “court charges,” and to pay for “law books, constables’ staves,” and other public expenses. It was apportioned thus—to Sagadahock £4, 10s; to Monhegan £5, 10s; to Cape Newagen

* The jurors were *Robert Edmunds* and *Ambrose Hancell* of Sagadahock; *John Wiford*, *Elias Trick*, and *John Prior*, of Damariscove; *George Bickford* and *Reynold Kelley* of Monhegan; and *John Cole* of Pemaquid.

† 4 Mass. Rec. p. 3–12–13.

‡ 4 Mass. Rec. p. 16.—This brought Henry Joscelyn (like Wheelwright, at another time and place) within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

£3, 10s; to Damariscove and Hippocrass* £5; and to Pem- A. D. 1674.
aquid† £2. The local commissioners, and grand jurors of each place were required to assess the same, "on the persons and estates of the inhabitants;" and the constables directed to collect the money, and pay it over to the county treasurer. Finally, the court licensed some suitable persons in each of the five places just mentioned "to keep a house of public entertainment," be provided with necessary lodgings, and retail "wine, beer and liquors, for the year ensuing according to law."‡

To mention one probate case as a specimen of legal proceeding;—administration was granted by the Court, to George Barnett of Monhegan, upon the estate of John Waller, a seaman, resident alternately at that place and Damariscove, who had been dead five years. The administrator gave bond in the penal sum of £50, with Richard Oliver as surety, obliging him to present an inventory at the next term, and to dispose of the property to whom "by law and the clearest testimony," it belonged.

But these transactions, which exhibit somewhat minutely the interesting policy and prudentials of early times, were scarcely closed, when news arrived of a treaty of peace between England and Holland, signed Feb. 9th. By its sixth article, it appeared that the province of New-York was fully restored to the English. To avoid henceforward the effects of a constructive cession to the crown, which some might call the present surrender, the Duke of York took from the king a new patent, dated June 22d, 1674, Peace with the Dutch. comprising all the territories embraced in that of 1664.§ Immediately, James, the Duke, commissioned Sir Edmund Andros, Duke's new patent. Governor of both provinces, New-York and Sagadahock, who Andros, governor. assumed the reins of government in October.||

At this period, the country upon the seaboard between Piscataqua and Penobscot, was in a flourishing state.¶ M. Denys in his history published ten years before, says, 'the French have a M. Denys', and J. Joscelyn's remarks. fort on the east side of the Penobscot bay; and on the other

* Originally, "*Hypocrite*."

† Now *Bristol*.

‡ 4 Mass. Rec. p. 15-16.

§ Trumbull's Conn. p. 326.

|| Smith's N. Y. p. 32.—Chalmers, p. 531.—39 Un. Hist. p. 349.

¶ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 292.

A. D. 1674. 'hand the English are settled in great numbers, and have' "a large country cleared and under improvement."*

Joscelyn, remarking upon the eastern plantations, in his *Voyages*, published this year, observes, that "Black-point contains about 50 dwellinghouses, and a magazine." "The people have a great number of neat cattle and horses, 7 or 800 sheep, a corn-mill, much arable land, and large marshes both salt and fresh." Falmouth, a town on Casco bay, he says, "is stored with cattle and sheep, has a corn mill or two, and stages for fishermen." 'Sagadahock further eastward,' he adds, 'is stored with cattle and corn-lands, and has many scattered houses and stages along shore, or cabins for those employed in the fisheries':—And the country "from Sagadahock to Nova Scotia is called the *Duke of York's Province*. Here Pemaquid, Metinicus, Monhegan, Cape Newagen, where Capt. Smith fished for whales, and Muscongus, are all filled with dwellinghouses and stages for fishermen, and have plenty of cattle, arable lands and marshes."†

Courts.

Massachusetts, highly gratified with these appearances, continued a regular and tranquil administration of justice in Yorkshire and Devonshire, holding from year to year, County Courts, in one by an Assistant and the Associates, and in the other, more remote, by five resident commissioners.‡ Still the claimants of the country, especially the Duke and Gorges, and no less the ordering French, filled her with extreme and perpetual anxiety. In the first place, therefore, to put the clamors and complaints of Gorges to silence, she instructed her agent in England, to offer him £500, for an acquittance of his Province. But the late peace had probably enhanced its value, for the agent stated to the General Court that "Gorges and others were in the clouds, and expected as much by the year, in interest."

A. D. 1675. Added to these perplexities, were the calamities of an Indian war, which broke out in 1675, between King Philip of Narra-

King Philip's war.

* Mass. Letter Book, p. 104.—2 Vols. of Denys'.—6 Charlevoix, N. F. p. 407-9.

† *Joscelyn's Voyages*, p. 200-5.—His account ends in 1673.

‡ 4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 23-28.—Because Devonshire was remote, the business small and the travelling precarious, the General Court ordered that "the County Court be holden by such men of worth as might be commissioned, though neither be an Assistant."

ganset and the United Colonies. This caused an enquiry into A. D. 1675. the strength of the country, and the efficient means of defence. The official report was favorable; for by returns of the militia Eastern soldiery. in the Yorkshire regiment, and the estimation of the effective soldiery in Devonshire, we have these results:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Kittery contained | 180 soldiers, |
| York, | 80 |
| Wells* and Cape Porpoise, | 80 |
| Saco and Winter Harbor, | 100 |
| Black-point and Blue-point, | 100 |
| Casco-bay, or Falmouth, | 80 |
| Sagadahock westward, | 80 |
| | — |
| | 700† |
| Devonshire, | 150 |
| Residue of the Duke's patent, | 150‡ |
| | — |
| | 1,000 |

From these data, it may be safely estimated, that the white pop- Population. ulation between Piscataqua and Penobscot, must, at this period, have been 5 or 6,000 souls.

The war soon involved Massachusetts in heavy expenses; for, according to the terms upon which New-Hampshire, and the two Eastern Counties submitted to her jurisdiction, neither was obliged to bear any part of the public charges, nor pay any other taxes than those of their own counties. Nevertheless, in the present emergency—in the extremities of a general defence, the delegation from Yorkshire, influenced by motives of public policy and justice, were content to have the inhabitants of their county as- Taxation.

* Before 1633, there were in Wells, 100 families.—*Oldmixon*, p. 61.

† *Chalmers*, p. 507.—In 1673, there were in New-England, 120,000 souls; and 16,000 able to bear arms.—The militia of Connecticut, 2,070 men.—1 *Trumbull*, p. 340.—But the preceding estimate of population, is quite too low, for there were in Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Maine, and Sagadahock, in 1676, 150,000.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 484.

‡ There were as many as 156 families east of Sagadahock, in 1675; and between that river and St. Georges' river, "near 100 fishing vessels owned" by the people there.—*Sylvanus Davis' statement to the Mass. Assistants*, 1675.—John Joscelyn says, there were at Black-point, in 1671, "50 dwellinghouses," and Mr. Willis calculates there might be, in 1675, 400 inhabitants in Falmouth.

A. D. 1675. sessed with a fair proportion of the expenses, incurred by the war. The whole sum was large, and hence, the General Court directed the selectmen of the several towns, by warrants from the treasurer, to assess immediately, according to law "nine country rates;" and cause the money to be collected and paid into the public treasury. It is understood, that the sum total, raised in Yorkshire, was £157, 10s.*

Happy
union of
Maine and
Massachu-
setts.

This was the first general tax which the inhabitants of Maine ever paid into the colonial treasury. To protect them, and their interests and favor their wishes, Massachusetts was now laid under a fourfold obligation, namely, allegiance, fidelity, friendship and public taxes. Nor was implicit unshaken confidence in another ever more justly and worthily reposed. Their rights were respected; justice was administered with constancy and effect, in both the counties of York and Devonshire, so long as it was practicable; and it must be acknowledged, that Massachusetts was always as ready to aid and protect, as to tax and govern.

A. D. 1676.
Duke of
Monmouth.

But this eastern country caused Massachusetts many and great anxieties. Among her foes were malevolent accusers as well as avaricious complainants. A year or too since, there was a project started to aliene unto the crown, the whole country from the Merrimack to the Penobscot; in prospect of erecting it into a royal Province for the Duke of Monmouth. So much was he infatuated with the probabilities of deriving from this source an annual revenue of £5,000, that the most positive facts to the contrary, fully adduced, were hardly sufficient to dissuade him from pursuing the deceptive phantom.†

Claims of
Gorges and
Mason re-
vived.

Gorges and Mason, in the prosecution of their complaints against Massachusetts, had at length so far succeeded as to persuade his Majesty to send copies of the charges to her, and to require the appearance of agents in her defence. The bearer

* 4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 42.—A single tax in Massachusetts was £1,500, in Maine £17, 10; of which each taxable poll paid 12d.—The tax with the overlays in Massachusetts was apportioned thus:

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|------|-----------------|
| Suffolk, | 16 towns, | paid | £ 613, 6s. 11d. |
| Essex, | 17 " | " | 474, 10, 11 |
| Middlesex, | 16 " | " | 465, 8, 6 |

Total, £1, 553, 6, 4
 - - £13, 979, 17, 0
 Nine country rates would amount to - - £13, 979, 17, 0
 In Maine £17, 10, multiplied by 9=£157, 10s. total.
 † *Hutch. Coll.* p. 451—472.

was Edward Randolph, a kinsman of Mason, and a man of address, activity and information—noted for his unvarnished prejudices and severe animadversions, on all occasions, where his friends and foes were at variance. Another part of the errand which he received from the Lords of trade, was, to make enquiries into the condition of the country, and report to them a statement of facts.

After his arrival, June 10, he passed six weeks in visits and enquiries at Boston, and in this eastern region; and returning to England, delayed not to make a detailed report to his employers, especially to the board of trade. In this he observes, ‘if we except Massachusetts, I “found the colonies including Maine very “desirous of submitting to a general Governor.” “Several of ‘the principal inhabitants, particularly in the latter Province, came ‘to me with bitter complaints, and entreated me to represent ‘their condition to his Majesty;—ardently expecting relief as ‘promised by the Commissioners, in 1665. Some said they had ‘greatly suffered and others had been quite ruined, by the Indians, only because they had in those days expressed their duty ‘to his Majesty. The inhabitants of New-Hampshire, Maine ‘and the Duke’s Province, were holding,’ he said, ‘a friendly correspondence with their French neighbors; while the government of Massachusetts was entertaining a perfect hatred towards ‘them.’”*

Randolph's
visit and re-
port.

In a memorial to his Majesty, sent by their agents, William Stoughton, Lieutenant Governor, and Peter Bulkley, speaker of the House, who embarked for England, Oct. 30, the General Court represented—that the colony had been involved more than a year in all the privations and calamities of an Indian war; that though the heathen were beaten in the vicinity, and their great leader slain, they had sprung up in the eastern country, more malignant and desperate in consequence of defeat; and that the colony government was unhappily required, at one and the same time, to maintain a title to the Provinces, to defend the inhabitants, who were constantly praying for succour, and to dispute, with a bloody and barbarous enemy, the possession of these dismal deserts. ‘We may be highly charged, said the General Court, but ‘we appeal to the great Searcher of hearts, that no wrong to

Memorial
of Massa-
chusetts to
the king.

* Hutch. Coll. p. 508.

A. D. 1676. 'proprietors is intended,—no profit to ourselves is sought. Quite 'other motives actuate us :—these are a sacred regard to our 'charter rights, and a strong sense of justice, duty and compassion towards the inhabitants, so distracted with dissensions—all 'which have moved us to receive them to the bosom of favor.'*

Her instructions to her agents.

By the instructions given to the agents, the whole chain of events was to be passed in review before his Majesty ; the abandonment of the Provinces, in 1634, by Neal, agent to Gorges and Mason ; the melancholy condition of the inhabitants in subsequent years ; their cheerful submission under the Massachusetts' charter, in 1652 ; and their prosperity and quiet, in 1665, when the king's commissioners effected changes in the government which scarcely outlived their departure ;—and to conclude, said the General Court, 'though the country may never be of any great 'value or advantage to us ; yet' "if a *sum of money* will deter "the claimants from further persecution, and they will resign "and release all their interest in these eastern parts, and bring "the matter to a final close, you may do as discretion shall dictate."

A decision by the king in council.

A hearing soon after the arrival of the agents was granted to them and their antagonists, before a committee of the privy council, consisting of the Lords Chief Justices of the King's bench and Common Pleas, and the Lords of trade and plantations.—Having examined all the charters, and other evidences adduced, they decided, "that they could give no opinion, as to "the right of soil in the provinces of New-Hampshire and Maine, "not having the proper parties before them ; it appearing that "not the Massachusetts colony, but probably the ter-tenants, had "the right of soil and whole benefit thereof,—yet they were not "summoned to defend their titles :"—†—and this equivocal decision or report was confirmed by the crown.

Though all the claims of Massachusetts to Maine, were apparently extinguished by this decision, it did not determine who was the rightful owner of the Province, but left the future discussion of that question "to the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "both as to soil and government."‡ It however evidently gave

* 4 Mass. Rec.

† 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 286.—1 Belknap's N. H. p. 137.

‡ Hubbard's N. E. p. 613.

the ter-tenants or possessors, a much broader and stronger hold A. D. 1676. of the fee, than his grandson, the present claimant, could have anticipated or apprehended.

To avoid further controversy and trouble, Massachusetts fully resolved to purchase of Gorges, if possible, all his interest in the Province. Accordingly she employed John Usher,* a trader of Boston, then in England, to negotiate the bargain,† without awaiting the result of any farther discussions about the ownership; who, though the king himself was in treaty with Gorges to obtain it, soon effected a purchase and took an assignment of the Province, May 6th, 1677,‡ for which he gave the proprietor £1,250 sterling. The instrument, which was of great length, described the parties, expressed the consideration, and gave the limits and boundaries, as set forth in the original charter to Sir Ferdinando. It in fact transferred the territories with “all royalties, jurisdictions, ecclesiastical, civil, admiral and military;—the privileges, governments and liberties, granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges by charter, the 3d day of April, in the 15th year of Charles I.” A. D. 1639. Gorges the grantor covenanted, “that the said Usher should stand seized of an absolute, perfect, and independent estate of and in the said County Palatine;”—“excepting all leases, grants and conveyances made by the original proprietor or his agents, engaged in planting the Province, especially all grants to William Phillips.”§

* Usher was afterwards Lieut. Gov. of New-Hampshire, and one of Dudley's Councillors.—*Elliot's Biog.*

† 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 283.

‡ Douglas says it was “July 20, 1677”.—1 *Doug. Sum.* p. 387.—*Chalmers*, p. 397.—Others say it was “March 13, 1677.” But by an authentic copy of the *Indenture* in the Secretary's office in Boston, May 6, 1677, is the date.

§ Major Phillips lived in Saco.—*Sullivan*, p. 373.

Note.—List of Deputies or Representatives to the General Court from Maine, while the Province was under the colony charter, before the above assignment took effect.

Kittery——John Wincoln, A. D. 1653, 6 years; or 2 of this name.

Thomas Withers, 1656, 1 year.

Humphrey Chadbourn, 1657, 3 years.

Charles Frost, 1658, 5 years.

Roger Plaisted, 1663, 3 years.

Edward Hutchinson, 1670, 2 years.—A non-resident.

James Emery, 1676, 1 year.

Richard Waldron, (of Dover N. H.) 1679, speaker, 1 year.

A. D. 1667. The preceding memoirs are the traces of facts and events, which fill the first half century of settlement and public affairs in this interesting country. If our progress has been slow, the checks have arisen principally from those political changes, which always damp, and often extinguish emulation and enterprise. Though the facts and incidents recorded, are comparatively few, and may be thought to occupy pages beyond their merits; they are nevertheless the elements of our history. They give us a portrait of the state in the cradle. They show us the seeds with which the country was first planted; the springs opened by the earliest occupants; the traits of our youthful character; and the rudiments of our political science. What are the exuberant gifts of nature under a vertical sun, are essentially with us the product of culture, labor and art. Our advancements in improvement, wealth and happiness, are the revenue of persevering industry, and salutary regulations. The past fifty years show us tests of experiment;—the future will afford us the wisdom of experience.

York——Edward Rishworth, 1653, 13 years, and of Wells 1 year.
 Peter Wyer, 1665, 2 years.
 Samuel Wheelwright, 1677, 1 year, and for Wells and York, 1 year.

Wells——Hugh Gunnison, 1654, 1 year and for York 1 year.
 Francis Littlefield, 1665, 1 year.
 William Simonds, 1676, 1 year.

Falmouth Edward Rishworth, 1659, 1 year.

& Scarboro'—Henry Joscelyn, 1660, 1 year.

George Cleaves, 1663, 2 years.

Richard Callicot, 1669, 1 year.

Francis Neale, 1670, 1 year.

Arthur Angier, 1671, 2 years.

Peter Bracket, 1673, 2 years.

Saco——Robert Boothe, 1659, 1 year.

Richard Hitchcock, 1660, 1 year.

Richard Callicot, 1672, 1 year.

N. B.—There were no representatives returned from Maine, **A. D. 1666-7-8**; and none after **A. D. 1679**—in this latter year there were two.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Aborigines—Lenni Lenape—Joined by the Mohawks—The Allegheny overcome—The Mohawks affronted with the French—The Mohegans—Algonquins—Indian language and intercourse—Thirty tribes in New-England—Their names—Four dialects in New-England—1st, the Mohegan; 2d, the Aberginian; 3d, Abenquis and Etechemin; and 4th, Mickmak—Union of the four New-Hampshire tribes—Two celebrated chiefs, Passaconaway and Rowles—Their premonitory observations and advice.

THIS Eastern country, when originally discovered by Europeans, was full of aboriginal inhabitants. The first war they made upon the English settlers, was in 1675. ^{A. D. 1615, to 1675.} Having, therefore, in our progress arrived to this era; it becomes expedient, before we narrate the particulars of the war, to take a view of the Natives themselves.*

* All historic accounts of the Indian tribes at this age are viewed with interest. In the present annals and observations, the author intends to confine himself, after a concise introduction, almost exclusively to the natives of Maine. To prevent repetition, he would mention the following books and writers, that have been carefully consulted. 1. *Rev. William Hubbard's* History of New-England and Indian Wars. 2. *Mr. Daniel Gookin's* account of the Indians, A. D. 1674, published in 1st vol. Mass. Hist. Coll. p. 76-102. 3. *Rev. John Heckewelder* of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, one of the committee of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia, 1 vol. 464 pages, Ed. 1819. 4. *Rev. Doct. Jonathan Edwards* "Observations on the language of the Mukhekanew Indians,"—pastor of the church, New-Haven. He says in his preface, "while I was a boy of six years, I began to learn the Indian dialect, at Stockbridge, where my father removed, and where there were then 150 families of Indians, and only 12 families of whites." He adds, "the Mohegan language became more familiar to me than my mother tongue."—Ed. 1788. 5. "New views of the origin of the tribes and natives of America." By *Benjamin Smith Barton*, M. D.—having a preface of 109 pages, and a vocabulary of 83 pages more.—Philadelphia Ed. 1797. 6. *Thomas Jeffreys's* History of the French Dominions in North and South America.—Ed. 4to. London, A. D. 1761. 7. "A concise description of the English and French Possessions in North America." By *J. Palairer*, agent of their High-mightinesses, the States General of the United Provinces.—Ed. London, 1755. 8. *Baron*

A D. 1615,
to 1675.
Lenape In-
dians.

According to Mr. Heckewelder's account of the Indian traditions,* the "*Lenni Lenape*,"—or *original people*, as they call themselves, migrated, "many hundred years ago," in a body from the western parts of the American continent to the Mississippi; where they found the *Mengwe*, or *Maquas*, higher up the river, who had also come thither from a distant country; both being in quest of better land, than they had left. The former found a fertile inviting region eastward of that river, inhabited by a "goodly people," the *Alligewi*, or *Allegheny*; who at once disputed the progress of the Lenape, with uncompromising valor.

Alligewi.

After great and bloody, but indecisive battles, the Mengwe joined the Lenape upon the stipulated terms of dividing all conquests achieved, equally between them. The war continued to rage a great number of years afterwards, till at last, the Alligewi being completely overcome, fled down the river and never returned.

The Mo-
hawks.

The Mengwe took the regions contiguous to the great lakes, extending from Erie to Champlain, and from the Kittatinny and highlands to Ontario and the river St. Lawrence. They originally consisted of *five*, latterly *six* tribes, denominated the "*Six Nations*."—They have been called the *Iroquois*, from the name of the river they inhabited; and *Mohawks*, because they were the oldest branch of the family or confederacy. The next in seigniority and rank, were the *Senecas* and *Onondagos*; the juniors were the *Cayugas* and the *Oneidas*. The sixth and youngest tribe was the *Tuscaroras*. The latter emigrated from the borders of North Carolina, subsequent to the commencement of English settlements in that quarter. They were supposed to be a part of the same original stock, from a striking affinity of language and an immemorial brotherhood.

Mohegans.

The Lenape spread up and down the great rivers Potomac, Delaware, Susquehanna, and Hudson. At length, a body passed the latter river, which they called the "*Mahicannituck*;" from

La Hontan, "New Voyages," &c. 9. "*History of Indian Wars in New-England*."—(Anonymous.) Montpelier Ed. 1812. By *Wright and Sibley*. 10. Other authors who will be occasionally cited. 11. Appendix to 6th vol. *Encyclopedia Americana*, p. 581–600.

* Reviewers have pronounced Mr. Heckewelder too credulous; but it is certain, his writings bear the strongest marks of probability, if they are not entirely authentic.

whence they acquired the general name of *Mahicans*, and spread themselves in process of time over all the country, now embraced by the New-England States. The Lenape have always called them, their grandchildren; and the English have written and pronounced their name "*Mohegans*."* A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

A difference or affinity in dialect, and a mutual intercourse or deadly enmity in fact, are the principal criteria by which authors have undertaken to classify the Indian nations. For instance—the language of the Mohawks, according to Dr. Edwards, is peculiar to that people, ‘wholly destitute of *labials* ;’ whereas the Mohegan tongue abounds with them.

It is agreed, that the Algonquins† were once a very large people, “including a great number of tribes.” Palairer says, they originally “lived 100 leagues above the Trois Rivières,” ‘till ‘defeated by the Mohawks, and three fourths of them slain ;’ ‘when the remains took refuge near lake Ontario. Their language,’ he adds, “is highly esteemed in Canada, because all the ‘nations for a thousand leagues around, except the Iroquois [or ‘Mohawks] understand it perfectly ;’” and Jeffreys assures us, their “tongue is still preserved north of Lake Huron.” Algonquins,

Charlevoix “says the Algonquins and Hurons divided almost all ‘the native language of Canada. Such as are masters of these, ‘can pass over 1,500 leagues of country, and converse with people of an hundred dialects. The *Algonquin* is most extensive. It commences at Acadia and the St. Lawrence, and ‘makes a circuit of 1,200 leagues. It is pretended that the ‘natives of New-England and Virginia spoke dialects of the ‘same language.’‡

If we may believe the celebrated Mr. Heckewelder, the Mohegans, at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, were in possession of the whole coast, ‘from Roanoke to the northernmost parts of Nova Scotia ; and he appears satisfied, that theirs and the Algonquin language were the same original ; the only difference arising from provincial dialects. It is certain, there has been, time immemorial, a friendly intercourse between them.

* Dr. Edwards says, the word in the singular is “Muhhekancew” plural, “Muhhekaneok.”—

† La Hontan says, the Etechemin dialect differed little from that of the Algonquin.—p. 223—290.

‡ 5 Charlevoix, N. F. p. 273—291.

A. D. 1615, Nay, the Algonquins and the Eastern tribes have long enjoyed particular fellowship. Samuel Champlain mentions a great feast in his day, A. D. 1603, which was prepared by the Algonquins, and attended by the Mountaineers and the Etechemins.* It is said, too, from good authority, that when the French drew off the eastern natives to St. François and Becancour in Canada, they were joined by numbers of Algonquins.†

Mohawks,
the French
and the
English.

The Mohawk tribes, always in a confederated state called by them their "strong-house," waged war about the close of the 16th century, against the Adirondacks, north of the Great Lakes. Being worsted, however, by means of firearms furnished their enemies by the French adventurers upon the St. Lawrence, and forced into a treaty, they conceived a hatred and hostility towards the French, which nothing could extinguish.‡

But when they afterwards turned their arms against some branches of the Lenape nation,—the Delawares upon the river of their name,—and the Mohegans eastward of the Hudson; they seem to have gained great advantages over their enemies, evidently through the instrumentality and help of the Dutch, who persuaded the Lenape of Delaware, some time before 1620, to mediate a peace between the Mohawks and Mohegans.§ These events, attaching the Mohawks to the Dutch, gave their English successors an advantage, which was eagerly improved, and resulted in most important alliances. The proud Mohawks, afterwards called the Lenape, *squaw-fighters*, from the proverbial peace-making character of Indian females.||

Indian
tribes in N.
England.

If the Mohegans were the original inhabitants of New-England and Nova Scotia, they were found by the first English settlers to be divided into about 30 distinct tribes;¶ and the names

* Purchas' Pil. p. 933-6.

† 5 Charlevoix's N. F.

‡ Gookin.—1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 161.—Barton's view of the Indian tribes, p. 25-6.

§ Hub. N. E. p. 34.

|| By treaty of United States with the Six Nations, 1794, they agreed to give them \$1,500, to be distributed among the tribes in clothing, ammunition, domestic animals, &c. according to their numbers in the United States: Thus in the United States, Oneidas 620; Cayugas 40; Onondagos 450; Tuscaroras 400; Senecas 1,780; Stockbridge or Brothertown 150—total 3,440. Within the British lines 760. Total 4,200.

¶ Gookin makes 5 principal nations in New-England,—1. Pequots,—2. Narragansets,—3. Pawkunkutts,—4. the Massachusetts, and 5. the Pawtuckets. The latter "had under them several smaller Sagamores,

of *twenty-six*, and their respective territories or principal places of abode being well known, we will now, for the sake of convenient reference, mention in *alphabetical* order.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.
Indian
tribes of N.
England.

1. The *Abenagues* appear to have been a generic name for all the natives between Penobscot, exclusive, and "Accomenticus,"—possibly Piscataqua, and were divided into four principal tribes, presently to be mentioned. 2. The *Agawams*,* a small people about Ipswich in Massachusetts. 3. The *Annasagunticooks*, upon the river Androscoggin. 4. The *Canibas*,† a great tribe on both sides of the Kennebeck. 5. The *Mickmaks*, or Souriquois of Nova Scotia.‡ 6. The *Mohegans*, a particular tribe by this name, inhabiting the present county of Windham in Connecticut, and the territory northwardly, nearly to the State line. They were a very powerful people, numbering 3,000 warriors, of whom Uncas was the great chief. Their neighbors were the Pequods south; the Wongsuns and Podunks west; the Narragansetts east; and the Nipmucks north.§ 7. The *Massachusetts* tribe|| was also originally very large; spreading over Suffolk, Norfolk, the easterly part of Middlesex and northerly part of Essex counties. But it was remarkably thinned by the plague or yellow fever of 1617. Nanepashemet was their most noted Chief, whose residence was at the mouth of Mystic river. 8. The *Marechites* or *Armouchiquois*, lived on the river St. John. 9. The *Nashaways*; and 10. the Nipnets or Nipmucks, were inland tribes, within the county of Worcester, and about the ponds of Oxford township.¶ The latter were southward of the Nashaways, and subject to the Mohegans. 11. The *Narragansetts* were probably superior in strength and numbers to any other tribe in New-England, except the Pequods. Their dominions extended from the seashore through the whole width of Rhode-Island, nearly to its northern limits. When the settlements were first commenced at Plymouth, this people could muster 5,000 fighting men, and numbered about 20,000 souls.** 12. The *Naticks* were a new formed tribe, consisting of 'praying' or convert-

Their
names.

"as the Pennacooks, the Agawams, the Naumkeeks, Piscataways, Accomenticas and others."—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 102.

* Hub. N. E. p. 32.† "Kennebecks"—*Gookin*.—*Prince*, p. 134.

‡ J. De Laet. § Hub. N. E. p. 33—255—408. || *Prince*, p. 113.

¶ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 257.—1 Trumbull's Con. p. 43.

** *Prince*, p. 46.—Note, [14] 106.—1 Trum. Con. p. 70.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.
Indian
tribes of N.
England.

ed Indians, collected and settled at Dedham. In 1651 they combined under a form of civil government, having rulers of fifties and rulers of tens; and in 1660 were embodied into a church. They were several times, the auxiliaries of the English in the eastern wars.* 13. The *Nausites* dwelt south-eastwardly of Plymouth;—the people from whom Hunt kidnapped seven, and thus filled the tribe with enmity towards the English.† 14. The *Nehanticks*‡ were on the eastern side of Connecticut river at its mouth, where Lyme now is. Their chief was the famous Ninegret, who engaged the Wampanoags and even the Mohawks, in the conquest of the Long Island Indians. 15. The *Newichawannocks* inhabited the upper branches of the river Piscataqua. 16. The *Openangos* are supposed to have been the inhabitants upon the *Passamaquoddy-bay*. 17. The *Pequods*,§ in numbers and power, were at the head of all the tribes in New-England. They claimed dominion of the country between the Narragansetts and the Nehanticks. Their central resort and villages were about the coasts of New-London harbor. But they were totally destroyed, A. D. 1638. 18. the *Pawkunawkutts* or *Wampanoags*|| were a great people, occupying all the western and southern parts of the Plymouth colony. Mount Hope [Bristol] was the Sachem's place of residence. Massasoit was the first Sagamore of whom the English have any knowledge. He had 3,000 bowmen. His successors were his sons Alexander and the far famed *Philip*, the greatest warrior of the age. 19. The *Pentuckets*¶ were the natives of Merrimack river, whose principal village was about the falls at Dracut. This tribe, it is said, once contained 3,000 souls. 20. The *Pennacooks*** also dwelt upon the banks of the Merrimack, above Amoskeag falls in the vicinity of Concord, New-Hampshire; containing 3,000 souls. 21. The *Podunks*†† were the native inhabitants of East Hartford in Connecticut. 22. The *Seconnets*‡‡ were situated at Little Compton, above Pocasset or Tivertown. Their ancient

* Hubbard's N. E. p. 652—3.

† Prince, p. 99—100.

‡ 1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 277.—9 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 79.

§ Hubbard's N. E. p. 33.—Indian Wars, p. 14.—1 Trumbull's Con. p. 41—47.—The Pequods said that Sassacus, chief of the Narragansetts, was “all one God; no man could kill him.”

¶ Prince, p. 106.

¶ 2 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 142.—Belk. N. H. p. 16.

** 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 180.

†† 1 Morse's Geog. p. 346.

‡‡ Prince, p. 129.—Hub. Ind. Wars, p. 258—9.

chief, who was a female and called a Squaw Sachem, was a kindred of Philip, and always in close alliance with his tribe. 23. The *Sokokis* are supposed to have been the natives, who dwelt about the river Saco in Maine. 24. The *Tarratines* were the inhabitants of Penobscot river. They were one of the three *Etechemin* tribes. 25. The *Wawenocks* lived about the Sheepscot, Pemaquid and St. George rivers in Maine, between the Kennebeck and Penobscot both exclusive. 26. Lastly, the *Wonguns* had their residence westward of the Pequods, in the present towns of East Haddam and Chatham in Connecticut.

The principal *dialects* of these tribes are said to be *four*.^{*} Four dialects spoken in N. England and N. Scotia. That spoken by the Pawkunawkutts and the natives westward of them, is supposed to be the original *Mohegan* language. The clans between the Pawkunawkutts and the Piscataqua, or the Agamenticus river, have been called the "*Abergineans*," or *Northern Indians*. These could all converse together with tolerable ease. But it was noticed, that they were with difficulty brought to pronounce the letters *L* and *R*, as they for lobster, said *nobsten*; whereas those eastward of Piscataqua sounded the *R* easily, and used labials with freedom.[†] This seems to be confirmed by other facts. A copy of Mr. Eliot's Indian Bible, printed A. D. 1664, was obtained by Rev. Daniel Little, missionary to the Indians of Penobscot and St. John, since the revolution, which he carried with him; but he said, 'not one word of their language could be found in it.' In a vocabulary, however, compiled by Mr. Cutter, keeper of a trading-house upon the Saco river, Mr. Little discovered a great similarity of language with that spoken farther eastward.[‡] Still, Mr. Barton believes that the language in the Indian Bible, which passed through a second edition, in 1685, is not radically different from that of the Eastern Tribes.[§]

If then, the Sagamore of Agamenticus [or York,] was originally tributary to the Pentuckets, or Pennacooks, as Mr. Gookin states,^{||} the divisional separation between the *Abergineans* and

^{*} Moll's Geog. p. 236.—La Hontan, p. 230.—Palairer, p. 60.—Jeffreys, p. 46-7.—Heckewelder, p. 60, 132.

[†] 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 404-7—423-9.—Coll. Mass. His. Soc. p. 93.—Oldmixon, p. 151.

[‡] Sullivan, p. 265.

[§] Barton, p. 58.

^{||} Gookin, Superintendant of the Indians, A. D. 1656.—1 Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 177.

A. D. 1615, the *Eastern Indians* was not far eastward of that place. It is certain the latter were a different people from the former, and also from the Mickmaks of Nova Scotia; and spake a language widely if not radically diverse from that of their neighbors on either side. Capt. Francis, first captain of the Tarratine tribe upon the Penobscot, an intelligent and communicative Indian, assures the writer* that all the tribes between the Saco and the river St. John, both inclusive, are brothers; that the eldest lived on the Saco; that each tribe is younger as we pass eastward, like the sons of the same father, though the one at Passamaquoddy is the youngest of all, proceeding from those upon the river St. John and Penobscot. "Always," he affirms, "I could understand all these brothers very well when they speak; but when the Mickmaks or the Algonquins, or Canada Indians talk, I cannot tell all what they say."

Tribes of N.
Hampshire.

Between the four tribes of New-Hampshire, however, there was a political connexion,—probably a confederacy. In 1629–30, the *Pentuckets* were a people more numerous than the *Pennacooks*. At Squamscot, [Exeter] there dwelt a chief who was at the head of a small *Inland tribe*, in that vicinity. Another, or fourth tribe, inhabited the banks and branches of the Piscataqua, including an Indian lodgment at Cocheco, or Dover. These were commonly called the *Newichawannocks*, or as Gookin says, the "*Piscataways*;" of whom *Rowles*, otherwise named *Knolles*, was many years the Sagamore. All of them were under political subordination to the celebrated *Passaconaway*, chief of the *Pennacooks*, whom they acknowledged to possess a paramount superiority.† The dwelling-place of *Rowles* was on the northerly side of the river, not far from Quampeagan Falls in Berwick.‡ He was a Sagamore of some celebrity. In 1643, he conveyed the lands of his vicinity to Humphrey Chadbourne; and others afterwards, to Spencer; the former, being the earliest Indian deed found upon our records. It is certain that all the Indians upon the river to its mouth, were his subjects;§ though he was under Passaconaway, his superior lord.

* Others agree with Francis; and fully confirm what he says.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 32.—2 Coll. M. Hist. Soc. p. 142.—Belknap's N. H. p. 289.

‡ Then Kittery.

§ 1 Morse's Geog. p. 310, ed. 1812.—Sullivan, p. 143.

The depredations frequently committed by the Tarratines upon A. D. 1615, to 1675 the people of these tribes, induced the Sagamores to encourage English settlements among them, in expectation of their assistance Tribes of N. Hampshire. against the enemy. It was an expedient, adopted from necessity; and the four chieftains are reported, May 17, 1629, to have joined in a quit-claim to John Wheelwright and his associates, of all the country between Piscataqua and Merrimack,—below Quampeagan and Amoskeag Falls. The only reservations in this acquittance, were “the old planting lands, and free liberty of “hunting, fishing and fowling.”* If, however, the veracity of this transaction be, for good reasons, doubted, it is certain, the natives lived many years, on terms of friendly intercourse with the settlers; and in the first Indian war, the Sagamores of those tribes were resolved to be neutrals. But their conduct was evidently controlled by fear, more than by friendship; and above either, by a presentiment that all quarrels with the English, would be ruinous to the Indians.

Passaconaway possessed wit and sagacity, which gave him the most exalted rank and influence among his countrymen. Passaconaway, and Rowles. He made them believe he could give nature’s freshness to the ashes of a burnt leaf, raise a living serpent from the skin of a dead one, and transform himself into a flame. Becoming old, he made a great feast in 1660,† to which he invited his tribe, calling them his children. He spake to them as a dying man, to dying men. *Hearken, said he, to the last words of your father and friend.—The white men are sons of the morning. The Great Spirit is their father. His sun shines bright about them. Never make war with them. Sure as you light the fires, the breath of heaven will turn the flames upon you, and destroy you. Listen to my advice. It is the last I shall be allowed to give you:—Remember it and live.*

Similar presages affected the mind of Rowles. About 1670, when bed-ridden of age and sickness, he complained of the great neglect with which the English treated him. At length he sent a message to some of the principal men in Kittery (now Berwick), to visit him. ‘Being loaded with years,’ as he told them,

* 1 *Belknap*, p. 289-91, where the deed is entire. *Mr. Mather* thinks it genuine: But in 1 *Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc.* it is doubted.

† *Hubbard’s Indian Wars*, p. 67-8, 329.—*Hist. N. E.* p. 60.—Some of the English were present.—*Belknap*.

A. D. 1615, ' I had expected a visit in my infirmities, especially from those
to 1675. ' who are now tenants on the lands of my fathers. Though all
' these plantations are of right my children's; I am forced in this
' age of evils, humbly to request a few hundred acres of land to
' be marked out for them and recorded, as a public act, in the
' town books; so that when I am gone, they may not be perish-
' ing beggars, in the pleasant places of their birth. For I know
' a great war will shortly break out between the white men and
' Indians, over the whole country. At first the Indians will kill
' many and prevail; but after three years, they will be great suf-
' ferers and finally be rooted out and utterly destroyed.'*

Wonnolancet, the son of Passaconaway, and Blind Will, the successor of Rowles, regarding the premonitory counsel with sacred respect, determined to obey it, and perpetuate amity with the white people.

* *Supplement to King Philip's War*, p. 82.—The facts were attested "by Maj. Waldron, Capt. Frost, and Joshua Moody."—*Ib.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

Natives of Maine—Two people, Abenagues and Etechemins—Four tribes of the former, the Sokokis, Annasagunticooks, Canibas and Wawenocks—Three Etechemin tribes—The Tarratines—Baron Castine—Villages of the Tarratines—The Openangos or 'Quoddy tribe—Their Village—The Marechites and their Villages—The Mickmaks and their Country—Population of the Natives—A view and estimate of their numbers in Maine—Supposed census of the several tribes.

THE aboriginal people of Maine belong to two great divisions, A. D. 1615, the ABENAQUES and the ETECHEMINS. They are all, without to 1675. doubt, the descendants of the same original stock, and for an un- Abenagues and Etechemins. known period after the discovery of America, the tribes were probably members of the same political family; differing little in language, looks, habits or ideas of confederative union.

The two people have been by Historians, much confounded. Abenagues. The French writers, Charlevoix,* Abbe Reynal and la Hontan; also Jeffreys, Douglas and some modern authors, have called all the natives eastward of Piscataqua, except the Mickmaks, by the general name of Abenagues. Heckewelder† and Kendall‡ give us the reasons. One says, they were called "Wapanachki," softened by the French pronunciation to "Abenakis"—*men of the east*, and the other, "Wabenakies" *east land-men*. Hutchinson, to avoid incorrect distinctions, speaks of the whole as Abenagues or Tarratines;§ and Belknap and Sullivan, though more discriminating, have not been so successful as to attain to precise particularity. Others, such as de Laet, Palairret, Oldmixon and Herman Moll, have given us the names of different tribes, in

* Charlevoix, however, mentions Etechemins; and Malecites further eastward.—5 vol. p. 273—291.

† Heckewelder, p. 109.

‡ 1 Kendall's Travels, p. 61.—His etymology is "Wabamo, or Wabemo," light, or the east, and "aski," land or earth.

§ 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 404.—"Tarrateens," "Tarrentines,"—Hutchinson, Morse, Belknap; Tarrentines, Gorges; but, Tarratines, Hubbard and Prince.

A. D. 1615, nowise attempting to arrange or classify them, under any general heads whatever.

The Aben-
ques.

All the older authors, Smith, Purchas, Winthrop, Prince and Hubbard agree, that the general name of the natives upon the Penobscot was "*Tarratines*;" and that they lived on terms of friendly intercourse with the Abenagues tribes until about A. D. 1615—16, when the great war broke out between them. Prior to this, the Tarratines had entertained a deep-rooted immemorial enmity towards the Abergineans, especially those in Massachusetts and New-Hampshire,—a fact abundantly attested by repeated instances of attack and devastation committed upon them. The war itself arose from some treachery, into which the Aberginean Sagamores had the address to draw the eastern natives, towards the Tarratines; and like most civil wars, it was bloody and exterminating.

From these circumstances, and from Charlevoix, who says "the Abenagues live in a country from Pentagoet to New-England,"* a conclusive inference follows, that the *Abenagues*, were the people who originally inhabited the country between Mount Agamenticus and St. Georges river, both inclusive. This is confirmed by what we know of their general government, or common sovereign.

The names of eleven tribes,† or their places of principal residence in this region, are given us by Smith; whose allies, he says, are the people of "*Ancocisco*," "*Accomynticus*," and "*Piscataquack*," otherwise called Casco, Agamenticus and Piscataqua; and whose "language, fashion and government," he adds, so far as I could perceive, did not essentially differ; they holding "the *Bashaba* to be the chief and greatest among them, "though the most of them had sachems of their own."‡

The Bashaba and his greatness are frequently mentioned by the early voyagers to this country and by early writers:—a prince who always expected the civilities or customary etiquette of a visit from all strangers who came into his dominions. Gorges, in his History, says, "he seemed to be of some eminence above

* 1 Charlevoix, p. 435.

† These names, are "*Segotago*, or *Sawocotuck* [*Saco*]; *Paghhunta-nuck*, *Pecopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Warbegganus*, *Nassaque*, *Mashe-rosqueck*, *Wawrigeweck*, [*Norridgewock*], *Moshoquen*, *Wakcogo* and "*Pasharanack*.

‡ Smith, p. 18, 20, 218, 214.

“the rest, in all that part of the continent :”—“The Massachusetts were sometimes his friends and sometimes his enemies.” A. D. 1615, to 1675. His chief abode was not far from Pemaquid. His dominions, which were large, Gorges adds, were called by the general name of *Moasham*,* or according to Belknap, *Mavooshen*;† “and he had under him many great Sagamores, some of whom had “a thousand or fifteen hundred bowmen.” After his overthrow and death, he was never succeeded by another of equal rank or authority.‡

The tribes of the ABENAQUES§ were four, 1. the *Sokokis*, or *Sockhigones*; 2. the *Anasagunticooks*; 3. the *Canibas*, or *Kenabes*; and 4. the *Wawenocks*. The four tribes of the ABENAQUES.

1. *The Sokokis* or *Sockhigones* were settled upon the river Saco, according to Smith’s description of the people upon the Sawcotuck—‘a river east of Accomenticus.’ La Hontan supposes Acadia extended southward of this river; and says, “the Sokokis were one of the tribes of” that country. Jeffreys seems to mention their name in this connexion. Apistama, supposed to be the seaboard from Casco-bay eastward, Gorges says, lays between “the Sockhigones’ country” and ‘the Bashaba’s abode or dominions.’ The tribe must have inhabited the banks of Saco river, for there is none other of that name upon the Atlantic coast.

They were originally a large people, till the first Indian war; and the immediate residence of their Sagamores was upon Indian Island, just above the Lower Falls. Two of them, Fluellen and Captain Sunday conveyed lands; but when their successor, Squando, died, the glory seemed to depart from the tribe, which gradually wasted away.

* Gorges, p. 17, 54.

† 1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 149, 351.—“Maivooshen.”—*Purchas*, p. 939.

‡ Capt. Francis says, he has heard of the *Bashaba*, “he was a great governor.”

§ Or “Abnakkis;”—Abenakis—*Douglass*; Abenakis,—*Charlevoix*, *La Hontan*, *Hutchinson*; but, Abenagues,—*Abbe Reynal*, *Jeffreys*, *Belknap*, *Sullivan* and *Kendall*.

Note.—*Charlevoix*, [1 vol. N. F. 417,] speaks of the *Sokokis* and a murder committed by them, to prevent a peace with the Iroquois; and adds [vol. 5, p. 178,] the savages of St. Francois are of the Abenagues, among whom are some Algonquins, *Sokokis*, and Monhegans. It is well known that the tribe on the Saco withdrew early to St. Francois.

A. D. 1615, There were two branches of the tribe and two principal lodgments, one was within the great bend of the river at *Pegwacket* or *Fryeburgh*; and the other 15 or 20 miles below, upon the banks of the Great *Ossipee*. Here, before Philip's war, they employed English carpenters and built a strong fort of timber, fourteen feet in height, with flankers, intending it as a fortification against the Mohawks.*

The Anasagunticooks.

2. The *Anasagunticooks*,† originally a numerous and powerful tribe, claimed dominion of the waters and territories of the river *Androscoggin*, from its sources to *Merry-meeting bay*, and on the west side of *Sagadahock* to the sea. At *Pejepscot*, or *Brunswick Falls*, they had their usual encampments, or place of resort.‡ This was one of the great passes between the eastern and western tribes, where the savages met in council to plan expeditions against the English.§ The *Anasagunticooks* were a warlike people. A short distance above the Great Falls, they had a fort, which was destroyed by the English, in 1690. No tribe was less interrupted in their privileges of fishing and fowling; and yet none were more uniformly and bitterly hostile towards the colonists. As soon as the first sound of Philip's war was heard, they fell upon the plantation of Mr. *Purchas*, the original settler, killed his cattle and carried away most of his effects. *Tarumkin*, *Warumbee* and *Hagkins*, their *Sagamores*, were brave men; but the tribe wasted away during the wars, and in 1747, they were unable to muster more than 160 warriors fit to march.|| They were the earliest whom the French drew off to *St. Francois* in Canada.

3. The *Canibas* were the Aborigines of *Kennebeck* river, where *Hubbard* says "were great numbers of them, when the

* See, la Hontan; Gorges, p. 58.—Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 389.—1 Douglass' Summ. p. 185.—Jeffreys, p. 117.

† Or *Aresaguntacooks*, *Hutchinson*; *Arousegunticooks*, *Douglass*.—6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 117; *Amerascoggan*, *Hubbard*; *Aumoughcowgen*, *Smith*; *Amarascogen*, *Mather*. In 3 *Kendall*, p. 143, he says, the etymon of *Anariscoggan*, means—"banks of a river abounding in dried meat," i. e. venison.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 231—347.

§ Sullivan, p. 178—181.

|| 1 *Douglass*, p. 185.—*Warumbee*, and 5 other *Sagamores*, July 7, 1684, sold the lands between *Sagadahock* and *Maquait* to the sea, and the Islands. *Kennebeck claims*, p. 7.

river was first discovered.”* The tribe appeared to consist of two or three branches, or political families. For although Mon-^{A. D. 1615, to 1675.} quine, Kennebis, and Abbagadussett, between A. D. 1648 and <sup>The Cani-
bas.</sup> 1665, in the capacity of chief Sagamores, conveyed to the English all the lands, ten miles in width on each side of the river, from Swan Island to Wessarunsett river; yet Elderumken, another Sagamore, made conveyances on Stevens’ and Muddy rivers in 1670;† and Essemenosque certified in 1653, that the region of Teconnet belonged to him and the wife of Watchogo. The principal residence of *Kennebis*, the paramount lord, and his predecessors of the same titular name, was upon Swan Island, in a delightful situation; and that of Abbagadussett between a river of his name and the Kennebeck, upon the northern borders of Merry-meeting bay. The territories, which the tribe claimed, extended from the sources of the Kennebeck to this bay, and the Islands on the eastern side of the Sagadahock, probably to the sea.

Jeffreys, Charlevoix, la Hontan and others, call this the *Canibas* tribe; for which, however, the name “Norridgewocks” is substituted by Doct. Mather,‡ Douglass,§ and the modern English writers—manifestly from the name of their famous village. This was the residence of the French missionaries, who early taught the tribe the principles of the catholic religion, and forms of worship. Old Norridgewock|| was a most pleasant site, opposite the mouth of Sandy river—the general and almost sole resorting place of the tribe, immediately after their numbers or ranks were thinned; and a spot consecrated to them by every sacred and endearing recollection.¶

In temper and conduct, the tribe during the earlier periods of their intercourse with the English, manifested a spirit of more friendship and forbearance towards them, than either the Anasa-

* Hubbard’s N. E. p. 31.

† Sullivan.

‡ Mather’s Magnal. p. 66—See Smith, p. 214.

§ 1 Douglass’ Summary, p. 172.

|| “Norridge” [*falls*] and “wock” [*Smooth-water*,] i. e. little falls and intervals of smooth water above and below.—*Capt. Francis*. Essemenosque lived in the vicinity of Teconnet.—*K. Claims*.—*Charlevoix*, (1 *Tome*, p. 435,) says those of the Abenagues, “who inhabit the environs of Kennebeck” are called *Canibas*.

¶ The first missionary to the Canibas, was Gabriel Dreuillettes.—1 *Charlevoix*, p. 435.

A. D. 1615, gunticooks, or Sokokis. Nor did the Canibas decrease as rapidly as the others;—the neighborhood of white men so destructive of savage life, not having till within a recent period, effected their utter extinction.*

The Wawenocks.

4. The *Wawenocks*† inhabited the country eastward of Sagadahock, to the river St. George inclusive. They were the immediate subjects of the great Bashaba. For the colonists at the mouth of the former river, A. D. 1608, and Capt. Smith‡ while in the harbors of the latter, agree in their statements, that they were urged by the natives to pay court unto that prince. Moxus, Wegunganet, Wivourna, and succeeding Sagamores, have sold lands to the English at Woolwich, Damariscotta and other places in that quarter, and acted as sovereign claimants of the country.

Though the dwelling-place of the Bashaba was near Pemaquid, yet subsequent to his death,§ the principal resting place or head quarters of the tribe have been on the westerly side of the river Sheepscot, near the lower falls. From this circumstance, Mr. Hubbard|| speaks of them as the natives of that river; and Douglass calls them the “Sheepscot Indians.”

Broken and wasted by the disasters of the great war, in which the Bashaba was slain, they were never afterwards either powerful or numerous. In 1747 there were only two or three families remaining;¶ and within a few subsequent years, all of them were

* See “*Statement of the Kennebeck Claims*”—*Report of Committee*, June 15, 1785.—They give a history of these old Indian deeds, and add:—“From the history and modes of living amongst the Indians in this country, there can be no great doubt, but that they originally held as tenants in common in a state of nature; and though they have formed themselves into tribes and clans, yet the members of those tribes still retain a common and undivided right to the lands of their respective tribes. But from the respect they have constantly had for their sachems and chiefs; and from long usage and custom among them, the sachem or chief, has acquired a right, founded in tacit consent, a kind of legal authority and power, to dispose of the lands of his tribe, or subjects; and especially with the consent of some of his principal subjects, or his counsellors.”—*Pamphlet Report*, p. 21.

† Called “Waweneck.”—*Doct. Coleman*.—6 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 117-18.—2 *Mass. Council Rec.* p. 13.—“Weweenocks.”—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 404, who cites *Charlevoix*.—“WEWENOCKS,” in treaty A. D. 1746.—9 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 222-3.

‡ Smith’s *Hist.* p. 18-20.

§ The great epidemic, or plague, was in 1617.—1 *Haz. Coll.* p. 148.

|| Hubbard’s *Indian Wars*, p. 301.

¶ 1 Doug. p. 184.

induced by the French, to leave their native country, and join the settlement commenced at St. Francois and Becancourt in Canada.* A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

They were a brave, active, personable people,—faithful in amity ; and when uninfluenced, they disinclined to make war upon the English. They defended their prince and country with much valor, till overcome ; and Capt. Francis says, the name of “ Wanneocks” or Wawenocks signifies *very brave*—“*fearing nothing*.” According to Capt. Smith, ‘ they were active, strong, healthful and ‘ very witty. The men had a perfect constitution of body,— ‘ were of comely proportion, and quite athletic. They would ‘ row their canoes faster,’ he says, ‘ with five paddles, than his own ‘ men could their boats with eight oars. They had no beards,— ‘ and thought ours counterfeits. Their women, though of lower ‘ stature, were fleshy and well-favored—all habited in skins like the ‘ men.’† The tribe always joined with the Canibas, being an ally, unchanging in war and peace ; and in this character they appear, till their last treaty with the English.

The other division of the aboriginal people in Maine, were the **ETECHEMINS**. They inhabited the country between the rivers ETECHE-
MINS. Penobscot and St. John, both inclusive.

Mention is made of these natives and their country, by several writers. Hermon Moll places upon his map of the English Empire in America,‡ the *Etechemins*, along the banks and about the heads of the rivers Penobscot and St. John—eastwardly to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and southwardly to the bay of Fundy ; and so he describes their country in his Geography. The character of Nova Scotia to Sir William Alexander, 1620, mentions the bay of Fundy as dividing “ the Etechemins on the north, from the “ Souriquois, or Mickmaks, on the south.” John de Laet§ thought the Penobscot to be the celebrated Norumbegua, or Agguncia ; and informs us that the Indians who dwelt upon the river were ‘ a nation of the Etechemins ;’ and Purchas says, Samuel Champlain was present at a great feast, before mentioned, and among the attendants were the Etechemins. The French king, in 1638, commanded M. d’Aulney to confine his command to the

* *Charlevoix*, [3 vol. p. 429–30] says the savages were invited to Becancourt in 1704 ; and have continued there since. † Smith, p. 19, 214.

‡ Moll’s *Geog.* p. 236.

§ *Novus Orbis*, p. 52, 55.

A. D. 1615, coast of the Etechemins,* probably supposing it to be limited by the bay of Fundy and river St. John. L'Escarbot calls the people of St. Croix, Etechemins; apprehending they were not limited west-
 erly by the Penobscot. And Charlevoix says, 'the Abenagues, 'or Canibas, have for their nearest neighbors, the *Etechemins*, or 'Marechites, about Pentagoet [or Penobscot] and its environs; 'and more at the east are the Mickmaks, or Souriquois, the 'proper inhabitants of Acadia.†

Three tribes
 of the
 Etechemins,

There are three tribes of the Etechemins,—1. the *Tarratines*;—2. the *Openangos*, or 'Quoddy Indians;—and 3. the *Marechites*, or *Armouchiquois*.

Tarratines.

1.—The *Tarratines* are particularly mentioned by Smith, Hubbard, Prince, Gorges and all the modern Historians of this country; and it is well established, that they were the native inhabitants of Penobscot,‡ claiming dominion over the contiguous territories, from its sources to the sea. Smith, however, has represented the Penobscot mountains (in Camden) as a natural fortress, which separated them from their western borderers, or neighbors.

They were a numerous, powerful and warlike people, more hardy and brave than their western enemies,§ whom they often plundered and killed; and according to Hubbard and Prince, kept the Sagamores, between the Piscataqua and the Mystic, in perpetual fear. After the conquests and glory achieved in their battles with the Bashaba and his allies; they were not, like their enemies, wasted by disease and famine. They retained their valor, animated by success and strengthened by an early use and supply of firearms, with which they were furnished by the French.|| Less disturbed than the western tribes in the enjoyment of their possessions, and also more discreet; they were always reluctant to plunge into hostilities against the English.¶

The *Tarratines* ever manifested the greatest satisfaction in their intercourse with the French.** No fortifications upon the

* 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 112.—1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 149.

† 5 Charlevoix, p. 290–1.

‡ Purchas, p. 939, says, "the Tarratine country is 44° 40'."

§ Gorges, p. 53.

|| The *Tarratines*, for instance, cut out a shallop from Dorchester, with five men in it, whom they killed.—*Brit. Domin.* p. 94.—*Prince*, p. 46, 112.

¶ In the first Indian war, provision was made for their relief.—4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 50, 66.

** The "French live with them as one nation or family."—*Smith*, p. 20.

peninsula of Majorbiguyduce, or buildings in the vicinity, ex-
cited either fear or jealousy in them ; for no rising plantations of
the French threatened them with a loss of their lands or privi-
leges. A barter of their furs for guns, ammunition and trinkets,
was managed with a freedom and adroitness which won and secur-
ed their attachment. Indeed, no foreigners could vie with French-
men ; for their religious creeds and rites, to which the natives were
superstitiously devoted, their companionable manners, and vola-
tile turn, all made the bonds strong and lasting.

About the time the treaty of Breda was ratified, A. D. 1667, Baron de
Castine. Mons. Vincent de St. Castine appeared among the Tarratines
and settled upon the peninsula, since called by his name. Born
at Oleron, a province of France, he acquired an early taste for
rural scenes, so fully enjoyed by him in the borders of the Pyre-
nean mountains, which encompassed the place of his nativity.
Besides the advantages of illustrious connexions and noble ex-
traction, being by birth and title a baron ; he was endued with
good abilities and favored with a competent education and a con-
siderable knowledge of military arts, for which he had a partiali-
ty. All these obtained for him the appointment of Colonel in
the king's body-guards, from which office he was transferred to
the command of a regiment called the " Carignan Salieres." After-
wards, through the influence of M. de Courcelles, Governor-
General of New-France, the Baron and his troops were, about
1665, removed to Quebec. At the close of the war, the regiment
was disbanded, and himself discharged from the king's service.
Taking umbrage probably at the treatment he received, and ac-
tuated by motives, never fully divulged, " he, as la Hontan says,
" threw himself upon the savages." To French writers, his
conduct was a mystery ; and to the colonists a prodigy.

His settled abode was upon the peninsula where d'Aulney had
resided, and where he found means to construct a commodious
house for trade and habitancy. He was a liberal catholic, though
devout and punctilious in his religious observances ; having usu-
ally in his train, several Jesuit missionaries devoted to the " holy
cause." He learned to speak with ease the Indian dialect ;
and supplying himself with firearms, ammunition, blankets, steel
traps, baubles and a thousand other things desired by the natives,
he made them presents, and opened a valuable trade with them in

A. D. 1615, these articles, for which he received furs and peltry in return, at his own prices.

He taught the men the use of the gun, and some arts of war; and being a man of fascinating address and manners, he attained a complete ascendancy over the whole tribe; they looking upon him, in the language of one writer, "as their tutelar god."

To chain their attachments by ties not readily broken, in connexion with personal gratification, he took four or five Tarratine wives,—one of them the daughter of Madockawando,* Sagamore of the tribe. He lived with them all by changes, at the same time, and had "several daughters and one son, Castine the "younger," who was a man of distinction and of excellent character.

Early habits and great success in trade rendered the father contented with his allotments; he lived in the country about thirty years; and, as Abbe Reynal says, "conformed himself in all respects to the manners and customs of the natives." To his daughters, whom "he married very handsomely to Frenchmen," he gave liberal portions; having amassed a property "worth three hundred thousand crowns."†

The Governors of New-England and of Canada, apprized of his influence, wealth and military knowledge, were, for obvious reasons, the courtiers of his friendship and favor.

The Tarratine village.

The Tarratines have probably, at different periods, shifted the situation of their principal village. At the mouth of the Kenduskeag, they had a common resting place, when the white people first settled in the vicinity—a place to which they were, from habit, strongly attached. Here the mouldering relics of human bodies, also flint spears, stone implements of labor, and Indian paint dust have been accidentally disinterred, after a burial for an unknown period of time.

A league above the mouth of Kenduskeag stream, and near the westerly bank of the Penobscot, are the undoubted appearances of an old village, perhaps the ancient "*Negas*." The

* Madockawando died in October, 1698.—*Mar. Mag.* p. 535.

† See authorities for article *Castine*, or "Casteen," *Abbe Reynal*—6 *Tome*, p. 326.—*La Hontan*, p. 223.—He says Castine "never changed his "wife," to convince the savages "that God doth not like inconstant "folks."—9 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 218.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 562.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 396.

English call it "*Fort Hill.*" Here are the cavities of several cellars, and the remains of two or three broken stone chimnies. The site is a flat of elevated ground, with a gradual slope to the water, formed by nature, an eligible place for a fortification. When it was destroyed, or abandoned, no account, either historical or traditional, gives us entire satisfaction.* According to some reports, it was burned by the Mohawks: but with much more reason, it is supposed to have been laid in ruins by a party of New-England soldiery, about a century past.† It was certainly inhabited, since Europeans have visited the river; for in the tillage of the land, the plough has turned out such things as the utensils of cookery, bullet moulds, pincers, and other articles of hardware, which must have been the workmanship of modern artisans. The plains in the vicinity, according to the statements of the oldest settlers, originally exhibited all the appearances of having been, at some unknown time, the cornfields of the natives.

In later years, *Indian Old-town*‡ has been their village and altogether the place of their greatest resort. Its situation is upon the southerly end of an island in Penobscot river, twelve miles above the mouth of the Kenduskeag, being partially cleared and containing about 350 acres of very rich and mellow land. At the close of the American revolution, the village contained between 40 and 50 wigwams, about equally divided by a street five rods in width, which passed east and west across the Island; quite compact on each side, and constructed after the old Gothic fashion with the gable ends towards the street. These slender cabins, which have been gradually decreasing in number, are usually built and occupied by a family, including all the descendants of a father living, unless some of them choose to construct others for themselves.

Through a short avenue southerly from the main street, is their church or chapel, 40 feet by 30 in dimensions, and one story in

* See post, A. D. 1692, chap. xxiii.—Also see post, A. D. 1723; and 8 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. 1 "New Series," p. 264.

† See post, 2 vol. chap. ii. A. D. 1723.

‡ In September, 1816, according to an account taken, there were about 25 wigwams; again in May, 1823, it was found, there were only 15 or 16, standing; the chapel dilapidated, the porch and bell down, since rebuilt;—Perhaps *Old-town* is the ancient "*Lett.*"—*Penhallow's Indian Wars*, A. D. 1710, "the Island of *Lett.*"

A. D. 1615, height, with a porch, a cupola, and a bell. It is covered with
to 1675.

Tarratine
village.

clapboards and glazed. Fronting the door within, are the desk and altar, two large candlesticks, and some other articles of service, after the catholic forms; upon the wall behind, are the images of our Blessed Saviour and some of the primitive saints; and on the right and left of the desk, are seats for the elders; otherwise, the worshipers male and female, who uniformly convene on the sabbath, and frequently for prayers on other days when a priest is with them, both sit and kneel upon the floor, which is always covered with evergreens. But the present edifice, which has been built since the revolution, is said to be far from comparing with their former one, either in size or appearance.

Northerly of the chapel, 20 rods, is their burying place, in which stands a cross, 15 or 18 feet in height. In its standard post, six feet from the ground, is carved an aperture, 5 inches by 3 in compass and 4 deep, securely covered with glass, enclosing an emblematical form of the Virgin Mary with the infant Immanuel in her arms. At the head of each grave is placed a crucifix of wood, which is about two or three feet high, and very slender;—a memorial borrowed from the catholics.

The Tarratines were neutrals in the war of the revolution;—in return, Massachusetts protected them, and prohibited all trespasses upon their lands, six miles in width on each side of the Penobscot, from the head of the tide upwards.* She has since at different times, made large purchases of their lands—until they are left the owners only of four townships—a few acres on the east side of the Penobscot opposite to the mouth of the Kenduskeag, and the Islands between Old-town and Passadumkeag, 28 in number, containing 2,670 acres.†

Openangos
or 'Quoddy
tribe.

2.—Another large tribe of the Etechemins were settled about the waters of the Passamaquoddy-bay and the river Schoodic. They have, perhaps, been called the "*Openangos*,‡—though without much authority;—more commonly the '*Quoddy tribe*. According to the remarks of Champlain, l'Escarbot, and Charle-

* 5 Mass. Rec. p. 32.

† About 40 acres, in 1820, were under cultivation; and the Indians, that season, raised 410 bushels of corn, and 50 bushels of beans, besides potatoes.

‡ Possibly "*Onagounges*."—6 Mass. Rec. p. 71.

voix, they were anciently numerous ;* but neither of them has given us the *name* of the tribe ; nor are they so much as mentioned by d'Laet, Jeffreys, Palairer, or Hubbard. If we may believe Capt. Francis, this is a younger tribe than either of those at Penobscot or St. John. He says it was told him by his fathers, that an Indian of the latter married a Tarratine wife, and settled at Passamaquoddy and became a tribe. It is certain, this one has immemorially lived on terms of the most friendly intercourse with both the others ; and was never known to take an active part in any transactions separate from them. Indeed, its chiefs are not distinctly mentioned in any treaty, till that of 1760 ;† nor is the name of a single Sagamore previously living, handed down to us ;‡—so much has the tribe mixed with those tribes, and followed their fortune and fate.

It cannot be reasonably supposed, that this tribe, once so numerous and still existing, never had a generic and well known name ; especially, since it was otherwise with those not larger, in every part of New-England. But no ancient name is mentioned either by Prince, Hutchinson, Belknap, Sullivan, or any other English or American writer. The only author who has given us any clue to it, is Baron la Hontan. Between the years 1683 and 1696, while he was Lord-Lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia, in Newfoundland, he wrote a series of letters, in French, entitled “ New Voyages to North America.” He was an early writer, favorably situated to acquire a knowledge of the natives ; and he turned his particular attention to the tribes of these eastern parts. In giving a list of their names, he mentions the *Openangos*,§ with the Canibas, Sokokis, and others, as belonging to Acadia, which he, like other French writers of that age, supposed might extend westward of Casco bay. He also represents the Openangos to be an “ erratic” people, often going from Acadia to New-England.|| If they were, according to previous facts, the

* Champlain, p. 42-44.—2 Churchill's Voyages, p. 797-812.—1 Charlevoix's N. F. p. 115.

† 9 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 213.

‡ Their present chief is *Francis Joseph Neptune*—an aged man, of a gentle disposition—entirely satisfied with his allotment. His mother was a Tarratine. Both parents often told their children to pronounce according to the dialect of their respective tribes.

§ Capt. Francis supposes “ Openango” means the same as *little sable—very cunning*.

|| *La Hontan*, p. 223, 230.—Mr. Heckewelder (page 107) gives credit to

A. D. 1615, unchanging allies and associates of the Tarratines ; this shade of to 1675.

Quoddy
tribe.

character, which he gives them, is correct. Where else, if there was a tribe of that name, could it be settled, excepting about the waters and inlets of Passamaquoddy bay ? By what other name, except *Etechemins*,* ever mentioned by any early writer, could they with the least propriety be called ?—It is true, the moderns call them the '*Quoddy Indians*, from the name of their bay ; and Gov. Barnard, in his speech to the General Court, A. D. 1764, makes mention of them as belonging "to the nation of the St. "John's Indians."

The village of this tribe is most delightfully situated, at a place called "Pleasant Point"† upon the westerly shore of Passamaquoddy bay, in the town of Perry, about two leagues above Eastport. Here are 35 or 40 wigwams, a school-house and a chapel, like the one at Old-town, with a cupola and bell. Besides the cabins constructed in the Indian form, there are three framed houses, one occupied by the Sagamore's son Soc Basin, an interpreter and also a priest of the catholic order. Attached to sectarian or catholic rites and forms, this tribe and their spiritual teacher are superstitious believers in the great expiatory crucifix, amidst the common cemetery of their dead ; also devotees to the usage of little crosses standing by the graves of kindred, and to the inspiring sanctity of images, the censer of incense, the burning tapers, and holy water. But no motives, no persuasives can arouse them from their debasing inactivity. Neither the emoluments of industry, the pleasures of education, nor the wants of life, have power sufficient to kindle in them, a desire of becoming a civilized people. They are indigent and de-

the authenticity of la Hontan's History ; but *Charlevoix* says, "the greater part of his facts are disfigured." So, the *North American Review*, No. L., January, 1826, p. 67, speaks of him as a soldier and a skeptic.

* *Charlevoix*, [1 vol. N. E. p. 206.] says, Pentagoet is 45 leagues from St. John. The rivers of 'the *Etechemins* are between the two, but nearest 'the latter.' Then he adds, 'that all the country, from Port-Royal to Kennebeck, are peopled by what are at this day called *Malecites* ;' and again, 'between Pentagoet and Kennebeck the savages are called *Armichiquois*.' It is certain, that all these statements cannot be correct.

† In 1794 Massachusetts bought 100 acres, including *Pleasant Point*, of one John Frost ; and on the 4th of March, 1801, appropriated the most of it, to the use and improvement of the tribe, till the further order of the General Court.

pressed—their lands, and with them their hunting grounds, are no longer in their possession ;—little more remains to them, than their village and their barbarian freedom. A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

3.—The other tribe of the Etechemin people, are the *Marechites**—or rather *Armouchiquois*,† as their name appears in Purchas and some other authors. They inhabited the great river, called by them the “Ouygondy,”‡ but by the Europeans, the St. John—possessing one of the most inviting regions for savage life in the eastern country. This tribe was numerous and powerful, and in character, according to Purchas, valiant and ingenious. He says, they had attained to some eminence in the arts of “painting, carving, and drawing pictures of men, beasts “and birds, both in stone and wood.” In the first Indian war, they were more opposed, than either of the Etechemin tribes to the proposition of taking arms against the English ; afterwards they generally acted in concert with their allies, the Tarratines and Openangos, or ‘Quoddy tribe.

The Marechites have two places of general resort, or compact collections of wigwams upon the river§ St. John ;—one is the village at *Meductic-point*, just above the confluence of the main river and Eel stream, six leagues eastward of the eastern monument. Here are 35 or 40 wigwams, a chapel, and the usual residence of an officiating catholic priest. The other, called ‘*Indian Village*,’ is on the east side of the river, 100 miles higher, near the “Little Falls,” and opposite to the mouth of Madawaska. It is wholly within this State,—being situated several leagues westwardly of the line, which divides Maine from the British Provinces. There is an occasional lodgment on the eastern bank fronting Fredericton ; and it is said, the tribe have had a slight fortification, 50 or 60 miles above the mouth of the river.|| Marechite
village.

The natives, who have been the subject of observation in the preceding pages, are the only tribes, with which our History of Maine has an immediate concern. But in the sketches of Nova Scotia, necessarily interspersed ; it may be expected that

* Melecites, *Jeffreys, Morse* ; Marechites, *Pinkerton's Geog.*

† The French name.

‡ 1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 140.

§ From the mouth of the river St. John to Fredericton, the distance is 62 miles ;—to Meductic-point 125 miles ;—to the Great Falls 188 miles,

|| Brit. Dom. p. 256.

A. D. 1615, some account will be given of the natives in that ancient Province.

Mickmaks. These, according to la Hontan, Sargeant, Pinkerton, and other writers, are collectively called *Mickmaks* ;* but Purchas, d'Laet, Palairet, Oldmixon, Moll and Barton, have given them the name of *Souriquois*.† They inhabited the great peninsula, south of the bay of Fundy, and the neighboring islands, the isthmus, and perhaps the eastern shores to Gaspè. Originally they were a very numerous people, divided into several tribes, with their respective Sagamores. The country, however, between Gaspè and the region of the Marechites, some have supposed, was once inhabited by a nation called the "*Mountaineers*."‡

The Mickmaks were a people quite distinct and different from the Etechemin tribes ;—in stature larger, with coarser features ; in disposition, more cruel and brutish ; in mind, less valiant and less intelligent ; speaking a language so dissimilar, as to render free conversation with each other impracticable. Yet, 'if the 'Mickmak dialect was known in Europe,' said one well acquainted with it, 'seminaries would be erected for the purpose of propagating it.'§

When the Europeans first visited Newfoundland, they found the natives extremely barbarous, unacquainted with cookery, and bread made of Indian corn, and clad in summer, only in the habiliments of primitive Eden.|| Those on the main, the Mickmaks, were a single grade higher ; who, if not concerned in the first three Indian wars, were extremely hostile and savage in the others ;—a scourge of uncommon dread—the merciless destroyers ; whom the Provincial rulers found it of the greatest importance to tranquillize or restrain by presents and by treaty. Wild and indolent, "they still wander from place to place in all the abjectness of deplorable stupidity." 'Every exertion to improve 'their condition, has diminished their remains of energy, and dis-

* "*Mickmaks*."—*Manach*.

† *Souriquois* is the French name.—5 *Charlevoix*, p. 291.

‡ There were certainly *Mountaineers* on the northerly side of the gulf of the St. Lawrence ; whose language had an affinity to the *Skoffie* in the same region. Many, since the arrival of the Europeans, have gone to "the less frequented wilds of Labrador and Canada."—3 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 15-33.

§ 10 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 115-16. || Oldmixon, p. 15.—Moll, p. 256.

'posed them to expect by alms and begging, what they ought to A. D. 1615,
'obtain by common industry.' The catholic priests have, in ^{to 1675.}
some degree, checked their propensity to drunkenness; otherwise all endeavors, to bring them into a civilized state and regular habits, have been productive of evil rather than benefit.*

The entire race of Mickmaks have been numerous. It is said, they originally had fifteen chiefs, as many tribes, as many villages, and in 1760, 3,000 souls.† They hate the Etechemins and have little or no intercourse with them.

They have noted villages, perhaps Sagamores, at Cape Breton, ^{Mickmak}
Isle St. Johns, La Heve, Cape Sable, Minas, Chignectou, Poic- ^{villages.}
tou, and Jediack. They, or the Mountaineers, have several villages upon the bank and branches of the Merimachi, which empties into the bay of that name. One, called "*Burnt Church*," which is 40 miles from its mouth, exhibits several wigwams, and a chapel 40 feet square, the walls of which are constructed of split rocks, laid in lime mortar. Here the natives and the French settlers convene and worship, under the pastoral care of a catholic priest. *Indian Town* is situated upon the north-west branch of the same river, sixty miles higher. It is the principal village of a considerable tribe in these eastern parts, represented to be as numerous, at the present time, as the Tarratines. Farther northward is a small village at "*Indian Point*," above the head of Restigouche bay, where there is a chapel with a bell, and a framed house, the residence of the priest. It is in the midst of a Scotch settlement, surrounded with a productive soil, some patches of which are cultivated by the natives. They have a Sagamore and receive supplies from an Indian trader among them, who procures his goods from Quebec.

Before we close this chapter, it is important to take a general view of the *native population* in Maine;—a subject, through a deficiency of materials, which is of difficult management, both as to perspicuity and correctness. Nor can any thing more be expected, than some analogous calculations and probable results.

* Lockwood's New-Brunswick, p. 7.

† Douglass, in 1 *Summ.* p. 183, thought the Mickmaks in 1747, "had not more than 350 fighting men." But *Mr. Manach*, a French missionary, well acquainted with them, says there were 3,000 souls in 1760.—10 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 115 :—And 2 *Pinkerton's Geog.* p. 628, says, in 1800 there were 300 fighters east of Halifax.

A. D. 1615, The period to which our statements will relate, commences immediately prior to the war of the tribes, A. D. 1615—17, which was succeeded by the sweeping epidemic, previously mentioned.

Except the tribes in Maine, all the others in New-England before described, have been classed into six clans or nations,—their allies, branches and dependencies included. Their names and the number of men they could bring into battle, according to the accounts of Gookin,* Prince,† Hubbard,‡ and other early and correct annalists, are thus transmitted to us :—in Connecticut, the Pequod warriors were 4,000, and the Mohegan, 3,000 ; in Plymouth colony, those of the Pawkunnawkutts, were 3,000 ; in Rhode Island, those of the Narragansetts, were 5,000 ; in Massachusetts, the bowmen belonging to the ancient people called the “ Massachuses,” were 3,000 ; and in New-Hampshire, those of the Penacooks and Pentuckets, were 3,000 ;—in the whole 21,000 warriors.§ If we allow three of them to ten souls, agreeably to the fact ascertained in the Powhatan Confederacy by actual enumeration, as stated by Mr. Jefferson,|| and other Virginian writers ; the Indian population of New-England exclusive of Maine, would have been 70,000 souls.¶ Some

* Daniel Gookin removed from Virginia to Massachusetts, about 1644, was an Assistant and Major-General, under the colony charter, and a superintendant “ of all the Indians,” and knew more about them than all the other magistrates. He died in 1687.—*Eliot's Biog. Dic.* p. 220.

† Thomas Prince of Middleborough, was a graduate of Harv. Col. 1707, an ordained minister of Old South Church, Boston, 1718, and annalist of New-England Chronology to A. D. 1633.

‡ William Hubbard was a graduate of Harv. Col. 1642, minister of Ipswich, and historian of New-England, A. D. 1682.

§ *Gookin.*—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 141-229.—*Prince*, p. 116.—*Hubbard's N. E.* p. 449-50.—*Trumbull*, p. 40,—He thinks there were not more than 20,000 in Connecticut.—*Hol. A. An.* p. 418. || Jefferson's Notes, Query xi.

¶ This may be thought to be a disproportionate estimate. For the number of able-bodied effective men, between 18 and 45, in the New-England militia, A. D. 1820, when compared with the census, was only as *one to ten*. Yet many can bear arms before 18 and after 45 years old ; and numbers are exempt who could do military duty. Not half who might bear arms, are in the train bands. So, in dooming taxes upon towns, the number of ratable polls between 16 and 70, has been estimated as *one to five*, of all the souls in a town at the preceding census: *one to four* would be more correct.

suppose it might originally have been nearly equal to that of the English, in 1675.* A. D. 1615
to 1675.

In estimating the whole number of natives originally in Maine, the calculator is involved still deeper in conjecture. It is true, that this State contains as many square miles, as the residue of New-England. Its soil is good, its waste grounds few, and its climate healthful. It has also long rivers—a wide seacoast, and was covered with a heavy forest; affording the amplest means of savage livelihood and support, and exhibiting when first discovered and visited by Europeans, a people overspreading the land. Nevertheless, the rivers, upon which the tribes were settled, were too widely separated from each other, to be promotive of a dense population; nor were the soil and climate so congenial to the propagation of the Aborigines, as in the more southerly parts of New-England. A view of
the tribes in
Maine.

The few facts, which history contributes, in relation to the tribes in Maine, may reflect some light upon the subject. No people ever defended their native country with more valor and obstinacy, than the *Sokokis* did theirs, especially in Lovwell's war. A number of them, relinquishing the French interest, in 1744, for the ranks of the English at the siege of Louisbourg, distinguished themselves among the bravest soldiers. Afterwards, they could muster only about a dozen fighting men; and before the capture of Quebec, the tribe was extinct.† Sokokis.

The *Anasagunticooks*, in 1744, had 160 fighters; and when the war of the revolution commenced, 'about 40 of the tribe made the shores, the ponds, and the Islands of the Androscoggin their principal home.' Philip Will, a young Indian of Cape Cod, was taken captive by the French at the age of 14, in the siege of Louisbourg; and abiding among the natives, became the chief of this tribe. He was an Indian of some education, and many years instrumental in preventing their utter extinction.‡ Anasagunticooks.

* In A. D. 1696, there were in New-England about 100,000 whites.—2 *Holmes*, p. 31.—Yet in 1676 there were estimated to be in Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Maine, 150,000.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 484.—*Quere?*

† *Mass. Letter Book* p. 114—15.—1 *Doug.* p. 185.

‡ 2 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 266.—*Sull.* p. 263.—Philip Will was brought up in the family of Mr. Crocker, where he was taught to read and write the English language and to cypher. He was in height 6 feet 3 inches and well proportioned.—*MS. Letter of A. G. Chandler, Esq.*

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.
Canibas. None of the Abenagues tribes, however, were more strongly attached to their native soil, than the *Canibas*. They were bold and brave fighters through all the Indian wars; in which they sustained probably a greater loss of numbers than any other tribe. Aware of their decline, they deeply lamented their cruel fate; having, in 1764, only 30 warriors; and, in 1795, six or seven families constituted all their remains.*

Wawen-
ocks.

The *Wawenocks* never made any figure after their ruinous war with the Tarratines. Their force was then broken, and more than fifteen years, before the French war, in 1753—4, they were drawn away by the French, to the river Perante in Canada, where they settled a village which they called by their own name; and so considerably united was their tribe, as to be able, in 1749, to bring into war about 40 fighting men.† Charlevoix says, ‘the Indians of the St. François, uniting the Anasagunticooks and Wawenocks, were a colony of the *Abenagues*, removed from the eastern parts of New-England, for the sake of French neighborhood.’

Etechemins.

The Etechemins, never having been so much wasted by war, disease and dissipation, and always larger than the Abenagues people, are still inhabitants of their native country, humbled, however, in view of their decline and ultimate destiny. Persons well acquainted with them in former years, affirm that in 1756, they could collectively turn out 1,500 fighting men. Their remaining population in 1820, amounted only to 1,235 souls, that is to say, 390 Tarratines;‡ 379 Openangos;§ and 466 Marechites.||

All the preceding circumstances, combined with the wasting wars in which the Abenagues were repeatedly engaged; the forces of the Etechemins, whereby they were originally able to keep the western tribes of the Abergineans in fear and awe;¶ and their enduring existence by tribes, to the present time, unitedly conduce to the inference, that the ancient population of Maine must have been at least one half of that in the residue of

* 17 Mass. Rec. p. 399.—1 Doug. p. 185.

† 1 Douglass, p. 101.

‡ That is, among them were 86 hunters; 91 under ten years, and 36 camps.

§ 5 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 211.—Fighters incorrectly supposed to be only 30, in 1764.

|| Pinkerton's *Geog.* p. 627.

¶ The small-pox spread to Piscataqua, A. D. 1633, “when all the Indians except one or two who had it, died.”—*Winthrop's Journal*, p. 59.

New-England. For the numbers of the Abenagues warriors A. D. 1615, were probably equal or superior to those of the Narragansetts, viz. 5,000 ; and the Etechemin warriors, must now have been about 6,000 ;—in all 11,000.* By allowing, then, three of them to ten souls, as in the Powhatan confederacy, the original population of Maine, A. D. 1615, must have been 36 or 37,000 ; —an estimation probably not very wide of the truth.†

* The Abenagues estimated thus—

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|---|---|---|---------------|
| | Sokokis | - | - | - | 900 warriors |
| | Anasagunticooks | - | - | - | 1,500 " |
| | Canibas | - | - | - | 1,500 |
| | Wawenocks | - | - | - | 1,100 |
| | | | | | 5,000 |
| Etechemins thus— | Tarratines | - | - | - | 2,400 |
| | Openangos | - | - | - | 1,400 |
| | Marechites | - | - | - | 2,200 |
| | | | | | 6,000 |
| | | | | | Total 11,000. |

But one account, (9 *Coll. Mass. Hist.* p. 234,) supposes the eastern Indians from Massachusetts to Canso, in 1690, only 4,310 souls ;—an estimate manifestly too low.

† Also there were Indians at Agamenticus, Casco, and Machias.

CHAPTER XIX.

The persons of the natives—Their senses—Their dress—Character—Dispositions—Habits—Wigwams—Food—Society—Females—Marriages—Religion and Superstition—Christianity among them—Their Government—The Bashaba—Sagamores and Sachems—Ceremonies of inducting the Tarratine Chiefs into office—Coalescence of the tribes—Six Indian Wars and Treaties—Crimes and Punishments—Susup's Case—The Employments of the Indians—Hunting—Fishing—Their Canoes—Weapons—Wars—Prisoners—Their Wampam—Their Feasts—An Entertainment—Their Amusements—Manners and Customs—Arts—Music—Medical Knowledge—Dishes of Food—Language.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

In the subsequent consideration of the natives, their appearance, character, regulations, habits, language, and other peculiarities, our observations will be confined, in general, to the Abenagues and the Etechemins, with occasional allusions to the Mickmaks.

Persons of
the Indians.

The Indian is easily distinguishable from the inhabitant of every other country. His stature is above a middling size, his body strong and straight, and his features regular and prominent. But his broad face, black sparkling eyes, bright olive complexion, ivory-white teeth, black hair, long and lank, often give to his countenance an appearance, wild, fierce and morose. A deformed, cross-eyed person, or dwarf, is not found among them; nor are any of the men corpulent. In walking, both sexes incline their feet inwards, by means of a discipline during infancy, enabling them more conveniently to traverse the woods. By reason of an unction, with which they anoint their bodies, to avoid the trouble of flies and vermin, or owing to some other cause, the beards upon the men in general have no considerable growth.*

Their
senses.

With senses acute and perceptions quick and clear, the Indian is all eyes, all ears, and all observation;—nothing escapes his notice. None are blind, deaf, or dumb; and his impressions of

* Smith, in his History, p. 17, says they had no beards:—But several of the Tarratines have told me, they pull out their beards when young.

men or places, are coeval with life. He will travel unfrequented forests without compass or mistake. The Mickmaks, in their wars with the Esquimaux, have been known to cross, in their slender canoes, the gulf of St. Lawrence, 40 leagues over.*

A.D. 1615,
to 1675.

The savage state promotes bodily exercise, inures to hardships, and preserves from the maladies incident to civilized life. Few are sickly or feeble. Many live to a great age, possessing their energies and faculties to the last. Orono, Sagamore of the Tarratines, who died, A. D. 1801, lived to the advanced age of 113 years; and his wife at the time of her death, the preceding year, was aged 100.

Their
health,

The dress and ornaments of the males and females are a curiosity. With a taste for bright or lively colors, their clothes are gay, often changed in kind, never in fashion. When our shores were first visited by de Monts, Gosnold, Smith, and others; the natives were clad in skins, without the fur in summer and with it in winter. Some wore mantles of deer-skins, embroidered with chains of beads, and variously painted; and those of others were curiously inwrought and woven with threads and feathers, in a manner exhibiting only the plumage. The poorer sort appeared with nothing more than hard skins about their loins and shoulders; and a few, in the warm seasons, wore little else than the robe of nature.†

Their dress
and fashions,

In their present fashions, or forms, they wear a woollen cap, or bonnet, cut diagonally and made of a conic shape, enclosing the ears and terminating behind upon the neck. Next to the skin, both sexes wear a cotton or a linen under-shirt, extending down the third of an ell over the short drawers of the one, and the narrow petticoat of the other—severally begirt about the loins. The coats of the men, sewed at the folds, or sides, are lapped over in front and kept together by a belt, without any buttons, and reach below the knee; and the tunic, or vest of the women is pinned before, also their petticoat, though very narrow, falls some lower. The stockings they both wear, are never knit, but usually made of blue cloth, sewed with selvages on the outer sides, and extend over the knee. Though shoes can be con-

* Jeffreys, p. 94.

† Oldmixon, p. 15, 23, 24.—H. Trumbull's *Indian Wars*, p. 91.—*Indian Wars*, (anon.) p. 229.

A. D. 1615, veniently obtained, they prefer moccasins, and usually wear them. to 1675.

None of the females ever cut a hair from their heads, but club or cue the whole; whereas the males shave off all, except a single lock about the crown,* 'that it may not be starved,' to use their own language, 'by the growth of the rest.†

Their orna-
ments.

The natives are excessively fond of ornaments, plumes, and finery; as if gaudy brightness and beauty could vie for the palm with genuine taste and refinement. Whatever glitters, captivates. Both sexes, especially the females, adorn their fingers with gold rings; their necks with wampam or silver collars; their arms with clasps; their bosoms with brooches, or pendants; their ears with jewels—all of the brightest silver. Among the more wealthy, the men, when appearing in their best, wear long sashes and the women broad scarfs over their shoulders, covered with brooches of the same precious metal; and some have tinsel or silver hat-bands:—For many of both sexes now wear men's hats instead of the ancient caps. The maidens in their fondness for brilliant colors, and for ribbons and plumes which are gay, discover a wild unripe taste; though by some, the English daughters of fashion

* 2 Belk. Biog. p. 102.

† *Present State of Nova Scotia*, p. 50.—John de Laet says, 'four leagues north from Kennebeck, following the direction of the coast, there is a bay containing in its bosom a large number of Islands, and near its entrance, one of them is called by the French navigators, the Island of Bacchus, from the great abundance of vines found growing there. The barbarians that inhabit here, are in some respects unlike the other aborigines of New-France—differing somewhat from them both in language and manners. They shave their heads from the forehead to the crown; but suffer their hair to grow on the back side, confining it in knots and interweaving feathers of various plumage. They paint their faces red or black; are well formed; and arm themselves with spears, clubs, bows and arrows, which, for want of iron, they point with the tail of a crustaceous creature called signoc. They cultivate the soil in a different manner from the savages, that live east of them; planting maize [Indian corn] and beans together; so that the stalks of the former, answer the purpose of poles for the vines to run upon. Their fields are enclosed. They plant in May, and harvest in September. Walnut trees grow here, but inferior to ours. Vines are abundant; and it is said by the French, that the grapes gathered in July, make good wine. The natives, also, raise pumpkins and tobacco. They have permanent places of abode; their cabins are covered with oak bark, and are defended by palisadoes.'—2 *Lib. de Laet*, chap. 19.—*Novus OR-
BIS*.

are the enviable patterns of their imitation.* When A'tteon and Neptune were inaugurated chiefs, the Tarratine females were attired in their best, wearing rich silks, tinsel fillets and all their ornaments—seldom, if ever appearing better dressed. A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

The military appearance of the men is both singular and war-like. On their breasts, they wear glittering medals of copper or silver; in their ears and sometimes their noses, pendant jewels; and about their heads, turbans of waving feathers. With red pigment, they paint their faces, in a variety of ways, which make their appearance, according to design, truly terrific. Military appearance.

All our Indians have a peculiar cast of character. Among themselves, every right and possession is safe. No locks, no bars are necessary to guard them. In trade they are fair and honest;† astonished at the crimes which white men commit, to accumulate property. Their lips utter no falsehoods to each other, and the injuries done an individual, they make a common cause of resentment. Such is an Indian's hospitality, that if an unarmed stranger comes among them and asks protection, he is sure to find it. If cold, he is warmed; if naked, clothed; if hungry, fed with the best the camp affords. They are faithful and ardent in friendship, and grateful for favors, which are never obliterated from their memories. Ordinarily possessing great patience and equanimity of mind, the men bear misfortunes with perfect composure, giving proofs of cheerfulness amidst the most untoward incidents. With a glow of ardor for each other's welfare, and the good of their country; all offer voluntary services to the public; all burn with the sacred flame of patriotism; and all most heartily celebrate the heroic deeds of their ancestors. The point of honor is every thing in their view. Sensibility in their hearts is a spark which instantly kindles. An injury, a taunt, or even a neglect, will arouse all the resentments of their untutored minds, and urge them on to acts of fatal revenge. An Indian is a being, grave and taciturn. He seldom laughs; he Their character.

* "I'll shape like theirs my simple dress,
 "And bind like them each jetty tress,
 "And for my dusky brow will braid
 "A bonnet like an English maid.—*English Mary.*

† But they are bad paymasters;—being regardless of their promises. Many who have trusted them, have sustained total losses of their debts.

A. D. 1615, rather prefers to hear, than to talk ; and when he speaks, it is to 1675.
always to the purpose.

But his darker shades of character are many. He is always strongly inclined to be idle. In peace he has no great stimulus to exertion, for wealth, learning and office are not motives of his ambition ; and in war or revenge the agitations subside, when the crisis is past. Bred, like the animals of the woods, unused to parental restraints, and trained to privations from their childhood, they affect never to dread suffering, never exquisitely to feel anguish—never to have sympathies for the meekest tortured enemy.

Their dispositions.

Jealousy, revenge and cruelty, are attributes of mind, which truly belong to them. If they always remember a favor, they never forget an injury. To suspect the worst—to retaliate evil for evil—to torture a fallen captive—to keep no faith with an enemy—and never to forgive, seem to be maxims, the correctness of which, according to their ethics, admits of no question. To them, so sweet in thought, and so glorious in fact, is successful revenge ; that they will go through danger and hardships to the end of life, for the sake of effecting their purpose. No arts, no plans, no means, are left unessayed to beat or kill the object they hate. To cite two or three instances. A butcher, accidentally meeting a Tarratine Indian was beat by him unmercifully, because at some previous period, he had, as the savage said, sold him tainted meat. John Neptune, in consequence of a supposed injury done some of his tribe, threatened the wrong-doer at Oldtown from day to day, with certain death. Another man durst not be alone long in one place, through fear of being murdered by several Tarratines, who haunted and pursued him to avenge a suspected injury.*

Wrongs done to the natives.

In agreement with the defenders of the natives, however, it must be acknowledged, that Weymouth, Harlow, Smith, the master of Popham's ship, and perhaps others† were aggressors, in kidnapping several of them from their shores ; that they were deprived of their lands and privileges by the encroaching settlers ; and that many impositions were practised upon them in barter

* The natives hated *Negroes*, and generally would kill them as soon as they were taken captive.

† Ante, A. D. 1605—11—14.—Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 286.—Smith, p. 18—20.—Prince, p. 33, 40.

and bargains. But, this was exclusively attributable to individuals; most or all of the lands occupied by the planters, being claimed under purchases of the Sagamores, all kidnapping of the natives being universally censured, and the prisoners generally returned or set free. Nor could the ravages of the smallpox,* nor yet those of ardent spirits among them, be sins laid to the charge of the English as a community—they never having made any use of these scourges of mankind to exterminate the natives. On the contrary, they have, when ready to perish, a thousand times, received of the settlers, provisions, clothing, fire-arms, edgetools and other articles of necessity and convenience.

Passions inflamed by trifles, often become settled malice and revenge, and render their wars bloody and cruel. Old men, women and children, though too feeble to use a weapon, were sometimes barbarously dispatched; and the Indians generally abused or neglected their captives. If a child cried, or an adult sunk under his burden, instant death was commonly their portion. How many houses of the unoffending inhabitants have been reduced to ashes? how many hundreds slain, or sold into Canadian slavery? Nay, if the Indian's malignity was not satanical to a fearful degree, why did he wreak his vengeance on slender females or sickly infants? why revengefully hunt for the precious life, when the war had ceased?

Their inordinate thirst for ardent spirits has been attributed to their perpetual traverse of the woods, and their constant use of fresh water and unsalted meat. They will take strong liquor unmixed, till they can swallow no more. They are then to a frightful degree, violent and mischievous. Their firearms and knives, must then be taken from them, to prevent murder.

Their manner of living is meagre and uncomfortable. The best wigwams in their villages, are constructed, one story in height, from 20 to 40 feet in length, and two thirds the same in width. The plates are supported by crotched posts thrust into the ground. The sides and roofs, were formerly thatched with bark;—now sometimes covered with rough boards and battened. They are without glass windows, and without doors; the entrance into

* The natives considered the smallpox the greatest evil that ever befell mankind.—*Pres. State of Nova Scotia*, p. 45, 60.

A. D. 1615, them being through a narrow opening, which is closed by a hanging rug, like a curtain, to keep out cold and rain. Within, are platforms on each side next to the walls, or layers of boughs upon the ground. Here men, women and children, sit in a manner not unlike a tailor on his shopboard; here they eat, with the victuals in their fingers; here they sleep, with no other bedding than a bear skin underneath, and a few blankets over them. In the area between the platforms, the fire is built, without fire-place, chimney or hearth; an aperture being left open for the smoke to escape through the roof. Four families are frequently tenants of a single wigwam. Yet, they have nothing like a chair, a movable stool, or table; all the furniture in these miserable cabins, consisting of a few wooden and iron vessels, knives and baskets.

The movable wigwams are of a conic form, constructed with slender poles, making angles of fifty or sixty degrees at the ground, converging to a point at the vertex, and inclosing a circular area of 12 or 15 feet in diameter. They are without floor, chimney or window. The inside ground is spread with boughs; and the outside is thatched with bark. They have no regular meals, except in the evening;—they take their repast when they have an appetite. Their victuals are indifferent, changing with the seasons. No creature they take is unfit for food. In the winter it is flesh; in the spring, fish; in the summer and autumn, green corn, maize, and vegetables. But they did not know how to make their maize into bread, till the Europeans came among them.* They smoke and broil their meats; they roast their groundnuts in the ashes; and with the sap of the sugar maple, boiled to molasses, they sweeten their cakes. They pounded their corn in stone mortars, and made the water boil in wooden troughs, by means of stones heated in the fire.

The Indians are far from any thing like cleanliness, either in their persons or their huts. Their faces, hands, clothes, vessels, never know what it is to be washed; and their dark and dirty abodes are equally offensive to the eye and the nose.

Social life.

Society, which commenced with the primitive pair, is one of the strongest propensities of human nature. This is even manifest in savage life. All the members of a family, are united by

* Oldmixon, p. 15, 23.—H. Trumbull's Indian Wars, p. 91.

the strongest attachments, and the individuals of a tribe are holden together by similar ties.* A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

If the women were in truth as cleanly, as by nature comely, some of them might be called secondary beauties. The maids are modest and retiring; and all the better sort prefer to barter their baskets and other articles, with the females only, of the English. The continency of wives is seldom violated;—all conversation between one and an Englishman, in presence of her “sanup,” or husband, is quickly chided by him, whose command is, ‘talk to me;’—an usage which renders females reserved. Constitutional foes, as they are to contention; their peculiar characteristic is that of peacemakers. As manual labor, in an Indian’s view, is mean drudgery, it is performed by the other sex. To the mother and daughters, is assigned the whole business of agriculture. They plant and hoe the corn; secure the harvest; take care of the fish and game, and do the cookery. But when the repast is prepared, the wife and children wait till the husband or father has finished his meal. The female savage seldom if ever intoxicates; and in fact, she sustains a much better general character than the man.

Among the Etechemins, marriages are negotiated by the fathers and solemnized, in modern times, by a catholic priest. Capt. Francis says, ‘if an Indian is charmed with a squaw, he tells his parents, and they talk with her’s; and if all are pleased, he sends her a string of wampam, perhaps 1,000 beads, and presents her with a wedding suit. All meet at the wigwam of her parents; the young couple sit together till married; they and the guests then feast and dance all that night and the next; and then the married pair retire.’—Early wedlock is encouraged, and a couple, in a fit of matrimonial union, will, for the purpose of finding a priest, traverse the woods to Canada. In later times, polygamy† is not known among them; and divorces, which are never very frequent, are by mutual consent.

A sanup has unlimited control over his wife, having been known to take her life with impunity. A case of the kind oc-

* 1 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 254.—Some of the English who have lived with the Indians, were unwilling to leave them.

† Capt. Francis says, before the white people came here, sometimes “Indians have four wives.”

A. D. 1615, curred in 1775, when one in a paroxysm of rage, slew his squaw to 1675.

and hid her body under the ice of the Penobscot, without being, according to report, so much as questioned for his conduct.

Children, who are strangers to the restraints and instructions of parents, leave them when able to procure a living for themselves. The character of a community, formed of such materials, is readily anticipated :—It cannot be otherwise than bad.

Religion.

The religious notions of the natives are rude and full of superstition. They believe in a Great Spirit, whom the Abenagues called *TANTO* or *TANTUM*, and the Etechemins *SAZOOS*;—also in the immortality of the soul,—and in a paradise far in the west, where He dwells, and where all good men go when they die. To the wicked they suppose He will say, when they knock at the heavenly gates, ‘go wander in endless misery,—you never shall live here.’ For plenty, victory, or any other great good, they celebrated feasts with songs and dances, to His praise.

They had strong faith in an evil spirit, whose satanic Majesty they called “*Mojahondo* ;”---supposing he possessed the attributes, in general revealed of that being, in the Scriptures. They believed also in tutelar spirits, or good angels, whom they denominated *Manniton* ; and they entertained great veneration for their *Pow-ows*.* These, uniting in one person the two offices of priest and physician, were supposed to possess almost miraculous powers. By invocations uttered in an unknown tongue—by preternatural charms—by leaping and dancing through the fire—and by strange orisons ;—they pretended to have converse with occult oracles and demons, and to receive ambiguous responses like the Greeks of Delphos.†

The Indians told a traditional story, that the Great Spirit created one man and one woman ; and from them proceeded all mankind.‡ But, before the arrival of the Europeans, the natives had no knowledge of the Sabbath, nor had they any religious meetings. ‘All days,’ Capt. Francis says, ‘were alike to them.’

They believed in dreams, and sometimes commemorated them by feasts.§ No people are more superstitious. They regarded an old tree in Nova Scotia with pious veneration, and loaded it with offerings. They thought it the residence of some

* Indian Wars, (anonymous) p. 299. † Oldmixon, p. 15.—H. Moll, p. 256.

‡ Purchas, p. 933—939.

§ Jeffreys, p. 81—94.

great or good spirit. After its roots were laid open by the sea, A. D. 1615, they continued to venerate it so long as a branch remained. to 1675.

Their dead were generally buried in a sitting posture. In Burials. Pittston, upon the Kennebeck, are two old burying grounds, where skeletons are found in a posture half erect, the head bending over the feet. Relics of human bodies have been discovered in a tumulus near Ossipee pond, which were originally buried with the face downward. In these two places, and in others upon the Kenduskeag, and elsewhere, there have been discovered instruments, paints and ornaments interred,—the requisites to help the departed spirits to the “country of souls.” The modern manner of burials is borrowed from the catholics. The corpse, enclosed in a rough coffin, is followed by an irregular procession to the burying ground; and when interred, a little wooden crucifix is placed at the head of the grave, which is sprinkled with consecrated water, and perfumed with flowers or herbs. If a Taratine dies abroad, he must, if possible, be borne to Old-town and buried in the common grave-yard.

The female lamentations for the dead are great and sometimes excessive. The death of a young child, swept away from the arms of its mother, as the two lay sleeping in a summer’s day, between high and low water mark upon the Penobscot beach, affords a striking instance of savage grief. She burst into loud and excessive lamentations; and mingled her cries with inarticulate jabber;—an hour scarcely closing this scene of shrieking and tears.

Christianity was early introduced and subsequently taught, Christianity, among the Abenagues and Etechemin tribes by the catholic missionaries, such as Biard, Masse,* Dreuilletes,† the two Bigots, Ralle,‡ and others. They effected great changes in the views and practices of the natives. The Powows lost their influence and came to an utter end. Superstitious rites and rituals, blended with endeavors to inculcate and deepen the moral sense, and to encourage religious worship, becoming established, are still

* A. D. 1603, at Mount Desert.

† The Capuchin priests had a trading house and religious chapel at Pentagoet in 1646.—1 *Charlevoix*, p. 435.

‡ A. D. 1689, at Norridgewock.—See *Jeffreys*, 103.—1 *Hol. A. Ann.* 344.—7 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 245-50. 2d series.—Vincent Bigot, was at Penobscot in 1688; and Jaques Bigot, was at Kennebeck in 1699.

A. D 1615, extant among the remnants of the tribes. But neither their
to 1675.

morals, manners, principles or virtues, nor yet their customs, sentiments or taste, have undergone any very extensive or real improvements. In all these, the Indians are natives still, without any essential change.

Government.

Among these eastern tribes, there was a great similarity of government. It was of the simplest form, which possesses the powers of restraint and coercion. Such were their exalted ideas of liberty, that they had no word by which to express our meaning of *subject*; and the character of a master formed in their view, some attribute of a demon. In society, where filial obedience is unknown, political subordination can never be great. Here was civil freedom and an equality of rights, though not of rank.

The greatest aboriginal monarch of the east was entitled ‘the *Bashaba*,’ previously mentioned, whose residence was with the Wawenock tribe. Besides his immediate dominions, extending probably from St. Georges to Kennebeck, the tribes westward to Agamenticus, and even farther, acknowledged him to be their paramount lord. His overthrow, in 1615 or 16, terminated the royal line and rank.*

Sagamore.
Sachem.

At the head of every tribe was a *Sagamore*,† or chief magistrate, whose councillors, or *wise men*, were denominated *Sachems*,—in modern times, captains. He and they knew their influence and felt their importance. In council they directed war and peace; they had the oversight of the public dominions; and with very few established rules, they, according to discretion, appointed the punishments of offenders. The government was patriarchal. The Sagamore, possessing superiority of rank and power, always presided when present; and next to him, was a sachem of secondary grade and influence. On great occasions, all the principal men of the tribe were convened and consulted. These assemblies, from which females were uniformly excluded, were conducted with the greatest order; the old men spake first and were especially regarded and venerated, for their wisdom and experi-

* 1 *Belk. Biog.* p. 351—355.—He had many under him. The Saco “is the westernmost river of the dominions of Bashebez.”—*Purchas’ Pilgrims*, 10 *Book*, chap. 6.

† Sounded by the Indians, “Sunk-a-muh,”—“Sagamore” and “Sachem.”—*See Statement of Kennebeck Claims*, p. 21.

ence ; and all their debates and discussions were managed with the greatest decorum and secrecy also, when the occasion required it. A. D. 1615,
to 1575.

The office of a Sagamore continues during life. When he dies, the tribe manifest a strong predilection to have his son, or some near relation, succeed him. In these designations, or selections, party spirit often runs high ; the aspirants and their supporters exhibiting all the violence of the competition, manifested in civilized communities.

The three Etechemin tribes have, severally and immemorially, selected their Sagamores and Sachems, or subordinate officers, in form of a general election.* But the candidate, when chosen, is not inducted into office, without the presence and assistance of a delegation from each of the other tribes. This was the case when Francis Joseph Neptune, at Passamaquoddy, and John Aitteon, at Penobscot, were made chiefs of their respective tribes ; and the most intelligent credible Indians agree in saying, that such is the practice among the Marechites, and has *always* been the usage among all three of the tribes. The ceremonies of a single induction, whereof the writer was an eyewitness, are worthy of a particular statement.

The parties in the Tarratine tribe were so sanguine and violent after they lost their chief, that they could not for many months agree upon a successor. Perplexed with the long controversy and deeply concerned in effecting an union, the catholic priest interposed his influence ; when they were induced to leave the rival candidates, and select *John Aitteon*, a reputed descendant of Baron de Castine, by an Indian wife. Tarratine
chiefs in-
ducted into
office.

On the 19th of September, 1816, at Old-town village, Sagamore Aitteon, *John Neptune*, next in grade and command, and two captains were inducted into office, with the customary ceremonies. To assist in these, the chiefs and 15 or 20 other principal men from each of the tribes at St. John's river and at Passamaquoddy, had previously arrived, appearing in neat and becoming dresses, all in the Indian fashion.

Early in the forenoon, the men of the Tarratine tribe, convening in the great wigwam, called the camp, seated themselves on

* They are in modern times called *Governor*, *Lieutenant-Governor*, and *Captains*,—names borrowed from the English.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

Indian
chiefs in-
ducted into
office.

the side platform according to seniority, Aitteon, Neptune, and the select captains at the head, near the door; the former two being clad in coats of scarlet broadcloth and decorated with silver brooches, collars, arm-clasps, jewels, and other ornaments. Upon a spread before them, of blue cloth, an ell square, were exhibited four silver medals; three of which were circular and twice the size of a dollar, the other was larger, in the form of a crescent. All these were emblematically inscribed with curious devices, and suspended by parti-colored ribbons, a yard in length, with ends tied. Aware of gentlemen's wishes to be spectators of the ceremonials, they directed the Indian, acting the part of marshal, to invite them into the camp. The admission of the female visitants was also requested; but he replied, as directed by the chiefs,—*'never our squaws, nor yours, set with us in council.'*

The spectators being seated below the tribe, upon the platform, or benches, covered with blankets; the Marechite delegation, preceded by their chief, entered the camp in true Indian file, and sat down, according to individual rank, directly before the Tarratines. These now uncovered their heads and laid aside their caps and hats, till the ceremonies were closed.

Four belts of wampam, brought into the camp by a stately Marechite, were unfolded and placed in the area upon a piece of broadcloth, which enclosed them; when his Sagamore, presently rising, took and held one of them in his hands, and addressed Aitteon, from five to ten minutes, in a courtly speech of pure vernacular, laying the belt at his feet. Three others in rotation, and next in rank, of the same tribe, addressed, in a similar manner, the Tarratine candidates of comparative grade;—all which were tokens of unchanging friendship and sanctions of perpetual union. The Sagamore, then taking the medal nearest Aitteon, addressed him and his tribe in another speech of the same length as the former; in the course of which he came three or four times to momentary pauses, when the Tarratines collectively uttered deep guttural sounds, like "aye." These were evident expressions of their assent to have Aitteon, Neptune, Francis, and the other, their first and second Sagamores, and two senior captains. The speaker, closing his remarks, advanced and placed the suspended medal, as the badge of investiture, about Aitteon's neck,—the act by which he was formally inducted into office and constituted

Sagamore for life. Neptune and the two captains, in their turns, after being shortly addressed by the other Marechite actors, were invested by them with the ensigns of office in the same way.

A. D. 1616,
to 1675.
Indian
chiefs in-
ducted into
office.

During these ceremonies, the 'Quoddy Indians without, stood around a standard, twenty feet in height, to and from the top of which, they alternately hoisted and lowered a flag, as each Tarratine was inducted into office; at the same time and afterwards, firing salutes from a well-loaded swivel, near the same place.

Mr. Romaine, the catholic priest, attired in a white robe and long scarf, having seated himself among the Tarratines, before the ceremonies were commenced, now rising, read appropriate passages from the Scriptures in Latin, and expounded them in the Indian dialect; and next a psalm, which he and the Marechites chaunted with considerable harmony. In the midst of the sacred song, the whole of them moved slowly out of the camp, preceded by the priest, leaving the Tarratines seated; and forming a circle in union with the 'Quoddy Indians, stood and sang devoutly several minutes; and closed with a "Te Deum."

The priest then departed to his house; and the Indians entering the camp, took their seats—the 'Quoddy Indians in a lower place, abreast the sitting spectators, when they commenced their tangible salutations. In this form of civility, each of the two delegations rising in turn, literally embraced, cheek and lips, the four new-made officers, and shook heartily by the hand, all the others of the tribe.

The gentlemen, at the marshal's request, now withdrew;—to be spectators only about the doors and apertures; when the Tarratine females, clad in their best dresses and fancifully ornamented, joined for the first time, the Indian assemblage, and the whole formed an elliptical circle for dances. In close Indian file they moved forward in successive order, with a kind of double shuffle, to their former places, animated by the music of a light beat upon a drum, in the midst of the circus, with the accompaniment of a vocal tune.* The female dancers then retired; the Indians took their seats; and the spectators were re-admitted.

To close the ceremonies, four chief men of the Marechites

* Formerly their chief instruments were rattles, made of small gourds and pumpkin shells.—*Smith*, p. 32.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

Indian
chiefs in-
ducted into
office.

severally rose in succession and sang short songs, somewhat entertaining, which were duly responded by others from the new-made officers; throughout which, the whole assemblage uttered, at almost every breath, a low-toned emphatic guttural sound, not unlike a hickup—the singular way by which they expressed their plaudits and pleasures.

More than three hours were consumed in these ceremonies; which were succeeded by a feast already preparing. Two fat oxen, slaughtered and severed into pieces, were roasting; rice, beans, and garden vegetables were boiling; and bread-loaves and crackers were abundant. If the cookery, neatness and order, were unworthy of modern imitation; the defects were counter-balanced by the hearty invitations and welcomes, with which all the visitants equally with the natives, were urged to become partakers, both of the repast and of the festive scenes. The regularities of the day relaxed to rude dances and wild sports in the evening, which were by no means free from extravagance and excess.

Confeder-
acies of the
natives.

These circumstances are evincive of the cordial fraternity and political union of these three tribes. Never have they been known on any emergency, to act otherwise than in concert. Nor have we any accounts, that either of the Abenagues tribes ever took arms against the others. It is certain, the ties of their attachment were uniformly strong; and in every movement, there was great unanimity. Among the Mickmak Sagamores we find, likewise, an ardent coalescence; there being no traditional report of their making war at any time upon each other. But no confederacy or union existed between any *two* of the *three great Aberginean, Abenagues, and Etechemin people* mentioned, until Philip's war, when a common interest softened their asperities towards one another, and urged them into a general warfare against the colonists.

Intercourse
of the colo-
nists and
natives.

During fifty years, the planters and traders in Maine, had great intercourse with the natives, undisturbed by any open rupture. When they commenced hostilities, they were full of revenge and greedy of spoils. No presents, no treaties, no other expedient could, for any length of time, bind them in the bonds of peace. Their jealousies and antipathies towards the English were habitual; and when it was too late, they had a fearful vision of ultimate exile or utter extinction. Within a period of eighty-

five years, between the war of Philip, A. D. 1675, and the capture of Quebec, the inhabitants of Maine have been extreme sufferers in *six* Indian wars ;*—some of which were long and all of them bloody. The 1st, lasted *three* years ; the 2d, *nine* and a *half* ; the 3d, *ten* ; the 4th, *three* and a *half* ; the 5th, *four*, and the 6th, *five* years. The number of treaties have been much greater ; our political relations with the tribes, till they became extinct or peaceable, being always of considerable importance.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.
Six Indian
wars and
treaties.

All acts and proceedings of the natives are regulated by a present sense of fitness, and immediate benefit. They have no written constitution, no code of laws, no judicial process, no permanent documents. The fires of avarice and ambition,—the passions for riches and influence, which are the great disturbers of the civilized world, lie comparatively dormant in the savage breast. The Indians are a very peculiar race. Their territories are holden by the tribe in common ; individuals are willing strangers to an extended commerce and to accumulated wealth ; and therefore, no regulations are needed among them, except what are made for the purpose of preventing and punishing personal injuries.

Laws and
regulations.

Their laws of course consist of a few immemorial usages and plain maxims,—manifestly the mere dictates of natural reason. Checks and restraints must be given to the malignant passions ; otherwise no ligaments are strong enough to bind firmly

* The wars and principal treaties with the eastern tribes :—Mugg's treaty, Nov. 6, 1676.—2 *Neal's N. E.* p. 403-5.

1. *King Philip's war*, from June 24, 1675, to the treaty of Casco, April 12, 1678.—*Mass. Rec.*—Treaty of Portsmouth, Sept. 8, 1685.—*Belknap's N. H.* p. 348.

2. *King William's war*, from August 13, 1688, to the treaty of Marespoint, Brunswick, January 7, 1699.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 556-7.—Treaty of Pemaquid, August 11, 1693.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 542-3, entire.

3. *Queen Anne's war*, from August, 1703, to the treaty of Portsmouth, July 11, 1713.—*Penhallow's Indian Wars.*—1 *Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc.* p. 83-6.

4. *Lovwell's war*, from June 13, 1722, to Dummer's celebrated treaty, Dec. 15, 1725.—*Secretary's Office, Boston*,—entire.

5. *The Spanish, or five years' Indian war*, from July 19, 1745, to the treaty of Falmouth, Oct. 16, 1749.—9 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 220-3.—Treaty of Halifax, August 15, 1749.—*Secretary's Office, Boston*.

6. *French and Indian war*, from April, 1755, to the conquest of Quebec, and treaty of Halifax, Feb. 22, 1760, and Pownall's treaty, April 29.—*Sec. Office*.

Treaty with the Mickmaks and Marechites, July 19, 1776.

A. D. 1615, a community together. The principal crimes which occur among the Indians are homicides, violent assaults, and drunkenness ;—sometimes treachery, theft and adulterous intercourse. But they are strangers to arson, robbery, burglary, perjury, forgery, frauds, ravishment and many other offences, which so much disturb and blacken civilized society.

Offences
and redress.

Crimes and aggravated misdemeanors are summarily examined by the Sagamore and chief men, who prescribe and dictate what punishment shall be inflicted upon the guilty. A murderer, according to the statement of Neptune and Francis, is tied to a tree, and there shot to death by one of the captains. Sometimes his life is spared upon his engagement to support the wife, the children, or helpless relations of the slain ; yet doomed to be forever an outcast from the tribe. This and treason are the only crimes among them, punishable with death. If we may believe Capt. Francis,—“Indians seldom steal from Indians ;” yet if one should be guilty of theft, Neptune says, he is tied fast to a tree and whipped till he confesses, and brings forth what he has stolen.

Quarrels among them and batteries are not uncommon. Antagonists never strike. They clinch, and then struggle furiously to throw each other upon the ground ; when the victor seizes the hair of his fallen adversary, wrenches and twists his neck violently ; and sometimes with his heel, gives repeated blows in his face. This is oftentimes done even in the view, and with the approbation, of the chief men, when they are convinced of the sufferer’s villainy.

If female continency and chastity, be seldom solicited or violated, there have been instances of lascivious intercourse, attended with fearful evils. An affair of this character, a few years since, happened at a chief’s camp, or hunting wigwam in the forest, between his wife and an under chief, when the husband was absent. The shrewd native, suspecting the crime, made her confess it, and then forgave her ; determining to wreak his vengeance only on the adulterer. Once they met and strove to take each other’s life, in a combat with knives ; nor were they without great difficulty separated. These transactions occurring, while the two men were at the head of the Tarratine tribe, have divided it into dire parties, who are not yet reconciled.

Revenge is fully justified, as the Indians believe, in this class of offences ; and should the blood of the criminal be spilt by the

avenger, its voice could never reach the ear of the tribe. A birth without a marriage was never known to occur, except in a very few instances, where the putative father is a white man ; and then the mother's former female associates subsequently avoid her society. Some, however, suppose this causes more resentment than disgrace. A Frenchman, as we are told, belonging to the company of de Monts, used a freedom with the daughter of an Openango Sagamore, in 1603 ; which eventuated in the manifest appearances of her unchastity. The ardent stranger was willing to marry the fair native, and she was enamored with him ; but her father objected, till the foreigner had evinced superior skill in taking game or salmon.

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.
Offences
and redress.

Among the natives, the *law of retaliation* is considered a dictate of nature, always justifiable. The vile, they think, are deterred from the commission of crimes through the perpetual fear of the avenger, if they transgress. An Indian was never known to seek redress through the medium of our laws and courts, for any injury done him by one of his tribe. Nor was there an instance, till quite lately, where a white man ever sued an Indian in a civil action. But prosecutions have frequently been instituted at law upon complaints, both of the Englishman and the Indian, for crimes committed by either against the other.

The trial and story of *Peol Susup*, so much in point, may be related. About sunset, June 28, 1816, this Indian's turbulence and noise, in the tavern of William Knight, at Bangor, became intolerable ; and the inn-keeper thrust him out at the door, and endeavored to drive him away. The Indian, instantly turning in a great rage, pursued him to the steps, with a drawn knife, and gave him a deep wound, just below his shoulderblade, of which he presently died.

Susup's
crime and
trial.

On his arrest, Susup frankly said,—‘ I have killed Knight—
‘ and I ought to die :—but I was in liquor ; and he abused me ;
‘ or I never had done it.’

After an imprisonment till the June term of the Supreme Judicial Court, at Castine, the subsequent year ; he was arraigned on an indictment for murder, to which he pleaded *not guilty*.*

* Many of his own tribe, and several from St. Johns and Passamaquoddy, attended the trial. Among others, Susup's wife and four or five children ; —Neptune gave his counsel 30 half dollars.

A. D. 1615, A day was consumed in the trial, amidst a concourse, which crowded the meeting-house ; and, according to the position urged by his counsel,* the verdict was “manslaughter.”

to 1675.
Susup's
trial.

The Court then said to him—*Susup, have you any thing now to say for yourself?*—‘John Neptune,’ said he, ‘will speak for me :’—That Indian then stepped forward from the midst of his associates, towards the Judges, and deliberately addressed them in an impressive speech of several minutes. He spake in broken English, yet every word was distinctly heard and easily understood. His gestures were frequent and forcible ; his manner solemn ; and a breathless silence pervaded the whole assembly.—He began—*You know, your people do my Indians great deal of wrong.—They abuse them very much ; yes, they murder them ; then they walk right off—nobody touches them. This makes my heart burn. Well, then my Indians say, we’ll go kill your very bad and wicked men. No, I tell ’em, never do that thing ; we are brothers.—Sometime ago a very bad man† about Boston, shot an Indian dead ;—your people said, surely he should die ; but it was not so.—In the great prison-house he eats and lives to this day ; certain he never dies for killing Indian. My brothers say, let that bloody man go free ;—Peol Susup too. So we wish—hope fills the hearts of us all.—Peace is good. These, my Indians, love it well : they smile under its shade. The white men and red men must be always friends ;—the Great Spirit is our Father ;—I speak what I feel.*

Susup was sentenced to another year’s imprisonment ; and required to find sureties for keeping the peace two years, in the penal sum of \$500 ; when John Neptune, and ‘Squire Jo Merry Neptune, of his own tribe, Capt. Solmond, from Passamaquoddy, and Capt. Jo Tomer, from the river St. John, became his sureties in the recognizance.

An Indian has few inducements to industry. Like the wretched drones in civilized society, he considers labor beneath his dignity ; and with him, time is esteemed of small value. What necessity or inclination urges him to undertake in seasons of

Idle habits
of the In-
dians.

* Mellen and Williamson for the prisoner.—For the government, D. Davis, Solicitor General.

† He alluded to one Livermore, who had received sentence of death for killing an Indian ; which was commuted to hard labor for life in the State’s prison.

peace, is leisurely done ; for though he is never quiet, an inert A. D. 1615, to 1675. life is in his estimation the boon of earthly happiness.

The principal employments of the men are hunting and fishing. Hunting and fishing. In the former, they discover great skill and dexterity. On the arrival of the Europeans, the natives used wooden traps ; and an expert bowman, it is said, could, with his arrows, do execution at the distance of forty yards.* Sometimes the young hunter would shroud himself in the skin of a moose or other animal, and creep towards the herd, imitating their looks and motions, till a favorable moment offered, when he would shoot the decoyed game, and dropping the disguise, run it down and secure it. For the purpose of taking a herd of deer, two or three hundred men have been known to form an association ; wherein by surrounding the animals with fires, posting themselves at well-chosen passes, and raising an alarm by hideous yells, they were enabled to kill great numbers. Oftentimes, one party would drive them to narrow points of land, or into a river, amidst an ambush, that would rise and kill them. The time for duck hunting was in the month of August, when the flocks had shed their quills and feathers, and their young were fledged insufficiently to fly. According to the account given of an instance by Mr. Penhallow, A. D. 1717, the Indians drove them in such numbers into creeks as to be able with their paddles and billets of wood only, to kill 4,600 at one time ; disposing of hundreds to the English at a penny by the dozen.†

Birds were taken with snares, or shot with arrows. The fish were caught either by hook and line, by entangling them in wears, by dipping with scoop-nets, or by striking them with spears. The fish lines and nets were constructed of deer's sinews, the bark of trees, or tough grass, spun into threads between the hands and teeth ; the hooks were bones grated to a point and bearded. The remains of Indian wears, constructed with large stones, are still extant in great Ossipee river.

The lazy habits of the natives incline them to travel as much as possible by water. Their craft or boats are of two kinds. One is formed out of a large log excavated, 40 feet in length—the inside being burned and then smoothed by a stone gouge. The other is constructed of birchen bark, so light, that an Indian Their manual ingenuity.

* Smith's Hist. p. 32.

† 1 Coll. N. Hamp. Hist. Soc. p. 90.

A. D. 1615, turning it upside down, can travel with it some miles upon his head : yet it will carry six men, and the other about forty. Their

axe was formerly made of a fine grained stone, and used by means of a helve, fastened to the pole by a withe. The chisel and gouge were made of the same stone, the one straight and the other curved at the edge. Their arrow heads and spears, were made of flint, or the hardest stone, and shaped like the point of a two edged sword ; the former from two to three, and the latter from four to ten inches in length. A most curious article is the stone pendant, shaped like a pear. In length, it is three inches and a half, and four and a half around the bulb. It is too heavy for the ears, too clumsy and ill-shapen for a bosom ornament, and yet too much wrought for any minor use. It has been many times shown to the Indians of different tribes for an exposition of its use, without obtaining any satisfactory information.

Their
weapons.

Their ancient weapons of war were only four or five, the war-club, the staff, the lance, the bow and arrows and the target.

The war-club, was made of the root or branch of a tree, with a knot at the end, for the purpose of fatal batteries in close engagement. The staff or stake, resembling an espontoon, was an elastic pole, 8 or 10 feet in length, hardened by fire at one end, and designed to parry the enemy, or strike him at short distances. A much more bloody and fatal weapon, was the lance. It resembled the pickaxe, and was formed by inserting near one end of a short hand-staff, at right angles, a deer's horn, or a long stone sharpened at each end ; or it was a kind of pike sharply pointed with flint or bone.* By this, the fighter could fatally attack his foe, or shield himself from return-blows. The bow and arrow were of great use both in war and hunting. The bow was made of the toughest elastic wood, 8 or 10 feet in length. It was only bent when used to twang the arrows ; and then, like that of Ulysses, it required no feeble arm to bend it. An old English hunter assures me, he has seen a bowman shoot at short distances with the precision and effect of a rifle-man. The target was a shield, or breastplate, not extensively used. The tomahawk and scalping knife, which strike the minds of the English with so much horror, are sharp-edged weapons, of iron and steel,

* Smith's History, p. 31.—Indian Wars, (anon.) p. 272.

which have come into use among the Indians, since their acquaintance with the Europeans. A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

They enter upon war with the utmost deliberation. The Sagamore meets his Indian warriors in council; a great fire is kindled; and he addresses the assemblage fully upon the important subject. Becoming acquainted with their determination, he takes up a circuitous march, while he sings a war song; endeavoring to arouse and kindle their patriotic ardor to the greatest height. In war, a largess of services, among the Abenagues and Tarratines, is tendered to their Sagamores; but among the Mickmaks, the Sagamore being more absolute, levied a kind of tribute upon his people, at pleasure.*—The fortifications of the natives were asylums merely, for old men, women and children, surrounded by palisadoes without bastions, where they tarried when the warriors were absent. It was not their policy to face the enemy in the open field; but in skulking, stratagem and ambush, they displayed their superior arts of war. They choose by stealth to wind their way under the covert of darkness, within shot of their foe, when their leader, at break of day, gives the signal, by a faint hollow shout; and the whole body instantly raising a most frightful war-whoop, and rushing upon their enemies with the usual yell, *ho! ho! ho!*—scalp and kill after all resistance ceases. In victory or success, they exult extravagantly, in dances, feasts and shouts of triumph. They fight for the public good, without remuneration;—scalps, booty, trophies, and a return without loss, constituting the glory of the expedition.

But wealth with them is of inconsiderable value, except for present use. They are no misers—though precious metals are their most valued ornaments. Their wigwams are mere shelters, and nothing more. All in their estimation, which give worth to their lands, are their hunting grounds; some small patches for culture, and, since the arrival of the Europeans, the timber of the forests and other spontaneous productions of nature. The trade with them has consisted in a barter of furs and peltries, at “truck houses” and forts, established and regulated by laws. They never had any other domestic animals than dogs;† no several

* Jeffreys, p. 66, 80.—Indian Wars, (anon.) p. 269.

† Wolf-dogs are said to be the offspring of the fox and the wolf.—2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 130—1. The Indians had no domestic fowls.—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 213.

A. D. 1615, property, which was not portable in every situation and movement; and no money except *wampam*.* This was an article wrought out of shells, found upon the coasts of New-England and Virginia, and formed into beads,—all of a vivid color resembling pearls. Each “eye,” or bead, was of a cylindrical form, about one 4th of an inch in length, smaller than a pipe-stem, and fluted through the centre, large enough to receive a strong thread. They were of two varieties, the *white* and the *black* or *violet*: the former was double in value of the latter, and rated at a farthing apiece,—now at a cent; and both, in 1643, were by a colony law made a tender, in all debts under 40 shillings. Ten thousand of these beads are not unfrequently wrought into a single belt, four inches in width, and from two to three feet in length. Wampam is with Indians, the pearl of great price. It is interwoven into every part of their better dress; it is their money; it is used as an interchange or token of the highest respect.

Feasts.

The natives have their songs of war, of sociality, and of worship. But none of their usages are more general, than their feasts and dances on special occasions, such as war, victory, peace, marriage, and social meetings. In the war-dance, and it is believed, in that of victory, the females being the devotees of peace, never take a part: otherwise they are as fond of this amusement and exercise, as the other sex.

Samuel Champlain was present at an entertainment, in true native style, A. D. 1603, attended by the Algonquins, Etechemins, and Mountaineers;†—the particulars of which give a fair specimen of similar scenes. The Algonquin Sagamore, Amadabison, who made the feast, took his seat between two perpendicular poles, on which were suspended their enemies' heads taken in war; and all the guests were seated around next the walls of the great cabin, armed with a kind of hard-wood spear, or dirk. To amuse the company, a young Indian took his dog, and, flourishing around the boiling kettles of venison, seven or eight in number, danced from one to another of the attendants, and when coming to the Sagamore, he gave the dog a twirl upon his back, and retook his place. He was followed by others

* Wampampeag.—*Prince*, p. 173.

† Purchas, p. 933—936.—The men only shout.

equally expert in the same feats. All with festive mirth partook of the repast; and afterwards some told stories, others sang, and several danced, with their enemies' heads in their hands. The Indians of Amadabison then arranged and seated before him, "their women and maids, in ranks;" who suddenly sprang up, as the men stood singing behind them, and casting off their mantles of fur and other articles of dress, except their beads, sang and danced till quite exhausted;—when, the whole in concert shouted, *he! he! he!*—and resumed their mantles and their seats. After a short respite, the Sagamore arose and addressed the Etechemins and Mountaineers, urging them to partake in the festal and social joy; when suddenly the whole company repeated loudly the same shout;—every one, divesting himself of his mantle, or outer garment, joined in the general dance; the guests, at the close, seizing something at hand, such as beads, flesh, or other article, and presenting it to the Algonquins. The entertainment was closed with foot-races, in which two of each nation were competitors; the victors being rewarded with presents.

The principal amusements of the natives are dancing;* foot-races; wrestling; quoits; chequers; and among the boys, bat and ball. In summer, when the weather is fair and warm, both sexes bathe daily. At chequers, the older Indians are so expert, as boldly to challenge the most skilful white men to the game. Smoking tobacco is another habit and amusement, to which both sexes are strongly attached. Among familiar friends, the lighted pipe sometimes passes around, from one to another, like a cup of drink; each taking a few whiffs, in general conviviality. The *calumet*† is the pipe of peace. Its boll is usually made of a soft reddish stone; and its stem, about two feet in length, is of the hardest wood, oftentimes curiously ornamented. To smoke from it is proverbial of mutual friendship and peace. Like the seal to a contract, or the sanction of a promise;—it is used as a pledge of faith and fidelity—and ever considered sacred.

The manners of the Indians are such as might be expected; being the untutored—the unpolished children of nature. They always enter a house without knocking, if the door be unfastened, and take seats without being requested. Nay, it was not unusual,

* *Oldmixon*, p. 15.—He says the females are particularly fond of dancing.

† 5 *Charlevoix*, p. 311, 397, 426, 437.

A D. 1615, in earlier times, when they wished to warm, or be sheltered from the storm, to burst in the bolted door of the white man, at any hour in the night, and tarry until it was their pleasure to depart. On meeting, they nod the head, are very fond of shaking hands, and prefer to be saluted with the endearing appellations, or names, of *brother* or *sister*.* The Indians seldom, in token of respect, uncover their heads, or remove their hats or caps, except in times of religious worship. What renders their visits less irksome, is the haste they commonly manifest; though they have no particular object of pursuit. Not many of them can speak English well enough to be readily understood; and they are, with a few exceptions,† never very frank to converse, or to communicate any facts concerning their tribe. Both sexes, so far as they fall under the observation of the English, are truly the patterns of modesty; and instances of violence, offered to females or children are seldom known.

Names. Names given or assumed among them, as among the ancient Hebrews, are significant of some event, incident, or interesting object in nature. The child inherits no name of its parents, nor does a woman change hers when she marries. They are fond of titles; and Indian warriors are sometimes rewarded, like Roman heroes, by new or appendant names, expressive of their achievements.

Improvements. Past events are celebrated in song; the tablets of memory are their only records; and intellectual improvement is never an object of Indian solicitude. One can hardly conceive of a people more destitute of what the enlightened parts of the world would deem necessary to society and the comforts of life. A few simple implements of daily use, a few weapons of war, a few articles of apparel, are the principal specimens of their ingenuity. They

* That is, '*qua neecheer*,' how do you do, my brother?

† Aitteon, the chief, cannot speak English with facility; but *John Neptune* and *Capt. Francis* can pronounce the language pretty freely—and both are communicative and intelligent. Neptune has the high cheek bones, the copper color, the large muscular frame, indeed, all the features and appearance of the true Indian race. But Francis is supposed to be a descendant of Castine or some other Frenchman. He is less of stature, more talkative, and more smiling than most others. *English Mary* was so called because of her beauty, her correct language, and her amiable manners. The awkwardness of her sisters has been known in some instances to be a great mortification to her.

are entire strangers to the education, which imbues the mind A. D. 1615, to 1675. with moral and religious principles, and fills it with knowledge,—which refines the sentiments and affections, and polishes the manners.

Their genius is principally mechanical; and they have some little taste for the fine arts.* Arts and music. A few specimens of their sculpture in stone and wood, are striking miniature-resemblances of men, beasts, birds and fish. In Wells, has been found a long stone pestle, the end of which has the form of a “serpent’s head,” well imitated. They sketch, with considerable ingenuity, the pictures of animals, upon different substances,—sometimes upon their vessels and the bolls of their pipes.† As an emblem of the devices in heraldry, the Indian’s signature always resembles some animal, which he selects, and adopts, and never changes. The natives, especially the females, have good voices and an ear for music. According to an account in Pring’s Voyage, A. D. 1603, they danced excessively, around a youth of the crew, playing upon a guitar. Some Indians will play tolerably upon a violin; and in their great dances, the time is kept by a light beat upon a drum, usually accompanied by a vocal tune. Their war songs are solos, with tones of voice rough and harsh; their carols are more musical; and their church chantings, in modern times, are imitative of the catholic forms of praise.‡

The natives have ascertained the true qualities of many herbs, Medical knowledge. plants, barks and roots; and prescribe remedies for every malady with which the human body is attacked. Fevers are cured by sweating the patient in a close wigwam, with the steam of water, raised by means of heated stones, and then plunging him into a cold bath. Blisters are raised by certain kinds of bark, bound upon the skin. Sores are cured by warm medicaments; agues, by hot vegetable steam; spasms and pleurisies, by sudorifics; and diarrhœa by astringents.

In these practices, and in some useful arts, we have been the

* *Smith’s Hist.* p. 240.—He says, among these Eastern Tribes, “their arts, games, music, attire and burials,” differ little from those in Virginia.

† They paint their faces, though without much taste or skill.—1 *Coll. M. Hist. Soc.* p. 61.

‡ A specimen of Mickmak music.—*Tamija, alle-luya, tamija dore-ven, hau, hau, he, he*;—the two last notes were repeated by the whole company in grand chorus.—*Oldmixon*, p. 23-4.

A. D. 1615, copyists of the Indians. We have learned from them, to form to 1675, and use the scoop net; the cylindrical baskets, for eel-fishery; English im- and snow shoes, or rackets, in winter travelling; to lure and catch itations of the Indians, fish by torchlight; to preserve vegetables from frost by burying them in the sand; meat from taint by putting it into snow, or drying it in the smoke; and to dress leather with the brains of animals, so as to give it a peculiar pliancy and softness. Their homony consisted of corn broken in a mortar and boiled. Their samp was whole corn hulled by scalding water, a little impregnated with lie. Their nokehike was corn parched and pounded. Suckatash was composed of corn in the milk, and green beans—a very palatable dish. The broth of a boiled bass-head, thickened with homony, was called upaquontop. They taught us how we might heathfully repose with the feet to the fire, after exposure in the open air; and how to raise maize, or Indian corn,* by manuring the soil with fish, planting it when the leaf of the white oak is “big as a mouse’s ear,” and hoing it in hills. To subdue a tree they bruised the bark at the surface of the earth, and scorched its roots with fire, till it would grow no more. They beat up and mellowed the ground with a stone or wooden hoe; and planted four kernels of corn, and two beans in a hill; and scattered among them pumpkins and squashes.

Education.

The Indians have no schools; nor till the Europeans came among them, had they any idea of reading, writing, or arithmetic. Attempts have been often made to teach them letters; and in the present age there are found among the eastern Indians several, who can read a little and write their names. But children undisciplined at home, submit to school-government with great reluctance. To mention an instance;—the English teacher at Pleasant-point tells me, that because he gave an Indian scholar a blow over the shoulder with a bush, he leaped out at the window, and in a minute, there was not one remaining in the house, except the Instructor: when a sturdy brother of the Indian boy, forthwith rushed in, brandishing a drawn knife with violent menaces. Parents have no ambition to have their children schooled, and are unwilling to have them live in English families.†

* Indian Corn, or “Maize” was called by the natives, “Weachin.”—*D. Neal’s, N. E.* p. 569.—The Indians ate the “entrails of Moose, Deer, Bears, —and of fish, and snakes they were particularly fond.”—*H. Trumbull’s Indian Wars*, p. 91.

† Rev. Elijah Kellogg.

The thoughts of labor, restraint and discipline, fill them with extreme uneasiness and anxiety; and they are always perplexed with fears, that the power of custom and fashion, might change the manners of their children and alienate them from the tribe.

In the use of language, or arbitrary signs of ideas, the eastern natives compare with all other human beings. They have their dialects, though no one tribe ever had an alphabet. To invent the signs of words, was an ingenious thought, which never entered their hearts; and nothing mortal can be the subject of more perpetual change, than a language never written—never reduced to letters.

All the dialects of the Abenagues and Etechemins as previously shewn,* possessed such an affinity and similarity, as enabled those of different tribes to converse together without difficulty.† Vocabularies as well as facts and circumstances confirm this truth.—One of these word-books, was compiled by Ralle, the French Jesuit, who lived among the Canibas Indians 26 years, posterior to 1693;‡ another by the Rev. Ammi R. Cutter, commander of the fort, and keeper of the trading house at Saco, subsequent to his dismissal from his charge at North-Yarmouth, A. D. 1735; and a third, by Rev. Daniel Little, minister of Kennebunk, and missionary to the Etechemins, after the war of the revolution. These are all said to be preserved;§ though that of Ralle, being in French orthography, is rather a book of curiosity than of use.||

So far as the language of these natives has submitted to grammatical parts of speech, and the etymologies, inflexions, and combinations of words are known, it has many evident peculiarities. It has no article; for *a* or *an*, they, like the Romans, use *one*; and for *the*, *this* or *that*. Nor have they any single word, by which to distinguish the gender of nouns or pronouns. The Tarratines say, *Neah*, *I*; *Keah*, *thou* or *you*; *Heckomah*, *he* or *she*; *Neonah*, *we*; *Acoumah*, *they*. Their modes and tenses

* See Ante, Chap. xvii.—

† It was from the natives, that the extensive region of Maine, received the name, *Mavooshen*, or *Mawooshen*.—*Purchas*, p. 939.—2 *Belk. Biog.* p. 149.—The Indians say, ‘the tribes, at the river St. John, and at Passamaquoddy, speak the same dialects.’

‡ 7 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 254.—New Series. § Sullivan, p. 265.

|| Ralle’s Vocabulary, in Library of Harv. University.

A. D. 1615, are quite defective. Their inflexions of verbs to the persons are to 1675. by prefixes, suffixes, and changes, thus:—*Nemanche*,* *I walk*; *Keamounche*, *you walk*; *Heckomah-mounches*, *he walks*; *Neounah-n'muchepowneak*, *we walk*; *Aroumah-mauts-chetec*, *they walk*.† They never use adjectives in the degrees of comparison;—an Indian prefix, equivalent to *very*, being their qualifying term. Land they call *keag*; to which they prefix other words, and form the names of their rivers. *Penops-Keag*, means rock-land; *Cunds'-keag*, leg-land; *Medawam'-keag*, ripples or pebbles-land.‡

* *Ch* has its proper sound always when used; never like *k*.

† In Mohegan, *N'pumseh*, *I walk*; *k'pumseh*, *thou or you walk*; *premis-soo*, *he or she walks*.—Dr. Edwards.—In Openango, *Moonseh*, *I walk*; *L'mooseh*, *thou, he or she walks*; *M'uncheneh*, *we or you walk*; *M'sa'-tech*, *they walk*.

‡ These might be indefinitely multiplied. Passamaquoddy, in Indian orthography, is Pascodum [*pollock*] oquon [*catch'em great many*] *keag* [*land*].

The manner of *counting*, and a few important words and expressions will show us the affinity and repugnance of different dialects.

| ENGLISH. | TARRATINE. | MOHEGAN. | VIRGINIAN. |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|
| One, | Pēz-a-qun, | N'quet, | Necut, |
| Two, | Neice, | Neese, | Ningh, |
| Three, | Noss, | Nish, | Nuff, |
| Four, | Yeaou, | Yoh, | Yowgh, |
| Five, | Polenes-q, | Napanna, | Paranske, |
| Six, | Nequitence, | Quutta, | Comotinch, |
| Seven, | Tombowence, | Edana, | Toppawoss, |
| Eight, | Sonsuck, | Shwosuck, | Nusswash, |
| Nine, | Nour-lee', | Paskugit, | Kehatawgh, |
| Ten, | Medâira, | Pruck. | Kaskeke.‡ |
| Eleven, | Nogudouncow, | | |
| Twelve, | Neice-uncow, | | |
| Twenty, | Nes-ins-ca, | | VIRGINIAN. |
| One hundred | Nogudatequa, | | Necuttoughtysinough, |
| One thousand. | Nogudunquâ | | Necuttweunquaough. |

Heaven, *Spumkeag*, *Tarratine*;—The heavens, *Keesuck*, *Mohegan*; *Spemenkako'in*, *Algonquin*. God, *Chence-wusque*;—Same among all the ETECHEMIN tribes. Father, *Meetungus*, *Tarratine*. *Noſh*, *my father*, *Cosh*, *thy father*, *Mohegan*. *Nooch*, *my father*; *Gooch*, *thy father*, *Del.*; and *Nousce*, *Algonquin*. Boy, *Skeenooses*, *Tarratine*; *Wuskeene*, *Mohegan*; *Pilawetschitsch*, *Delaware*. A man (a) *Sanumbee*, *Tarratine*; *N'nin*,

(a) *Mickmak*, *Kessona*; *VIRGINIAN*, *Nemarough*, [a man]. “One white man,” is expressed in the *Tarratine* language by “*Ouanooch*;—White man’s shoes, by “*Ou-a-nooch-wank-seh-nah*”;—and how do you do? by

In their first endeavors to pronounce the world *English*, they uttered the sound, “Yengees,” whence is the term *Yankees*.*

A. D. 1615,
to 1675.

Indian lan-
guage.

The similarity apparent in the dialects of our three Etechemin tribes, though great, is not without many discrepancies. For instance, among the Tarratines, *chù-ee* is *yes*; *aun'tah*, *no*. But among the Openangos, and Marechites, *chôh*, is used for *yes*; and *scaud*, for *no* or *not*.†

To resolve, or analyze a language, is an exercise, requiring long and deep reflection, critical knowledge, and profound logic; of which the natives have not, in regard to either, the most distant notions. Their dialects were the dictates of nature. Letters, grammar, composition and style, were subjects among them, which admit of no improvement. Their language, in appearance when written, resembles short hand, or laconic phrases.‡ Many of their words are long; one answering for several in the English tongue. The sounds of some vowels in the alphabet, are often

Mohegan; Alisinape, *Algonquin*; Leno, *Delaware*. Brother, Neecheen, *Tarratine*; Nisanick, *Algonquin*; Skinetch, *Mickmak*. Sun, Keezoose, *Tarratine*; Kesis, *Algonquin*; Keesough, *Mohegan*. Fire, Squitta, *Tarratine*; Scoute, *Algonquin*; Pockatawer, *Virginian*. Hair, Peersoo, *Tarratine*; Lissis, or Lissy, *Algonquin*; Milach, *Delaware*.

* Heckewelder.

† The Lord's prayer, in the *Tarratine* dialect follows, which Capt. Francis, and Capt. Jo Delislos and others, agree in saying, is very much so expressed by the Indians at St. John's and Passamaquoddy.—Metunk'senah, *our Father*; Ouwa'ne, *who is there*; spum'keag-aio, *up in heaven*; kee-nuck, *adored be*; tle-we-seh', *thy name*; keah'-dabel'-dock, *thy kingdom*; now-dô'-seh, *come*; keah'-olet-haut' ta-mon-a, *thy will*; num-ah-zee', *let it be done*; m'se-tah'-mah, *over the whole earth*; t'hah-lah-wee'-keunah, *like as*; spum'keag-aio, *up in heaven*; me-lea'-neh, *give*; neo'nah, *us*; ne-quem-pe-bem-gees'o'coque, *to-day*; maje'me, *every*; gees'-cool, *day*; ar'-bon, *bread*; mus-see-a'tos'sec, *pardon*; neo'nah, *us*; com-moont'en-esk-sock', *our trespasses*; 't-hah-lah-wee'-keunah, *like as*; num-e-se-comele'ent, *we forgive [pardon]*; tah-hah'-la-we-u-keah-ma-che-ke'-cheek, *all wrong doers*; a-que-he', *lead us not*; a-que-ah-lah ke-me-sah' coque, *into temptation*; n'gah'ne, *but*; num-a-zee', *deliver or take*; neo'nah, *us*; neo'je, *from*; saw'-got, *evil things*; woo-saw'-me, *because*; keah-dabel'-ock, *the kingdom*; ego-mah', *is*; keel-o-ah', *thine*; noa'chee, *the power*; done-ah'le, *and [also]*; sazoos', *glory*; neah'lets, *forever*; quos'-que, *amen*.

‡ There are some vestiges of hieroglyphics, among the Mickmaks and some other tribes.—*Sargent and Barton*, p. 19.

Pah-que-num-se-eld'. The Mohawks, to avoid closing the lips, when talking, say, for *amen*, *awen*.—*Dr. Edwards*, p. 10.

A. D. 1615, repeated ; others and several of our consonants are 'quite rarely to 1675. used. Their accentuation, contrary to the English rule and Indian language, is thrown as far as possible from the first syllable ; yet their emphasis and cadences are natural, easy and forcible.

Unacquainted with literature and the arts, their language is far from being copious. Like that of other nations, its adaptation is to their wants, their employments, and manners. But it has strength ; it is simple and lofty ; and in sound, it is soft and grateful to the ear. So easy is it of utterance, in their mouths ; that though many of their words are not pronounced by the English, without difficulty and exertion, the natives speak the longest and hardest of them, with a careless and even a graceful facility.

Their expressions are pertinent, and their sentiments full of reason and good sense. To supply the want of words, they make a free and appropriate use of similes and other figures of speech ; which give to their addresses, on special occasions, a peculiar originality and boldness.* They are sometimes eloquent. Their gestures are frequent and forcible, and their modulations of voice are correspondent to their sentiments.

* Mr. Manach, a French priest, who lived among the Mickmaks 40 years, or more, prior to 1763, learned their language and declared himself quite enamored with its beauties.

CHAPTER XX.

King Philip's war—The Eastern Sagamores—Causes of the war—The house of Mr. Purchas robbed—Wakefield's family destroyed—Skirmish at New-Meadows—Attack on Saco—Scarborough burnt—Wincoln's expedition to Saco—Disasters at Newichawannock—Forts at Sagadahock—The Indians in that quarter disturbed—Pacified by Mr. Shurte—An expedition eastward—Bloody skirmish at Newichawannock—Plaisted and his sons killed—Attack on Sturgeon-creek and Wells—Affairs of the war—A truce—General warrants—A parley at Teconnet—Casco and Arrowsick laid waste—Pemaquid burnt—Troops at Dover—The sham fight—Casco revived and Fort Loyal founded—Cape Neddick destroyed—Saco fort surrenders—Mugg's treaty—War renewed—Waldron's and Frost's expedition to Mare-point—Sagadahock and Pemaquid—Skirmishes—Smart engagement at Black-point—Vessels captured—Peace—Losses.

THE first open hostilities between the eastern inhabitants and the natives, were commenced in the celebrated king Philip's war. A. D. 1675. It broke out in the colony of Plymouth, June 24, 1675;* and June 24. King Philip's war. 'within twenty days, the fire began to kindle in these easterly

* It will be recollected, that at this period, the towns and plantations within the present State of Maine, were thirteen:—1. *Kittery*, including all the settlements on the north-eastern banks of the Piscataqua,—Newichawannock river, and Quampegan falls [S. Berwick], and on Salmon Fall river [Berwick]. 2. *York*, including Cape Neddick. 3. *Wells*. 4. *Cape Porpoise*. 5. *Saco*, on both sides of the river. 6. *Scarborough*, viz. Black-point east, and Blue-point west. 7. *Falmouth*, including the peninsula, [Portland], Spurwink and Purpooduck [Cape Elizabeth], and Stroudwater [Westbrook]. 8. *Pejepscot* settlement southerly of the Lower Falls in the Androscoggin, and at Maquoit, 4 miles distant, on the margin of Casco bay.—[See ante, 1642.]—9. The plantations upon the *Sagadahock* and *Kennebeck*, including Cushnoc, and Arrowsick. 10. *Sheepscot* and *Capenewagen*. 11. *Damariscotta*, or *New-Dartmouth* [New-Castle], and the Damariscove Islands. 12. *Pemaquid*. 13. *Monhegan, Gorges' Islands*, and the opposite settlements upon the Main. The country between Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, now in possession of the French [since 1667–8], exhibited only a few habitations at Penobscot, Mount Desert, Machias and Schoodic.

A. D. 1675. 'parts, though distant 250 miles.* The English population of Maine at this period, probably exceeded 6,000 souls;† and that of the Abenagues and Etechemins, it is believed, was twice, if not thrice that number.

Indian Sag-
Amores,

The character and conduct of the Sagamores in this emergency, reflect considerable light upon the war itself. *Wonnolancet* the eldest son and successor of the famous Passaconaway, was now chief of the Penacooks; and he resolved to observe religiously his father's counsel and take no part in the quarrel. Wholly to avoid the storm, therefore, he withdrew to places remote, and unknown to the colonists; and his example was followed by the most of his tribe, who abandoned their homes, and sought safety and quiet in the heart of the distant desert.‡ At the head of the Newichawannock tribe was *Blind Will*, who was a believer in the prophetic communications of Rowles, his predecessor, and greatly perplexed with a presentiment, that the tribes would ultimately be exterminated. He therefore entered the English service, in which he continued about two years to his death. He has been accused of duplicity, in his professions of friendship and respect for the colonists; it being supposed, he inwardly hated them.§

One of the most peculiar men of this age was *Squando*, Sagamore of the Sokokis. He possessed great strength of mind, his manners were grave, and his address impressive. In the superstitious devotions of the Indians, he was a leader and enthusiast. He made them believe, he had intercourse with the spirits of the invisible world, who imparted to him revelations of future events. An angel of light, said he, 'has commanded me to worship the Great Spirit, and to forbear hunting and laboring on the Sabbath; and God himself tells me, he has left the English people to be destroyed by the Indians.' A man of such rare knowledge and abilities necessarily acquired great influence among other tribes, as well as unlimited ascendancy over his own. His conduct towards the settlers was full of change, being alternately humane and malevolent.||

* 2 Math. Magnal. p. 499.—Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 300,

† *Mather*, in 2 *Magnal.* p. 499, says, 'there were at this time many fine settlements in Maine and Cornwall.

‡ Hub. Indian Wars, p. 68—110—329. § 1 Belk. N. H. p. 119—125.

¶ Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 362—389—391,

The Anasagunticook Sagamore was *Tarumkin*,—a man of A. D. 1675. less intellect and less weight of character. Strongly attached to his country, and jealous of its rights, he foresaw the advantages of union, and always acted in concert with other Abenagues chieftains, both in war and peace. His great friend, *Robinhood*, who was principal Sagamore of the Canibas tribe, made pretensions of reluctance to take arms in this war; and celebrated the settlement of a subsequent difficulty in a carousal and great dance. But *Hopewood*, his son, was a young warrior, who panted for glory; and the tribe became active in the war, before it closed.*

Indian Sag-
amores.

Another celebrated chief of his time was *Madockawando*, the adopted son of the great prince and orator, *Assiminasqua*, and present Sagamore of the *Tarratines*. He was a man of great sagacity, “grave and serious in his speech and carriage,” and like *Squando*, pretended to have ‘supernatural visions and revelations.’ His daughter is supposed to have been the wife of *Castine*, who was then engaged in a profitable traffic with the tribe, which he was unwilling to have interrupted; and the Sagamore himself, unmolested by the English, in the enjoyment of his possessions, could perceive no inducements to join in the war. His principal minister was *Mugg*, who, by living in English families, had become acquainted with their language and habits, and qualified to negotiate with the colonial authorities.

Causes of
the war.

This war has been ascribed to various causes. It has been represented with some spleen as well as truth, that the English were the aggressors. The generous treatment and welcome they first received from the natives had been repaid, as accusers say, by kidnapping their benefactors, by disturbing their hunting grounds and fisheries, and by ‘a shameful mismanagement of the fur and ‘peltry trade.’† In the gradual encroachments of the white people, the Indians foresaw the danger of being totally exiled from their native country. They complained of impositions;—for instance, an Anasagunticook said, ‘he had probably given £100, ‘for water drawn out of Purchas’ well.’‡

To nothing European were the natives more passionately attached, than the hunting gun; as it afforded them the necessary

* Hubbard’s Indian Wars, p. 302—347—366—386.

† 2 Math, Magnalia, p. 493—9.

‡ Suppt. to Philip’s War, p. 77.

A. D. 1675. means of procuring a subsistence. Still, they said, 'the English 'refused to sell them firearms and ammunition, though they 'were at times ready to starve and perish; whereas the French 'were free and cheerful to supply them with whatever they wished.' Nay, the Sagamores knew the English looked upon them and their tribes with a distrustful eye, and considered them as an inferior order of beings; while they themselves believed, the Great Spirit, who gave them existence, had also given them absolute rights in the country of their birth, and the land of their fathers. Many traditional stories of injuries they had received, were recollected, [for Indians never forget,] and often rehearsed in a manner calculated to arouse and inflame their resentments.

The Indians
armed and
insolent.

Though England and France were at this period in close alliance, the Indians had obtained of the French traders in Canada and at Penobscot, a supply of arms and ammunition, and had generally become acquainted with the use of them. These greatly emboldened their courage and revenge, and hastened them to acts of hostility. On their return from hunting, in the spring of 1675, their insolence was peculiar, and their violent conduct excited fearful apprehensions. They took into custody several settlers, about Piscataqua, and then set them at liberty through a pretence of friendship, though really in consequence of the presents made to them.

Eastern
committee
of war.

In these appearances of rupture, the General Court appointed Captains Lake, Patteshall, and Wiswell, at Sagadahock, 'a committee, and entrusted them with the general superintendence 'and military power over the eastern parts.' The court also gave them directions to furnish themselves with all necessary munitions of war, for the common defence, and to sell neither gun, knife, powder nor lead, to any other Indians, than those whose friendship was fully known.*

Hostilities
commenced.
July 11.

When the news of king Philip's war reached York, July 11, from the colony of Plymouth, Henry Sawyer, one of the townsmen despatched a messenger to Sagadahock, with the alarming intelligence. In his letter, he mentioned the expedient proposed, of taking from the Indians, along the coast, their firearms and ammunition. Immediately the committee of war met upon the subject, at the house of Mr. Patteshall, attended by several of

* 4 Mass. Rec. p. 29.—Hub. Indian Wars, p. 301.

the settlers; and Mr. Walker, a trader at Sheepscot, induced a part of the Indians about him, to surrender their guns and knives. A. D. 1675.

To ascertain more fully, the true disposition of the natives, a party of volunteers proceeded up the Kennebeck river, and presently met with five Anasagunticooks, and seven of the Canibas tribe, all of whom came in and delivered their arms. Amidst the conversation however, one Sowen, a Canibas Indian, struck at Hosea Mallet, a by-stander, and could hardly be prevented from taking his life. The assailant was instantly seized and confined in a cellar. The Indians confessed his crime deserved death, yet requested his discharge; offering a ransom of 40 beaver skins for his release, and several hostages for his future good behavior;—all giving their hands in pledge of their sincerity. The proposal was accepted, and Sowen was released.—To secure their future friendship and fidelity, Capt. Lake then refreshed them with the best of victuals, supplied them with tobacco, and repeated to them the most solemn promises of protection and favor, if they would continue peaceable and quiet. This was the occasion of the great dance mentioned, which Robinhood made the next day, when he celebrated the peace with songs and shouts.

But the far-famed Squando,* who had long cherished a bitter antipathy towards the English, had recently been affronted, in a manner which greatly provoked his resentment. As his squaw was passing along the river Saco in a canoe, with her infant child, she was accosted by several rude sailors, who having heard that the Indian children could swim as naturally as the young of irrational animals, approached her, and in a fit of inconsiderate humor, overset the canoe to try the experiment. The child sank, and though the mother, diving, brought it up alive, it soon after died; and the parents imputed its death to the ill-treatment received. So highly did this exasperate Squando, that he resolved to use all his arts and influence to arouse and inflame the Indians against the settlers. Squando's
affront.

News of hostilities in the colony of Plymouth,† without doubt, greatly encouraged him in his malevolent schemes and embolden-

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 330-1.

† In Philip's war, it is said there were 3,000 fighters, "exclusive of the eastern Indians."—1 *Trumbull's Conn.* p. 350.

A. D. 1675. ed his friends. The Anasagunticooks had conceived a great aversion to Thomas Purchas, who had dwelt at the head of Stevens' river, two leagues below Brunswick falls, thirty or forty years; and by trading with them had acquired a large estate. Though he had courted their friendship, and in 1639, had put himself and possessions under the protection of Massachusetts, he was the earliest eastern sufferer in the war.

Sept. 5th. On the 4th or 5th of September, a party of twenty Indians, among whom were the hostages that had a few weeks before escaped from the English, came to the house of Purchas, and began a parley with his wife, under pretence of trade. But as soon as they ascertained that her husband and sons were absent, they threw aside the disguise, and hastened to rob the house; taking such weapons, ammunition and liquor as they could find, killing a calf and several sheep near the door, and making themselves merry with the booty. In the midst of the scene a son of Purchas suddenly returning home, on horseback, was an eyewitness of the mischief. To interpose was unsafe,—therefore, when discovered, he fled for his life; being pursued closely an hundred rods, by a sturdy fleet-footed Indian, with a gun secreted under his blanket. The assailants offered no personal violence to the people of the house, but told them—‘others would soon come and treat them worse.’

The fatalities of Mr. Wakefield and family, Sept. 12.

There dwelt at Presumpscot-river in Falmouth, one Thomas Wakely, an old man, with his family consisting of nine persons.* Unsuspecting evil, and remote from neighbors, they were attacked by the savages, September 12;† when several were killed, viz. the old man and his wife, his son John and wife, and three of their children,—two made captives,—and the house reduced to ashes. The flames and smoke brought to the place from Casco neck, Lieut. George Ingersoll, and a military party, too late, however, to do more than see the ruins and relics of this ill-fated family. The body of the aged man, the fire had half consumed.—The only remains of his wife and son were their bones burnt to cinder. His daughter-in-law, near confinement, was pierced

* *Hubbard's Indian Wars*, p. 305.—They removed hither from Cape Ann, in 1661; his daughter was the wife of Matthew Coc, the names of his sons were, John and Isaac.

† *Sullivan*, p. 199, supposes it was in July. But it was after Purchas' house was plundered.—*Hub. Indian Wars*, p. 303—5.

and mangled in a manner too horrid to be described ; and three A. D. 1678. of her children, whose brains had been beaten out, were partly hidden under some oaken plank.* The other, if surviving and made a captive, probably soon sunk into the arms of death, through fatigue and want, nothing afterwards being heard of the little sufferer. Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Mr. Wakely, about 11 years old, was carried into captivity. Full of anguish and fears, the distressed girl was compelled to take up a long and tedious march with these murderers of the family ; having nothing but the warmth of the season to mitigate her woes, amidst the hunger, fatigue, and most painful recollections, which attended her steps all the way through a gloomy wilderness. Once she went as far south as Narragansett ; and this induced a supposition, that some of these savages might be from that quarter. However, in June, after a captivity of nine months, she had the inexpressible joy of being restored to Major Waldron, at Cocheco ; Squando, to his great honor, being her deliverer ;—a Sagamore whose conduct exhibited at different times such traits of cruelty and compassion, as rendered his character difficult to be portrayed. After this a son of Lieut. Ingersoll was killed, and his house and those of his neighbors burnt.

The Indians, having thus began the war, and been guilty of shedding the first blood in it, now dispersed themselves in small parties through the country, from Piscataqua to Androscoggin ; improving every chance to rob and murder the people in the scattered unguarded settlements of Maine. The English, on the other hand, turned their attention to the places first attacked. A party of twenty-five proceeded in a sloop and two boats, to the head of New-Meadows or Stevens' river, in the neighborhood of Mr. Purchas ; where they found an equal or greater number of Indians rifling the houses of the settlers. In their endeavors to attain the ground between the savages and the woods, they aroused three spies ; one ran towards the river and was shot to the ground ; another fled across a branch of water in a canoe, wounded ; and the third escaped to the woods unhurt, shouting an alarm. Yet the Indians, instead of flying or advancing, cow-

The skir-
mish at
New-Mead-
ow's river.

* It seems this event happened at the house of John Wakely, who lived on the easterly side of Presumpscot river, where the parents were then visiting or residing.

A. D. 1675. ered down and watched the movements of the English, while gathering the corn and loading their boats : then suddenly springing up, and at the same time, raising their usual yell, ho ! ho ! ho ! rushed forward, wounded several in their retreat to the sloop, and carried off the boat-loads of corn with triumphant shouts. This was to the English a most unfortunate incident ; the savages afterwards being more fatally bent on mischief and revenge.

Attack on
Saco.
Sept. 18.

The next attack was Saturday morning, September 18, upon the dwellinghouses of John Bonython and Maj. William Phillips, at Saco. That of the former stood on the eastern side of the river, half a mile south of the Lower Falls, and 60 rods from the water ; the other was on the opposite side, near the present bridge ; and both of them had been tolerably fortified.* A Sokokis native, friendly to Bonython, came to his house and privately said to him,—‘ a strange Indian, from the westward, and ‘ several Anasagunticooks of my acquaintance have been at my ‘ wigwam, persuading all our brothers to lift the tomahawk against ‘ the white people ; and they will soon come back from the east ‘ with many more.’ The story alarmed Bonython, and induced him to spread the report, and forthwith to retire with the settlers and their families to the house of Maj. Phillips, which was better garrisoned. Their suspension was short ;—they being the same, or the next day, eyewitnesses to Bonython’s house in flames, while a sentinel espied a lurking Indian under the fence.

Assault on
the house of
Major Phil-
lips.

As Phillips turned from the view, at his chamber-window, he was wounded in the shoulder by an Indian marksman, and must have been killed, had he retained his position. The ambuscade about the house, supposing him slain, gave a savage shout, and incautiously exposed themselves in sight. At this instant, they were fired upon from the house and flankers in all directions ; several were severely wounded, particularly their leader who was able to retreat only three or four miles, before he died. An hour’s obstinate resistance, regardless of every proffer and every threat, convinced the assailants, that the place could not be carried except by stratagem. That they might therefore draw the men out of the fortification, or induce them to capitulate, they set fire to a tenant’s slender habitation, and then to the mill ; ex-

* Sullivan, p. 221—324

claiming, *come now, you English coward dogs, come put out the fire—if you dare.* Both the artifice and challenge failing of success; the firing was continued till the moon set, about four in the morning: when the savages taking a cart, hastily constructed a battery upon the axletree and forks of the spear forward of the wheels, to shelter them from the musquetry of the fort, and filled the body with birch-rinds, straw and fire-matches. This engine, they run backward within pistol shot of the garrison-house, intending to communicate to it by means of long poles, the flaming combustibles. But in passing a small gutter, one wheel stuck fast in the mud; when a sudden turn was given to the vehicle, exposing the whole party to a fatal fire from the right flanker, which was quickly improved. Six fell and expired; fifteen then and before were wounded; and the survivors, about 60 in number, sick of the assault and mortified at the repulse, withdrew.* During the siege, there were fifty persons in the house, of whom only ten were effective men, five others could do no more than partially assist, and one or two besides Maj. Phillips, were actually wounded.

Phillips, on Sunday, informed the settlement at Winter-harbor, called the town, of his exposed situation and distress; telling them his ammunition was nearly exhausted, and his people were so much dismayed, that they would leave him in a few days, unless timely succors prevented. But as none could be spared him, he removed to town on Tuesday, leaving his house unoccupied, which was, in about a fortnight, given to the flames by the infuriated savages. They also, soon after destroyed all the houses above Winter-harbor, and carried into captivity a Mrs. Hitchcock, who never returned. They said she ate in the winter, some poisonous root, instead of groundnuts, which killed her. About this time, they slew five travellers, overtaken by them upon the banks of Saco river.

A party of the enemy, September 20th,† entered Scarborough, and killed several at Blue-point; a woman and six children being among the sufferers. At Black-point, John Alger, lieutenant of the company, and his two companions in their ex-

Scarbo-rough burnt.

* Assailants were "computed at not less than an hundred."—*Folsom's Saco and Biddeford*, p. 155.

† *Sullivan*, p. 215, says 1676, a misprint probably.

A. D. 1675. cursion of discovery, were encountered by spies ; and in skirmishing with them, Alger received a mortal wound, and his brother Arthur was shot down soon after at the same place.* In the two settlements, twenty-seven houses lately inhabited, were burnt to the ground ; and probably a still greater number of families reduced to suffering and misery. About the same time, Ambrose Boaden was killed, and Robert Jordan's house with its contents was consumed, at Spurwink.

Wincoln's
expedition
to Saco.

To defend or relieve the distressed inhabitants of Saco, Capt. Wincoln of Newichawannock, and sixteen volunteers, proceeded with exemplary valor and alertness, to the mouth of Winter-harbor. But unfortunately they were discovered by several prowling savages, who firing upon them killed two or three ; and then sounded the alarm through the woods. Consequently, the brave band, while landing on the beach near that harbor, was met by 150 Indians well armed and equipped. A warm skirmish ensued, in which Wincoln and his men, overpowered by numbers, retired and took shelter behind a pile of shingle bolts. Protected by this breastwork, they were enabled to fire with a precision so fatal to their antagonists, as to induce them with the loss of several to leave the ground,†

The report of the guns drew from the town a party of nine men, joined on the way by two more ; all of whom falling into an ambush, near the place where Wincoln was first attacked, were shot down in a single charge upon them, and presently expired. The enemy in the next place, marked the settlements about the Piscataqua for destruction ; and in marching thither, killed several people in Wells.

On the New-Hampshire side, at Oyster river, they burned the dwellinghouses of the Messrs. Chesleys, and five or six others, killed and carried into captivity four men, and, waylaying the road between Hampton and Exeter, shot down three passengers, and made another their prisoner.

At Newichawannock [now South Berwick] the dwellinghouse

* The Algernons, or Augers, lived in Dunston parish ; they purchased 1000 acres in 1650-1, of a Sagamore ; Arthur dying childless, John, a son of Lt. John, inherited the property, and transmitted it to five daughters, one of whom, married John Milliken, who purchased out other heirs—and hence the " Milliken Claim."

† Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 310, 323-4.

of John Tozier, 150 rods above the garrison* and mills at Salmon Falls, was at this time, a frontier habitation. He himself, and the men of his neighborhood, were absent with Wincoln; having left his household unguarded, consisting of fifteen persons, who were all women and children. Against his family an attack was led on by one Andrew of Saco, and Hopewood of Kennebeck, two of the boldest warriors in their tribes. Their approach was first discovered by a young girl of eighteen, who shut the door and held it fast, till it was cut in pieces with their hatchets, and the family had escaped. Madly disappointed in finding the house empty, some of the savages inflicted repeated blows upon the heroic maid, till she was apparently expiring; and the rest, in pursuit of the family, overtook two of the children;—one, three years old, being too young to travel, they at once dispatched, and the other they took and kept with them six months. The young heroine revived after their departure, and repairing to the garrison, she was healed of her wounds and lived many years. Her name, if known, would adorn the brightest page of history.

Sept. 24.
Disasters at
Newichawannock.

A larger party, the next day, set fire to the dwellinghouse and buildings of Capt. Wincoln, which were standing near the upper mills, and reduced them and their contents to ashes; one of his barns containing more than 100 bushels of corn. The incendiaries were followed closely till night by the men from the garrison, who exchanged with them several shots; the darkness putting an end to the pursuit. In the morning, they appeared on the western shore, and fired several guns across the main river at the laborers in the mill; then shewing themselves more conspicuously at twilight, were heard to utter loudly, many insolent speeches, calling the people “English dogs,” and “cowards.”

Sept. 25.

In returning eastward, we find great exertions had been employed to keep the Indians quiet, and likewise to fortify the people against their attacks. On the easterly bank of Sagadahock, at Stinson's point [in Woolwich,] Richard Hammond had erected a trading house and fortification; and, two miles distant,† upon Arrowsick, not far from the present meeting-house in Georgetown, Clark and Lake had built another, which was stronger and considerably larger. They had also in the

Affairs at
Sagadahock.

* This was in the parish of Unity, in Kittery.—*Sull.* p. 243–4.

† 1 Hutchinson's History, p. 311.

A. D. 1675. vicinity a mansion-house, mills, out-buildings, and cultivated fields; and over their whole establishment they had appointed Capt. Sylvanus Davis their resident and general agent. They had, besides, a trading house in the neighborhood of the Indian fort, at Teconnet-falls;—whither the Canibas Indians had retired with their families, receiving supplies principally from that house, and shewing no symptoms of rupture, till after the burning of Scarborough.*

Imprudence
of the set-
tlers.

In the great excitement against the Indians, many people acted with shameful indiscretion; threatening with violence some of the most benevolent promoters of peace, and accusing others of selling, for the sake of gain, firearms and ammunition to kill their neighbors. Nay, the Monhegan Islanders offered a bounty of £5, for every Indian's head, that should be brought to them.

Jealousies of
the Indians.

The jealousies of the Indians were daily increasing;—to allay which, and to bring home the guns, powder and other articles from the trading house near Teconnet-falls, Capt. Davis sent a messenger, charging him to assure them all, if they would remove and live near him, down the river, they should be furnished with every supply needed, at the fairest prices. But, either to overawe them, or to do mischief, the messenger violated his instructions, and told them, ‘if they did not go down and give up their arms, the Englishmen would come and kill them.’ This so alarmed their fears that they presently forsook their fort; and going to Penobscot, sent a runner to the other two Etechemin tribes, requesting them to meet in council, at the peninsular residence of Baron St. Castine:—Possibly he himself was the instigator of the measure.

Shurte's
truce with
the Indians.

But Abraham Shurte, chief magistrate of the plantation at Pemaquid, who was a man of good sense, and well acquainted with the Indian character, left no efforts unessayed, till he had succeeded in having a parley with the disaffected Sagamores; for which purpose they were persuaded to meet him at his own village. In this interview, he said to them,—‘I have urged our committee of war to issue orders, forbidding every body to harm or even threaten a peaceable Indian;—being determined to see all the wrongs you have suffered, fully redressed.’—The discussion resulted in a truce, by which *they engaged to live in peace with the English, and to prevent, if possible, the Anasa-*

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 341, 352.—Sullivan, p. 31, 169, 173.

gunticooks from committing any more depredations, either upon the settlers or traders. A.D. 1675.

An uniform perseverance in these conciliatory measures, it was believed, might revive and secure the amity of the natives; and therefore, in October, the General Court, acquainted with their dispositions and circumstances, ordered monies to be disbursed from the public treasury, for the relief of those Indians who would become the subjects or allies of the colony; and appointed Major Richard Waldron of Dover, and Capt. Nicholas Shapleigh of Kittery, to negotiate a treaty with the friendly tribes, upon terms congenial to their wishes. The Court also directed the eastern trading houses to be discontinued; and made provision for an expedition into Maine,—to be prepared under the purveyance of Maj. Clark. A vessel was therefore procured, and laden with military stores and provisions; having also on board, when she sailed from Boston, a force of fifty soldiers, commanded by Lieut. Scottow.* It was a gloomy autumn; and on account of the public calamities, a day of fasting and prayer, Oct. 7, was observed throughout Massachusetts and Maine.

Measures of government.

On that day a man was shot from his horse, in Newichawan-nock, and soon died; and two youngsters, a mile off, experienced the same fate. From these were taken their guns and upper garments.† Indeed, this ill-fated settlement seemed to be more than any other, the object of savage vengeance and utter destruction. Saturday, Oct. 16, about a hundred Indians assailed the house of Richard Tozier, killed him and carried his son into captivity. Lieut. Roger Plaisted, the commander of the garrison, who was an officer of true courage, and a man of public spirit, having a partial view of the massacre, about 150 rods distant, despatched nine of his best men to reconnoiter the movements of the enemy, who falling into an ambush, three were shot down, and the others with difficulty effected their escape alive.

Newichawan-nock again attacked.

A letter‡ addressed unto two gentlemen at Cocheco, [Dover] communicates the distresses of the place.

“*Salmon Falls, Oct. 16, 1675.*

“To Mr. Richard Waldron and Lieut. Coffin—These are
“to inform you, that the Indians are just now engaging us with at

* 4 Mass. Rec. p. 49, 66.

† Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 318.

‡ Sullivan, p. 249.

A. D. 1675. "least one hundred men, and have slain four of our men already, —Richard Tozier, James Barrey, Isaac Bottes, and Tozier's son; and burnt Benoni Hodsdon's house. Sirs, if ever you have any love for us and the country, now shew yourselves with men to help us, or else we are all in great danger to be slain, unless our God wonderfully appears for our deliverance. They that cannot fight, let them pray. Nothing else, but rest yours to serve.—

"Roger Plaisted.

"George Broughton."

To bring in for interment, the bodies of his slain companions, Plaisted ordered out a team, and led twenty of his men into the field. Placing first in the cart, the body of Tozier, which was most remote, they returned to take the others; when a party of 150 savages, rising behind a stone wall amidst logs and bushes, fired a well-aimed volley upon the soldiers, and pursued the assault. The oxen took fright and ran to the garrison. The engagement instantly became fierce, though unequal. Plaisted and his men withdrew a few paces, to a more eligible spot of ground, and being greatly overmatched by numbers, the most of them returned. But he, disdaining either to fly or yield, though urged again and again to surrender, fought with desperate courage, till literally hewed down by the enemy's hatchets. A fellow soldier and Plaisted's oldest son, unwilling to leave the intrepid man, sought their retreat too late and were slain. Another son, a few weeks after, died of his wounds:—Such being the fate of this Spartan family—whose intrepidity deserves a monument more durable than marble. The father had represented Kittery four years in the General Court, and was highly respected for his uncommon valor, worth, and piety. He and his sons were buried on his own land, near the battle ground, full in view from the highway, leading through Berwick; whose lettered tombstone tells succeeding ages,—"*Near this place lies buried the body of Roger Plaisted, who was killed by the Indians, Oct. 16, 1675, aged 48 years:—Also the body of his son Roger Plaisted, who was killed at the same time.**"

Death of
Plaisted and
his sons.

Before the Indians left the neighborhood, they set fire to three houses, two barns, and a mill, belonging to Mr. Hutchinson of Boston; and then proceeded to Sturgeon-creek, where they

* Sullivan, p. 250.

burned a dwellinghouse and killed two men. In this hamlet, the house of Capt. Frost,* being a little remote from neighbors and unfortified, was marked out by them for destruction. He was at a short distance from it when attacked, and narrowly escaped the fatal effect of ten shots aimed at him, ere he entered his door. There were only three boys with him in the house, yet he had the forethought and prudence to give out audible words of command, as if a body of soldiers was with him ;—*load quick ! fire there ! that's well ! brave men !*—A stratagem which saved themselves and the house.

A. D. 1675.
Attack upon
Sturgeon
creek.

The next day, on the eastern beach opposite to Portsmouth battery, the Indians killed a householder ; and while plundering and setting fire to his habitation, the terror of a cannon shot dispersed them. They made a precipitate retreat, yet by means of a light snow just fallen, they were tracked into the wilderness, and overtaken near a great swamp, into which they threw themselves, leaving their packs and plunder to their pursuers.

The last acts of bloodshed and mischief, committed in Maine this season by the savages, were at Wells. Here they killed Mr. Cross, Isaac Cousins and the servant-man of William Symonds, whose house also they reduced to ashes. Being a man of influence, he was an object of their greater vengeance ; but fortunately, before this, he had removed his family to the garrison, which was in the more compact part of the town.

Depredations at
Wells.

The prominent actors in this year's war were the Sokokis, the Anasagunticooks, and a part of the Canibas tribe ; and never did the wars carried on by the clans of the northern hive against the Romans, partake of a more predatory character. Within the short period of three months, the settlements between Piscataqua and Kennebeck sustained a loss of eighty† lives, a large number of dwellinghouses and of domestic animals, and an unknown amount of other property. The savages had every advantage. They had no buildings to lose—no fields to be destroyed :—They were actuated by desires of revenge and rapine ; they fought for plunder ; and they were gratified. As tenants of the wilderness, they traversed the rugged country with facility—appalled at no privations ; for hunger, fatigue and hardships were their habits of

Affairs of
the war.

* Afterwards Major Frost.

† Hubbard says, " fifty ;"—but by actual enumeration eighty.

A. D. 1675. life. Unequalled by the inhabitants in numbers, they chose their time, place and manner of attack; though, as they afterwards acknowledged, their loss of men was twice that of the white people. Business was suspended. Every individual was seeking for his own safety and the security of his family; the productions of the earth were not gathered; dwellinghouses were deserted; and men, women and children were huddled together in small garrisons, or the larger houses, fortified by timber-walls and flankers;—generally constructed with sentry-boxes upon the roofs, and guarded by watchmen day and night.

To subdue the Indians in their fastnesses, or winter-quarters, into which it was supposed they were retiring, at Pegwacket, Ossipee, and Pejepscot; the General Court ordered considerable detachments to be detailed from the New-Hampshire and Yorkshire regiments, and gave the command to popular and meritorious officers. But the soldiers were not prepared to march till the 10th of December, at which time the snow had fallen to the depth of four feet upon a level; and they, being unfurnished with snowshoes, could not travel a day's journey into the woods without great hazard of their lives;—therefore the enterprize was abandoned.*

A truce.

No event, as it proved, could have had a happier tendency; for the Indians, having been diverted from their ordinary pursuits, had no provisions on hand, nor means of buying them,—their ammunition and plunder were consumed,—the snow was too deep for hunting,—and they perceived, that without peace, they must suffer extreme famine. The Sagamores therefore requested of the Commissioners, Messrs. Waldron and Shapleigh, an armistice, and then entered into a treaty for “the whole body of Indians eastward;”† engaging to be the submissive subjects of the government, and to surrender all captives without ransom. These were happily from time to time restored, and their lives saved.

The dying embers of war, kept smothered through seven succeeding months, might never have been disturbed, had the people, uninfluenced by private gains, and personal animosities, been governed by maxims of exact justice and prudence.

* About twenty families removed from Saco, Falmouth, and the neighborhood, to Salem.

† This could include only the Indians from Piscataqua to Casco.—*Hubbard's Indian Wars*, p. 346.

But during the winter the community was filled with whispers A. D. 1676. and jealousies. The eastern traders were charged in Boston with selling to the Indians firearms and ammunition; when it was provable, they were procured of the French. It was also reported, that the Sagamores and their confidants were engaged in a deep conspiracy against the inhabitants; and so fully was this believed, that Major Waldron was induced to issue *general warrants* for seizing every Indian known to be a manslayer, traitor or conspirator. General warrants.

These precepts, which afforded every man a plausible pretext to seize suspected savages, were obtained by several shipmasters for the most shameful purposes. One with his vessel lurked about the shores of Pemaquid, when Mr. Shurte, acquainted with his errand, importunately entreated him to depart; assuring him, the English and the natives in the vicinity, were in a state of profound peace, and warning the Indians likewise to beware of his wiles. Yet he treacherously caught several,—and carrying them into foreign parts, sold them for slaves.* Another, by the name of Laughlin, with one of Mr. Waldron's warrants, seized several Mickmaks at Cape Sable, for the same wretched purpose. These people, who had hitherto been altogether distinct and separate from the other eastern tribes, were in this manner provoked, to make the injuries done the natives a common cause of resentment. Indians kidnapped.

Greatly incensed by these fresh and unprovoked affronts, the Indians complained to Mr. Shurte, whose sincerity and kind offices had won their confidence; stating that many of their brothers were missing,—possibly miserable slaves in foreign lands. 'Yes, (added they,) and your people frightened us away last fall from our cornfields about Kennebeck,—you have since withheld powder and shot from us; so that we have been unable to kill either fowl or venison, and some of our Indians, too, the last winter, actually perished of hunger.' Complaints of the Indians.

To conciliate them and preserve their temper, Mr. Shurte told them, that their friends, if transported, should be returned to their homes, and the transgressors arrested and punished; and that Maj. Waldron had entered into a happy peace with the Sokokis and other Indians, which might become general, provided the

* Hub. Indian Wars, p. 332—344.

A. D. 1676. Anasagunticooks and the Canibas tribe would accede to it. Much gratified, apparently, with this parley, as they called it, they presented him with a belt of wampam in token of amity, delivered to him a captive boy, and, a short time after, sent a foot-post, or "runner" to him from Teconnet,* inviting him to meet the Sagamores in council at that place.

A parley at
Teconnet.

The committee, or council of war, whose advice he sought, associated with him in the mission, Capt. Sylvanus Davis, and gave them instructions. On their arrival at Teconnet, the Indians saluted them by a discharge of guns; and conducted them respectfully into the great wigwam, or camp, where they found seated Assiminasqua, Madockawando, Tarumkin, Hopehood, Mugg and a large assemblage from their tribes. Squando, whose attendance, they were informed, was expected, had not yet arrived.

Assiminasqua, their chief speaker, first addressed them:—*Brothers, keep your arms, it is a point of honor. Be at liberty. It is not our custom, like Mohawks, to seize the messengers coming unto us. Nay—certainly we never do, as your people once did with fourteen of our Indians, sent to treat with you; taking away their guns and setting a guard over their heads.—We now must tell you, we have been in deep waters.—You told us to come down and give up our arms and powder, or you would kill us. So to keep peace, we were forced to part with our hunting guns; or to leave both our fort and our corn. What we did, was a great loss—we feel its weight.*

‘Our reply to you,’ said the agents, ‘is good. Our men, who have done you wrong, are always greatly blamed. Could they be reached by the arm of our rulers, they would be punished. All the Indians know how kindly they have been treated at Pemaquid. We come now to confirm the peace, especially to treat with the Anasagunticooks. We wish to see Squando,† and to hear Tarumkin speak.

He then remarked:—*I have been westward, where I found three Sagamores, wishing for peace;—many Indians unwilling. I love the clear streams of friendship, that meet and unite. Certain, I myself, choose the shades of peace. My heart is true;*

* Sullivan, p. 171.—Hereabouts were evidences of ‘ancient settlements.’

† Hubbard’s Indian Wars, p. 340.

and I give you my hand in pledge of the truth.—Seven of his A. D. 1676 tribe, also Hopehood and Mugg, offered the same token of their sincerity. Had Squando been present, Shurte and Davis might have effected a treaty with the Anasagunticooks. But Madockawando, becoming impatient of the distrust and jealousy, which the agents discovered, enquired :—*Do we not meet here on equal ground? Where shall we buy powder and shot for our winter's hunting, when we have eaten up all our corn? Shall we leave Englishmen and apply to the French? or let our Indians die? We have waited long to hear you tell us, and now we want, yes! or no!*

'You may,' said the Agents, 'have ammunition for necessary use; but you say yourselves, there are many western Indians, who do not choose peace. Should you let them have the powder we sell you, what do we, better than cut our own throats?—This is the best answer we are allowed to return you, though you wait ten years.'

The reply gave an unfortunate turn to the parley or negotiation. The chiefs taking umbrage, declined any further talk; and the Agents returned home,* apprehending a speedy renewal of hostilities.

The death of King Philip, August 12, 1676, which occasion- Death of king Philip, Aug. 12. ed a jubilee among the colonists of his vicinity, was an event in its consequences, truly calamitous to the eastern people. His surviving most notorious adherents, strolling away, dispersed themselves among the Penacooks and Abenagues. His adherents fly to Maine. Though their language was radically the same, and some of them could speak English, they were easily distinguished by their dialect, and the cut of their hair. The maddened passions of these visitors or emigrants, were in correspondent tone with those of Squando. He took fresh courage. His angel, without doubt, revealed to him anew, the utter destruction of the English; and he was impatient to see the work renewed.

Three of the most noted fugitives, who had taken or acquired Andrew, Simon and Peter. the English names, of Simon, Andrew and Peter, escaping to Merrimack river, a short time before the downfall of their prince, killed one Thomas Kimball, an inhabitant there, and took captive his wife and five children. They then endeavored to conceal

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 331-2.

A. D. 1676. themselves among the Penacooks, who had been neutrals in the war. But as they were murderers, undeserving hospitality, they were surrendered,—seized on one of Maj. Waldron's warrants, and closely confined at Dover, till July; when they effected their escape, and went to Casco bay. They were all adepts in villainy and Simon, surnamed "the yankee-killer," boasted, that he had shot at many a white man, and never failed but once of bringing his object to the ground.*

People kill-
ed at Casco.

Early in August, he made himself familiar at the house of Anthony Brackett, an inhabitant of Back Cove, (Falmouth) who in a few days after, lost one of his cows.—'I can shew you,' said Simon, 'the fellows that killed the creature,'—and then went away. Suspecting his fidelity, Brackett and his neighbors despatched two messengers to inform Major Waldron, at Dover, of the circumstance and their fears. But before their return, a party of savages came to Brackett's, August 11, led by Simon, who exclaimed, 'here are the Indians that took your cow,' and forthwith seizing all the weapons in sight, proceeded to bind Mr. Brackett, his wife, their five children, and a negro servant; when her brother, Nathaniel Mitten, in resisting their violence, was instantly killed. Next they despatched with their tomahawks, his neighbors, Robert Corbin, Humphrey Durham, and Benjamin Atwell, residents at Presumpscot,† and hurried away their wives and families with the other prisoners, towards the water; only one woman escaping with her children in a canoe. An alarm was given by two men in a boat, who had fortunately escaped the shots aimed at them; while two others, coming at this juncture to labor for Brackett, likewise fled away unhurt; and the surviving inhabitants made a hasty retreat to Mountjoy's garrison on the hill. Another laborer, hiding in the bushes, was eye-witness to the death of Thomas Brackett, and the capture of his wife and children, he being killed near his own house, on the southerly side of the peninsula.

Attack on
Casco.
Aug. 11.

At convenient times, Messrs. Pike, Wells, Lewis, Felt and the returning messengers, with others, aware of their exposure to certain death or captivity, if the fort were taken, took their re-

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 335, 344, 350.

† They also shot John Mountjoy, son of George, and Isaac Wakely, on the Neck, as they crossed over to Purpoodic, and took James Ross, his wife and children prisoners.

spective families and removed to Andrews' or Bangs' Island, as a A. D. 1676. place of greater safety. Recollecting, however, the powder left in different places, the men associated, and, on the night of the 13th, went and brought off about two barrels, and some other articles. The peninsula of Casco-neck was, during a subsequent period, wholly deserted;* thirty-four persons being killed in this surprisal, or carried into captivity,† and a considerable property destroyed; though most of the houses were left standing.‡

At the same time, August 13, a blow was struck at the life and possessions of Richard Hammond at Stinson's point [Woolwich]. He had been for a long time a trader with the Indians; and they complained, (as they were wont to do), of his cheating them. Once, they said, he filled them with strong drink, and took away their furs from them by stealth. Remembering his offences, a vindictive party of them, visited the place, whose looks and airs so frightened a young maid, that she started to run away:—But an Indian brought her back, and told her she had nothing to fear. Still more terrified by the arrival of a larger number of them, she escaped and travelled over land ten miles to Sheepscot plantation, and told the story to the people there; adding, that she heard, when at a distance from the house, a great bustle and heavy blows. It was true, the Indians, in the first onset, killed Samuel Smith, Joshua Grant, and also Hammond himself, setting fire to his house, and making sixteen persons, captives.

Woolwich
destroyed.

Before the assailants started away, they divided themselves into two bands. One ascended the river, and took into custody Francis Card and his family; the other proceeded by water, the same night, to Arrowsick, and landed in great silence on the south-easterly point of the Island, near the settlement and fort. A part of them cowered down under the walls of the garrison, and others secreted themselves behind a large adjoining rock;—all being able to see every movement of the sentinel. As he retired from his post, before the usual hour, without being relieved, he was unconsciously followed through the fort-gate by the savage-spies in quick succession; who instantly closed the port-holes

Arrowsick
burnt.

* Probably the inhabitants did not return generally till the peace in April, 1678.—*Willis*, p. 152. † Namely, 12 men, 6 women, and 16 children.

‡ Hubbard's Indian Wars, 339-40-369.

A. D 1676, and assumed to be masters of the garrison. Never, perhaps, Aug. 14. was consternation greater. The English and Indians fought hand to hand. Aroused from sleep, Capts. Lake, Davis, and others, soon finding resistance vain, fled through a back-door, and jumping into a canoe, strove to reach another Island. Overtaken, however, by their pursuers, just as they were stepping on shore, Lake was killed by a musket-shot, and Davis so wounded that he could neither fight nor flee. Able now only to creep, he hid himself in a cleft of the rocks; and the beams of the rising sun, in the eyes of the assailants, prevented a discovery. Nevertheless, two days elapsed before he could, even in a light canoe, paddle himself away to the shores of the main.

About a dozen other persons, escaping to the further end of the Island, found means to get off in safety. Lake was an enterprising, and excellent man;* and it is said, he would not have been killed, had he asked quarter, and not presented his pistol to his antagonist. So proud was the savage of his bloody exploit, that he took the hat of his fallen foe, and wore it as a trophy, upon his own head. The number killed and carried into captivity, was thirty-five persons. In the general conflagration, the whole of this large and beautiful establishment—the mansion-house, the fortification, the mills, and the out-buildings—collectively the works of years, and the cost of several thousand pounds, forming yesterday the hamlet of the Islands, exhibit to-day only a smouldering heap of ruins.

Brackett's
wife and
family es-
cape.

News of the event rendered Simon and his bloody companions impatient to be partakers of the spoils, or the glory of the siege; and, therefore, as they were burdened with their prisoners, they left Anthony Brackett's wife and family—probably on Great Sebascodegan. Here she fortunately found a leaky birchen canoe, in which, after she had mended it, she and her negro servant, rowed them all safely to Black-point, from whence a vessel gave them a passage to Piscataqua.

The people
east of Sag-
adahock
flee to the
Islands.

The inhabitants eastward of Arrowsick became now so much dismayed, that they durst no longer abide in their own houses. Those of Sheepscot, listening to the story of the fugitive girl, made an early retreat to the fort at Cape-newagen. The people of Pemaquid fled on board their vessels; but being prevent-

* Capt. Lake was the ancestor, perhaps father, of Sir Biby Lake.

ed by reason of light or adverse winds from reaching Monhegan, which they supposed to be an Island of the greatest safety upon the coast, they were under the necessity of going ashore upon one of the Damariscove Islands. Here, they met with Messrs. Callicot and Wiswell from Casco and Arrowsick; and all of them labored incessantly for two days in constructing a fortification. However, as soon as they were favored with a northerly breeze, they abandoned this Island; those two gentlemen sailing for Boston, and the rest proceeding to Monhegan. The Islanders and refugees uniting there, appointed a watch of twenty-five men by night, and a sufficient guard by day, and agreed that no vessel should leave the harbor for a week, excepting a single one destined to go and bring away their household-furniture and effects from Pemaquid. Yet scarcely was the trip performed, before they saw clouds of smoke arise over their burning village, also flames of the houses at New-Harbor, at Corban's Sound and upon some of the Islands. Being shortly after informed, that no succors could be immediately expected from Boston, they quit the Island, and sailed for that town, Piscataqua and Salem. On their passage they visited one of the Damariscove Islands, where they found only the relics of recent destruction,—two dead bodies, the ashes and fragments of the buildings, and the carcasses of the cattle.*

A. D. 1676.
August.

Pemaquid
burnt.

In one month, fifteen leagues of coast eastward of Casco neck, were laid waste. The inhabitants were either massacred, carried into captivity, or driven to the Islands or remoter places, and the settlements abandoned or in ruins. The inhabitants had endured with fortitude a series of hardships many years, and those of the peninsula in particular, could not entertain the thought of altogether abandoning their homes and their all, to the savage destroyers. Upon Mountjoy's Island, two leagues from the shore, was an old stone house which was easily made a shelter for a few of them; and upon Jewel's Island, others fortified a house and made preparations for defending themselves.

Extent of
the ravages.

But the Indians, flushed with their successes, rushed upon this Island, Sept. 2, when the men were fishing, the women engaged in washing by the water side, and the children scattered about the shore. At first, a brave lad firing from the house,

Attack on
Jewel's
Island.

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 351—4—360—390.

A D. 1676. killed two Indians, and thus gave the alarm. Mrs. Potts and
Sept. 2. several of her children were quickly seized, when one of them seeing his father coming in a boat, ran towards him, crying for help,—till caught by a savage, upon whom the father durst not fire, through fear of killing his child. One of the men rowed off his canoe towards Richmond Island for assistance, and the others with great intrepidity rushed into the midst of the Indians, and with the loss of two killed and five made captive, drove them to their canoes. The messenger, meeting with a ketch, persuaded the master to go and relieve the distressed Islanders ; and he finally removed them to places of more safety. The assailants proceeded to Spurwink, where they killed two and wounded others.

Troops sent
against the
enemy.

Amidst these alarming depredations, the General Court, having been convened, ordered 200 men to be enlisted, under the command of Captains William Hawthorn, Joseph Sill, and J. Hunting, and directed Major Waldron, and Major Frost, to make detachments from their respective regiments, or otherwise recruit as many able-bodied men as could with prudence leave home ; and to despatch them with the colonial troops against the enemy. The force from Massachusetts, partly formed of refugees from Maine, who were anxious to return, consisted of 130 English and 40 Natick Indians. They all arrived at Cocheco, (Dover) Sept. 6 ; where they were met by the soldiery under Waldron and Frost.

Met at Do-
ver, by 400
Indians.

At the same place, about 400 Indians from different tribes assembled ; some of whom were known to be malignant fugitives from the westward ; others had treacherously violated the stipulations of the treaty, made with them nine months before ; and all were acting in concert and friendship. As this assemblage was probably not requested, it was not expected ; and Waldron, who had authority to seize all Indian murderers and traitors, was involved in a difficult dilemma. Many of the English soldiers, enraged at the recollection of savage cruelties, were impatient to fall upon them immediately and indiscriminately, with gun and bayonet ; while he knew, that most of the Indians present were reposing the greatest confidence, both in his honor and fidelity.

Waldron, therefore, suggested to the officers an expedient, which, though of an uncommon character, was adopted. He proposed, the next day, to the embodied Indians, to have a sham-

fight, in which they were to manoeuvre on the one side, and the English on the other. Accordingly the amusement was continued a short time, when Waldron induced them to fire a grand round; and the moment their guns were discharged, his troops surrounded the unwary Indians, seized and disarmed them, without the loss of a man on either side. To divide them into classes, according to their guilt or innocence, was a far more difficult part of this undertaking. Wonnolancet and his tribe, all adherents to the English and all neutrals in the war, were discharged. The "strange Indians" from the westward, and every one who had been guilty of bloodshed or outrage since the treaty, about 200 in all, were confined and conveyed to Boston. The Governor and Assistants constituted, at that time, the Supreme Court of the colony; and all the prisoners who were convicted of having taken life, (being seven or eight,) suffered death; and others receiving the sentence of banishment, were transported and sold in foreign parts for slaves.

A. D. 1676.
Seizure of
the Indians,
and fate of
the offend-
ers.
Sept. 7.

The propriety of this unprecedented course was a subject, which divided the whole community; some applauded,—some doubted,—some censured; but the government approved. Waldron and Frost, with other officers, thought it their duty to obey their orders, which directed them to kill and destroy all hostile Indians; and to submit the future destiny of the prisoners to the public authorities. It was believed, that those who were set at liberty might feel highly satisfied, and those transported would never be able to return. But the Indians thought this farce of a battle, a base Yankee trick, played off in direct violation of good faith; which they would neither forget nor forgive.

Next day, the troops, under the senior command of Capt. Hawthorn, piloted by Blind Will, Sagamore of the Newichawan-nocks, and eight of his Indians, proceeded eastward by water; and after visiting Wells, Winter-harbor, Black-point, and Spurwink, disembarked, September 20th, upon the peninsula of Falmouth. They had taken on the way, only two prisoners, one of whom was killed and the other permitted by Blind Will's men, his keepers, to escape; they probably intending that every principal event should be communicated to the enemy.

Sept. 8.
The troops
proceed to
Casco.

As some of the inhabitants belonging to Casco neck, probably returned—they and the soldiery, proceeded to prepare the

Fort Loyal
founded.

A. D. 1676. foundations for a public garrison,*—to establish which, the General Court had made some appropriations. The troops, engaged principally in searching for the enemy and in relieving or removing the settlers, tarried upwards of three weeks upon the peninsula; during which a few instances only of depredations committed by the savages are noticed. By permission of Capt. Hawthorn, September 23d, seven of the inhabitants visited Mountjoy's, or Peak's Island, for the purpose of killing and dressing a few sheep, for the support of their families. While there, they were encountered by an Indian party, and driven to the old stone house for shelter, in which they defended themselves with much valor, till, either by the guns of the enemy, or the stones tumbled upon them from the walls, they were all killed except one, who soon died of his wounds. Being heads of families and men of courage and activity, especially George Felt, they were greatly esteemed and their deaths deeply lamented.

Event at
Mountjoy's
Island.

A larger party, lurking about Wells, the next day, Sept. 24, shot from his horse James Gooch, as he was returning from public worship on the Lord's day; and his wife, who was on the same horse, was cut to pieces by them with their hatchets. On the 25th, they destroyed the settlement at Cape Neddock,† where forty persons were slain, or made the subjects of a wretched captivity. This was a transaction, which bore some marks of uncommon barbarity. For instance,—after dashing out the brains of a nursing mother, they pinned her infant to her bosom and in this awful condition was the babe found alive, with one of the paps in its mouth.‡ Again they entered Wells, and killed George Farrow,—all the settlers being constantly terrified with apprehensions of instant death.

Sept. 25.
Cape Neddock destroyed.

Unable to meet the Indians, who were extremely shy, the troops, Oct. 12, sailed from Casco-neck and continued the residence of the month at Newichawannock. On the second day only, after they passed Black-point, a body of 120 Indians§ made a furious assault upon the garrison there; when fortunately all the surviving inhabitants of the place were safe within its walls. This fortress, which was commanded by Henry Joscelyn, Esq.

October 14.
Black-point
attacked.

* 4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 78.—Afterwards completed and called "Fort Loyal."
—See *post.* A. D. 1680, chap. 21. † In York. ‡ Sullivan, p. 241.
§ Card says "120 fighting men."—Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, p. 263—273.

was strong, and as easily defensible by few men as any one upon A. D. 1676. the coast. Aware of the fact, the arch-leader, Mugg, told the commander, if he would surrender, he and his associates should be free to depart with all their goods, without injury or insult. During the parley, Joscelyn suffered himself to be drawn out a short distance from the garrison, and on returning, he was surprised to learn that in his absence all the people, except his household servants, had laden their boats and were gone. In this wretched predicament, he was obliged to surrender at discretion.* The event was a mighty boon—in which Mugg took great pride. For, the Indians themselves had on the same point, and in the vicinity, two slender fortifications and eight wigwams between them; and the present surrender, in addition to the burning of Blue-point, the last year, completed the ruin of Scarborough.

To prevent the Indians from plundering Richmond Island, of all the valuable property collected there; Walter Gendell persuaded Capt. Fryer of Portsmouth, to proceed with his vessel and crew, and remove what remained. He did so; but as they were loading their vessel, a part of the sailors on shore were seized, and a part on board were driven below deck. Next, by leaping into canoes, the bolder savages succeeded in cutting the cables, and the wind blowing fresh from the southeast, drove the ketch ashore. *Surrender, said they, or flames will soon make you prisoners of death.* Theirs was now a most wretched choice,—either to die by fire or the tomahawk;—to be thrown into the deep, or to commit a species of suicide, by surrendering themselves prisoners to blood-thirsty barbarians. But as Captain Fryer lay wounded and bleeding before their eyes, his men at last concluded to risque the tender mercies of the savages, and eleven were made prisoners. In the cartel, they were to ransom themselves by delivering a specified quantity of goods in a limited time;—to procure which, two of the prisoners were released, who, departing, returned with the ransom before the time elapsed. But as the exacters themselves were then absent on some new expedition, their fellows took it, killed one of the

Seizure of
a vessel and
crew at
Richmond
Island.

* *Hubbard's Indian Wars*, p. 390.—The “list of the inhabitants at Black-point garrison, Oct. 12, 1676,” exhibits the names of about 60 men, including those within and without the fort.—1 *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* p. 149.

A. D. 1676. bearers, and retained the rest of his companions in custody :—

A true specimen this, of Indian faith.

Such a repetition of uninterrupted successes, filled the natives with hopes, and the inhabitants with fears, that the entire Province would soon be overrun and laid waste. Mugg, sensible of the advantages gained, led a force, Oct. 18, against Wells garrison at the town's end, and sent his prisoner, Walter Gendell, to demand a capitulation. *Never*, said the commander, *never shall the gates be opened, till every one within is dead*. Repelled by so bold a reply, yet bent on mischief, Mugg and his associates killed two persons, wounded a third, cut the throats of thirteen cattle, from which they took only their tongues, and then withdrew to the woods.

October 18.
Attack on
Wells.

Nov. 1.
Excursion
to Ossipee.

Supposing that the Indians were collecting at their great fort on Ossipee river, Captains Hawthorn, Sill—and their men took up their march, Nov. 1, from Newichawannock, towards that place ; wading through deep snows, and passing several streams, not frozen hard enough to bear a traveller. This expedition of two months, with all its hardships and expenses, was entirely fruitless ; not an Indian being seen, and nothing more done, than burning a part of their fort.*

Mugg's pro-
posals of
peace.

Mugg, the most cunning Indian of the age, came to Piscataqua, bringing in Fryer, dying of his wounds, and declared upon his faith, which he said was still good, that the prisoners taken at Richmond's Island, would shortly be restored, without ransom ; at the same time, proposing in behalf of Madockawando to negotiate a peace. He and his sagacious master saw how much it consisted with motives of policy and the dictates of prudence, —to treat with a discomfited, desponding foe,—to present the first offer in behalf of their tribe, that had much to lose and nothing to gain by the war,—and to anticipate the necessities of an approaching winter, when the means of sustenance must be entirely meager, and prisoners burdensome. In short, they expressed ardent wishes for a speedy return of peace and of all neutral Indians, several of whom, from every tribe, even of the Canibas and Anasagunticooks, had been absent most of the summer ;† suspecting if the war was continued, that they would form

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 376.—Day of the return, January 9.

† F. Card's Deposition.

connexions with the Algonquins, and other northern Indians, A. D. 1676. which could not be readily dissolved, and which might be the means of thinning the tribes.

Mugg, therefore, through the agency of Major-General Denison, then at Piscataqua, was favored with an immediate passage to Boston : where he, in behalf of Madockawando and Cheberrina, negotiated a treaty, Nov. 6, with the Governor and Council; and signed it, "The mark X of Mugg." Its articles were in substance, these :—1. All acts of hostility shall cease ; 2. all English captives, vessels and goods, shall be restored ; 3. a full satisfaction shall be rendered to the English for the damages they have sustained ; 4. the Indians shall buy ammunition only of those whom the Governor may appoint ; 5. the slayers of Walter Gendell and his friends, engaged in the ransom of the captives at Richmond's Island, if they are indeed killed, shall be surrendered to the English ; and 6. the Sachems of Penobscot shall take arms against the Anasagunticooks and other eastern Indians, if they do still persist in the war.*

Nov. 6.
He negoti-
ates a trea-
ty.

'In faith of my sincerity and honor,' said Mugg, 'I pledge myself an hostage in your hands, till the captives, vessels and goods are restored ; and I lift my hand to heaven, in witness of my honest heart in this treaty.'

On the 21st of the same month, Capt. Moore was despatched to Penobscot, in a vessel with the Indian emissary, to procure a ratification of the treaty and bring home the captives. Soon as he arrived, Dec. 2, the articles all received the sanction of the Sagamore ; Gendell and a few other prisoners, especially those taken at Richmond's Island were surrendered ; and Mugg declared, that not more than 50 or 60, in the whole, could be found among all the Indians.

Nov. 21.

Reluctant as he pretended to be, through apprehensions of injury or blame for his conciliatory transactions, he was induced to visit the Canibas tribe, with a mouth full of persuasives to join the peace and release captives. He expected to go as far as Tecconnet ; and when he departed, he said to Capt. Moore, *if I do not return in four days, you may conclude I am certainly bereft of my life or liberty.* A week or more elapsed, and yet nothing was heard of him ; therefore the Captain returned home. It was

* See this treaty entire.—2 *Neal's N. E.* p. 403-5.

A. D. 1676. afterwards reported, that Mugg, in a laughing mood, said to the
 Sept 2, Indians at Teconnet,—*I know how we can even burn Boston, and drive all the country before us :—we must go to the fishing Islands, and take all the white men's vessels.**

^{The story of}
 T. Cobbet, last autumn at Richmond's Island, who returned home with Capt. Moore, is worthy of particular mention. His father was the minister of Ipswich. After being wounded by a musket shot, his hands were fast tied, and in the division of the captives, it was his unfortunate lot to be assigned to an Indian of the worst character. Young Cobbet's first duty was to manage the captured ketch of Fryer, in sailing to Sheepscot, and from that place to paddle a canoe, carrying his master and himself, to Penobscot, and thence to their hunting ground at Mount Desert. He suffered the extremes of cold, fatigue and famine ; and because he could not understand the Indian dialect, the savage often drew his knife upon him, threatening him with instant death. In hunting, on a day of severe cold, he fell down in the snow, benumbed, famished and senseless. Here he must have perished, had not the more humane hunters conveyed him to a wigwam and restored him. At another time his savage master was drunk five successive days, in which he was fearfully raving like a wild beast. To such an alarming degree did he beat and abuse his own squaws, that Cobbet, who knew himself to be much more obnoxious than they, to his fury, fled into the woods to save his life ; where he made a fire, formed a slender covert, and the squaws fed him.

At the end of nine weeks, the Indians had a great *powow* ; and his master sent him to Mons. Castine for ammunition to kill moose and deer. He arrived at a most opportune hour, just before Mugg's departure to Teconnet, who readily called him by name. *Ah !* said Mugg, *I saw your father when I went to Boston—and I told him his son should return. He must be released according to the treaty.* Yes, replied Madockawando, *but the captain must give me the fine coat he has in the vessel ; for his father is a "great preach-man," or chief speaker, among Englishmen.*—This request was granted, and young Cobbet saw his demoniac master no more.

The late treaty gave some encouragements of a settled tran-

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 386-391.

quillity, still the aspect of Indian affairs was by no means free from gloom. The conduct of Mugg was suspicious; a part only of the captives had returned; some of the Indians threatened to break the treaty; and the scalps taken from the heads of three "foreign Indians," at Cocheco, who were known by the cut of their hair,* to be Narragansetts, induced the belief that many of those people had mixed with the eastern tribes, and were fomenting quarrels. At length a renewal of hostilities in the spring was extensively apprehended; and the General Court ordered a winter expedition to be fitted out eastward.

This, consisting of 150 men, of whom 60 were Natick Indians, sailed from Boston early in February, under the command of Majors Waldron and Frost; a day of prayer being previously appointed for the success of the enterprize. The places of their particular destination were Casco and Kennebeck, and their instructions were, "to subdue the Indians in those parts, and deliver the English captives detained in their hands."

The first intelligence they received concerning the eastern Indians, was communicated by John Abbot, at the Isles of Shoals; who, with the help of a boy, had effected an escape from them at Sheepscot in his own vessel. He said, ammunition was uncommonly scarce and dear, among all the Indians;—especially at Kennebeck, powder was worth 32s. by the pound, and some were gone or going into Canada to buy it.

Waldron landed his troops, Feb. 18, upon Mare-point in Brunswick, a league below Maquoit, where they were presently hailed by a party of Indians, among whom appeared Squando and Simon the Yankee-killer. A parley was commenced, in which Waldron enquired of Simon, their speaker,—*From what place did you hear of us?—At 'Purpooduck-head.'—Who roused up the Indians to renew the war?—*Oh!—Blind Will:—*He says he'll kill Waldron.*†—*Do you desire peace?—*Yes, and we sent Mugg to Boston for 'that purpose—he told us you'd be here.'—*Can you tell us, where now are the English captives?—*O, may be under Squando.'—*Are they well?—*Yes.'—*Why don't you release them?—*Squando replied, 'I will bring them in the afternoon.'

Nothing more was seen of the Indians, till noon the next day,

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 392-5.—1 Belk. N. H. p. 122.

† This was probably a false assertion.

A. D. 1677. when a little flotilla of 14 canoes, was discovered up the bay, pulling for the shore; and presently a house was seen in flames. As Waldron's scout approached the Indians, they raised a hideous shout, and challenged some of the soldiers to fight. Maj. Frost attacked them from an unexpected quarter,—killing or wounding several; and again presented a flag of truce, which produced another parley.

The Sagamores were now asked,—*why they had not brought the captives?—why they set the white man's house on fire?—and why they challenged the soldiers?*—They replied, 'that the captives were a great way off, and the snow and cold weather had prevented their coming;—that the house took fire by accident; and that the soldiers fired at the Indians first:—'These are our answers to you.'

Waldron at
Sagadahock.

Feb. 26.

Unable here to fight the Indians to advantage, or recover the captives, Waldron sailed to Sagadahock. Disembarking on the western shore of the peninsula, opposite the foot of Arrowsick Island, and concluding to settle a garrison there; he made arrangements for the purpose, and set about half of his men to work. With the others in two vessels, he proceeded, Feb. 26, to Pemaquid. Meeting at that place three or four Sachems and an assemblage of mixed Indians, partly Tarratines, he agreed with them, the next day, to lay aside arms on both sides, submit to a mutual search, and enter upon the negotiation of a treaty.

Feb. 27.
A bloody
affray at
Pemaquid.

In its commencement, Waldron desired them to restore their captives, also to take arms, furnish canoes, and proceed against the Anasagunticooks, as a common enemy. *A few of our young men only*, said an old Sagamore, *who cannot be restrained, have had any concern in the war. All the prisoners with us, were received from the Canibas tribe to keep; and we must have for supporting each one of them, 12 beaver skins, and some good liquor. Our canoes, you know, are in use; we are bound to Penobscot in them.*—Sufficient liquor was then given them, and abundant ransom was offered; yet only three prisoners were produced, or could be obtained.

Though their sincerity was suspected and their treachery feared; another meeting was appointed in the afternoon. At that time Waldron espying the point of a lance under a board, searched farther, when he found other weapons hidden also; and taking

one, he brandished it towards them, exclaiming,—*perfidious wretches—you intended to get our goods and then kill us, did you?*—They were thunder struck : Yet, one more daring than the rest, seized the weapon and strove to wrest it from Waldron's hand. A tumult ensued, in which his life was much endangered. Maj. Frost, laying hold of Megunnaway, one of the barbarous murderers of Thomas Brackett and his neighbors, hurried him into the hold of the vessel. Meanwhile an athletic squaw caught up a bundle of guns, and run for the woods. At that instant, a reinforcement arrived from the vessels ; when the Indians scattered in all directions,—pursued by the soldiers, either to the water's edge or into the forest.

In this affray, Sagamore Mattahando, also an old Powow, and five Indians were killed. One canoe was capsized, from which five of them were drowned ;—and four others were made prisoners. Waldron preserved his goods, and took from the Indians about 1,000 pounds of beef and some other booty. But the chastisement partook of a severity, which the provocation by no means justified ; nor could it be dictated by motives of sound policy. It must have reminded the Indians of the mock-fight at Dover, and served to increase their prejudices. One of his prisoners was the fair sister of Madockawando, whose influence with her brother, had he not been absent on a long hunting tour, might have effected a release of captives. Megunnaway, grown hoary in crimes, was shot.*

On their return to Arrowsick, they killed two Indian plunderers found there, put on board the large guns, several anchors, a quantity of wheat and boards which had escaped the flames, and sent a captive squaw to Teconnet fort ; demanding in their names an exchange of prisoners. They likewise left, under Capt. Sylvanus Davis, a garrison of 40 men upon the main, where it was lately settled, and returned to Boston, March 11, without the loss of a man ; carrying with them the body of Capt. Lake, entirely preserved by cold.

Waldron at
Arrowsick,
fortifies.

March 11.
Returns to
Boston.

As the Mohawks were in amity with the English, and an universal terror to all the New-England tribes ;† it was thought to

The Mo-
hawks hired
into service.

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 410.

† The whole number of Mohawk fighters, or warriors of the Five Nations, A. D. 1677, were estimated at 2,150.—*Chalmers*.

A. D. 1677. consist with maxims of the wisest policy, to persuade them, if possible, into the public service. The measure was recommended by Sir Edmund Andros, the Duke's Governor of New-York and Sagadahock,* and fifteen of them were at length taken into employ; who appeared, March 16, in the vicinity of Amoskeag-falls, on the Merrimack. They first hailed the son of Wonnolan-set, who, being unable to understand the language, took fright and fled; they all firing two rounds at him without effect. Unacquainted with the friendly character of Blind Will, and the Indians about Cocheco, they next attacked him and eight of his tribe, then employed by Waldron to make discoveries, and only a part of them escaped alive. The death of Blind Will, one of the slain, was the less lamented, because of his supposed duplicity; though his general conduct had always been in consistency with his professions. In any point of view, the event was unfortunate, as the introduction of the Mohawks to our assistance was altogether impolitic. Religious people thought there was great impropriety in applying to the heathen for help.† The news of their arrival upon our frontiers spread, almost with the rapidity of lightning, through the New-England and Nova Scotia tribes. All were excited to greater activity and watchfulness; and our Indian allies, in view of the late fatality, aggravated by a report of their being hirelings into the war, became highly jealous, that an indiscriminate extermination was intended.‡ Any longer retention of the Mohawks in service was evidently forbidden by every principle of prudence—by every particle of good sense.

A view of the past and anticipations of the future, were equally gloomy. Ere the snow had entirely disappeared, the ravening savages had singled out their victims, and were impatient to renew the work of destruction; York, Wells, and the new garrison opposite Arrowsick, being the principal objects of their vengeance. Indeed, if we except those places, Kittery, Newichawannock, and Winter-harbor, we may enquire what other places in Maine were not already wasted or deserted?

To bury the bodies of the murdered inhabitants, which had lain above ground upon Arrowsick, more than seven months, a large part of the opposite garrison proceeded to the Island, not suspecting danger. But they were soon fired upon; an ambush intercepted

Blind Will
killed.

Nine killed
on Arrow-
sick.

* 1 Trumbull's Conn. p. 326.

† Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 410.

‡ Hubbard's N. E. p. 630-1.

their retreat to their boats; and nine of them were shot down upon the spot.* The survivors were soon after removed by order of government to other places, perhaps to Casco-fort, Black-point, or Winter-harbor;† and Capt. Swaine with 60 men, including ten Naticks, was despatched from Piscataqua eastward, to afford relief, succor, or support, where either was most needed.

About the same time, April 7, seven men were killed in the outer fields of York, two miles from town, engaged in the first labor of spring. It was a feat which partook of great audacity; for that town being more environed by settlements than others, had suffered less than they; still supposing, for the same reason, no great danger to be apprehended.

But the town, which the savages seemed to have marked out this year for early and utter destruction, was Wells. From their first entering it, April 6, when they killed three, to the end of the month, they made attacks upon the people and their garrison several times. On the 13th, John Weld and Benjamin Storer were killed by them. Two or three approaching a man and boy, who were fowling in the marshes, were first espied by the boy, when the man was half-sitting and fixing his flint. Springing up as the boy spoke, he aimed his gun directly at them, crying out, *ah, you rogues, I've been looking for you*;—when they, being startled by this bold rebuff, turned and fled. The fort was commanded by Lieut. Swett, a brave and vigilant officer—always alert and active for the safety of the inhabitants. Seeing a strolling Indian, who was in fact a decoy, Swett despatched eleven of his men towards the place, to make discoveries. By venturing too far, they fell into an ambush, when two were shot dead, and one mortally wounded. Hearing the report of the guns, Swett sent out auxiliaries, who killed five or six, and would have done thorough execution, had not an Irishman sung out, *here they be!*—*here they be!*—which so alarmed them, that they withdrew and sheltered themselves among the thick trees and bushes.

After the garrison had been re-established at Black-point, and the command of it accepted by Lieut. Tappen, a man of great courage; the Indians beset it, May 16, with an uncommon boldness and pertinacity. The siege was continued three days in suc-

April 7.
Seven killed
in York.

Attack upon
Wells.

April 13.

May 16.
Black-point
garrison be-
set; and
Mugg kill-
ed.

* Hubbard's Indian Wars, p. 410.

† 1 Belknap's N. H. p. 127, says to Boston.

A. D. 1677. cession ; the assailants determining to force a surrender, or perish in the attempt. In this most obstinate encounter, three of the English were slain and one taken, who was barbarously tortured to death. One of the enemy brought to the ground, by particular aim, was then supposed to be old Simon—afterwards found to be the celebrated Mugg. The loss of this leader so damped the courage of his companions, that they, in despair of victory, departed. Mugg had alternately brightened and shaded his own character, until the most skilful pencil would find it difficult to draw its just portrait. To the English this remarkable native was friend or foe—and among his own people, counsellor, peacemaker, fighter, or emissary, just as self-interest or the particular occasion might dictate. His address was inspiring, and his natural good sense and sagacity partially inclined him to be an advocate for peace.

York and
Wells: as-
sailed

By repulses, the Indians learned precaution, though defeat seldom crippled their spirits. The party, after Mugg's death, divided,—eleven canoes full of Indians, proceeded eastward, to glean in the waste places of their spoils, and five hastened away to Wells and York ; where, within a few days, they killed seven persons, and took two captives. Finding six friendly Indians, May 28th, lying in a state of intoxication, they made prisoners of them, but at last left them in the woods, after a day's journey of 20 miles, through fear of the terrible Mohawks.

Civil affairs.

Though the town of Kittery was represented, this year in the General Court, by John Wincoln, also York and Wells, by Samuel Wheelwright, and the administration of justice was continued in Yorkshire ; the inhabitants of Devonshire had left their homes, and all the judicial regulations in that county were at an end.

Black-point
battle.

For the defence of Black-point, and the security of Winter-harbor, the General Court ordered a company of 40 men to be recruited, 200 Christian Indians taken into service, and all such able-bodied men enlisted, or impressed, as could be found, who had migrated from the Province of Maine.* The command of the forces, including the Indians, was given to Capt. Benjamin Swett and Lieut. Richardson. They arrived at Black-point on the 28th of June in high spirits.

June 28.

It is a rule of policy in fighting the Indians to gain time. Aware

* 4 Mass. Rec. p. 109, 116.

of the maxim, and informed of the fact, that the savages had A. D. 1677.
 been seen hovering around the place, Swett, at the head of one
 division, and Richardson the other, joined by some of the inhab-
 itants,* led out the whole, the next morning, upon the declivities June 29.
 of a neighboring hill. A large decoy, supposed to be the main
 body of the Indians, feigned a retreat, and were pursued by Swett
 and Richardson, till they found themselves between a thicket and
 a swamp, in a most exposed situation. Instantly, from an am-
 bush on each side, great numbers rising with a war-whoop, fired
 at once upon the two divisions, in which there were many young
 or inexperienced soldiers, and the whole were thrown into con-
 fusion. But though the ranks were broken, the engagement was
 sharp and protracted. Richardson was presently slain, and many
 on both sides soon shared the same fate. Swett fought the ene-
 my hand to hand; displaying upon the spot, and in a retreat of
 two miles, great presence of mind as well as personal courage,
 in repeated rallies of his men, in his exertions to bring off the
 dead and wounded, and in defence of his rear, upon which the
 savages hung with destructive fury. At last, wounded in
 twenty places, and exhausted by loss of blood and by fatigue, he
 was grappled, thrown to the ground, and barbarously cut in
 pieces at the gates of the garrison. With this intrepid officer,
 fell sixty of his men, forty English and twenty Indians, being two
 thirds of the whole number in the engagement. Seldom is the
 merit of a military officer more genuine—seldom is the death of
 one more deeply lamented.†

The triumphant savages, in their next movement, spread them- The Indians
take 20 fish-
ing vessels.
 selves along the seacoast from Wells to Casco-bay, resolved to
 try the favors of fortune upon the water. They were neither
 sailors nor skilful oars-men; yet, by frequenting the harbors in
 the night-time, they were enabled to seize, in the month of July, July.
 about twenty fishing vessels at anchor,—the greater part of which
 belonged to Salem.‡ Each of them carried from three to six
 men, who might have made a successful defence, had they not
 been taken by surprize; or, as one author says, ‘had they either
 ‘courage or skill to fight any thing but fish.’§ In fact, four did

* Making 90 English in all.—*Folsom*, p. 160.

† Hubbard's N. E. p. 634.—1 Belk. N. II. p. 128.—6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 263.

‡ 6 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 263.

§ Hubbard's N. E. p. 635.

A. D. 1677. make a brave resistance ; having several men killed, and carrying nineteen others into Salem wounded. Hence, a large vessel, equipped like a war-ship and manned with 40 seamen, was despatched to recapture the prizes, and give the enemy battle :—A vain enterprize—for the unskillful captors, finding the ketches too heavy to be managed with paddles, and being unable otherwise to manage them, had taken out all the valuable articles and abandoned the whole of them. If most of the ketches were recovered, it is certain the crew of the cruiser while out, never saw a single Indian.

The good
policy of
Gov. Andros.

Such were the calamities and distresses of the summer, 1677, through the Province ; when alleviation arose from an enterprize unanticipated. Fearful that the Duke's Sagadahock Province in its present deserted condition, might be seized upon by the French or other foreign nation, Sir Edmund Andros, in June,* sent a military force from New-York to Pemaquid, with orders to take possession of the country, and build a fort at that place. When the garrison was finished, he placed in it “ a considerable number of soldiers,” established a custom house there,† and recommended an intercourse and traffic with the natives. The commander finding them to be pacific and tranquil, entered into an agreement, early in August, with some of the Sagamores;‡ in consequence of which, fifteen captives were surrendered, and the vessels detained by them, were permitted to return home.

August.

A. D. 1678.
Peace of
Casco.

The harmony which prevailed through the autumn and winter, between the parties, and the pleasures of tranquillity and safety enjoyed, strongly induced other Indians to think of peace ;§ and in the spring, Major Nicholas Shapleigh, of Kittery, who had succeeded Frost in the command of the Yorkshire regiment, Capt. Champernoon and Capt. Fryer of Portsmouth, were appointed commissioners by the government of Massachusetts, to settle a peace with Squando and all the Sagamores upon the Androscoggin and Kennebeck. They met the Indians at Casco, and entered into articles of peace, April 12th, 1678, by which,|| 1. the captives present were to be surrendered, and those absent released without ransom ; 2. all the inhabitants, on returning to their homes,

* But *Belknap's N. H.* p. 153, says it was “ in August.”

† 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 292.

‡ 4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 147.

§ *Hubbard's N. E.* p. 637—9.—Philip's war ceased this winter, at the westward.

|| *Neal's N. E.* p. 407.

were to enjoy their habitations and possessions unmolested; but A. D. 1677. 3. they were to pay for their lands to the Indians, year by year, a quit-rent of a peck of corn for every English family, and for Major Phillips of Saco,* who was a great proprietor, a bushel of corn.

Though the close of king Philip's war in Maine was the cause of universal joy, the terms of peace were generally considered by the English, to be of a disgraceful character,—nevertheless, preferable to a predatory warfare and its consequent deprivations and calamities. Nor were the exactions of the Sagamores unjust. The Aborigines, it was acknowledged, had a possessory right to the country; large tracts had been taken from the Sokokis, the Anasagunticook and Canibas tribes, as well by encroachment as by purchase; and their remarkable successes through the late war, might very properly embolden them to dictate these hard conditions of peace.

The losses sustained through the country, eastward of Piscataqua, were various and great. About 260 were known to have been killed or carried into captivity, from which they never returned. There were probably many others, the accounts of whose deaths have never been noticed, or transmitted to posterity. Numbers were severely wounded, who survived; and an hundred and fifty or more, at different times, were made captives who were released. The dwellinghouses at Cape-Neddock, Scarborough, Casco, Arrowsick, Pemaquid and several other places were reduced to ashes. Possessions were laid waste, domestic animals killed, and a great amount of property plundered or destroyed. The cost of the war in Maine, to the colony government, was £8,000, besides incidental losses.†

* 1 Belk. N. H. p. 129.—Erroneously Pendleton.

† 4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 147-359.—The loss and damage of Philip's war to all the colonies, are estimated thus:—losses of men, 600; 1,200 houses; 8,000 cattle;—cost £150,000. Loss to the Indians, 3,000 lives.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 493.

CHAPTER XXI.

The purchase of Maine by Massachusetts displeases the King—Andros, Governor of New-York and Sagadahock—Affairs of Maine—State of the country—Last County-Court—Gorges' charter resumed—T. Danforth elected President—Difficulties in the way of a new administration—E. Randolph's demeanor—North-Yarmouth confirmed—President Danforth takes possession of Fort-Loyal—A Provincial government established—The Council—Articles of settlement—Public Officers—An instance of persecution—Grants of Lands—Patriots of Massachusetts accused before the king—Her Charter vacated—Demise of the crown, Charles II. succeeded by James II.—Pejepscot purchase made—Troubles with the Indians feared—Treaty with them—New Administration under Dudley—He is superseded by Sir Edmund Andros—His character.

A. D. 1677:
The purchase of
Maine displeases the
king.

THE purchase of Maine by the colony of Massachusetts was in several respects an important event. It settled a troublesome controversy with Gorges; it established an incontrovertible right to the soil of a country containing more square miles than the colony itself; and formed a connexion with its inhabitants by legal ties. But the bargain greatly displeased Charles II., the reigning king. Desirous, as he was, to make provision for the Duke of Monmouth, his beloved natural son, and being with that view engaged in treaty at the time, with the proprietor, he was so much affronted, when he was informed of the transfer, that he reprimanded the agents for their disloyal interference, and required them to assign it unto the crown, upon payment of the sum they had given. He even pressed the demand; stating in a letter to the colony government, 'We were much surprized, while listening to the complaints of Mr. Gorges, that you should presume, without asking our royal permission, to purchase his interest in the Province of Maine; acquainted, as you know we are, with some effects of the severe hand you have holden over our subjects there.*

* *Hutch. Coll.* p. 451, 581.—There had been a proposition to convey the Province of Maine and New-Hampshire to the king, with a design of

But this authoritative address had no great influence upon the A. D. 1677. government and people of the colony. They were not strangers to their rights. The purchase was open and fair—made at the desire of the provincials themselves, when they were driven to extremities by an Indian war, and when nearly all the assistance and protection they were receiving, proceeded from Massachusetts.

Edmund Andros, ducal Governor of New-York and Sagadahock, under James, the brother of the king, was without doubt his minion, and a foe to the proprietors of the purchase. For, besides taking possession of the provincial territory and establishing a fort at Pemaquid, Andros manifested a strong disposition to monopolize the trade and fishery, and discountenance a return of such settlers, as appeared determined to yield allegiance to Massachusetts. In this repulsive policy, her concurrence was claimed by him; but the General Court boldly declared, ‘we shall never prevent our people from settling their proprieties in that section, whether upon the Islands or the main, within our jurisdiction.’*

A. D. 1678.
Andros,
Gov. of N.
York and
Sagadahock.

An uniform course of measures was steadily pursued. The General Court, during their session in the spring, admitted, as usual, three associates for Yorkshire; invested Major Waldron with magistrate’s authority to administer the qualifying oaths to them and the town commissioners, for that county and Devonshire; and delegated Thomas Danforth to preside, the current year, in the County Courts. Maine was then attracting great public attention; and at the adjournment, in October, the late purchase was formally ratified and confirmed by the General Court. In fulfilment of the stipulations, the legislature authorized the colony-treasurer to effect a loan of the consideration money, and pledge the accruing customs, with the public credit, for security. The assignment being effected in the midst of an Indian war, was obtained at a low price;† yet the taxes, debts,

May.
Affairs of
Maine.

October.

making provision for the Duke of Monmouth.—*Collins’ Letter to Gov. Leverett, July 28, 1674.*

* 4 Mass. Rec. p. 147, 173, 193.

† 1 *Doug.* p. 389.—The establishment of *Fort Loyal* on the Neck, [Falmouth] on its south westerly shore, not far from the end of the bridge to Purpooduck, and the maintenance of a garrison therein, were an additional charge. The Province of Maine agreed to maintain 6 soldiers; and Massachusetts 7, including the Captain, Sergeant, Gunner and 4 privates, the expense of the latter being estimated at £400 per annum.

A. D. 1673. burdens, and the people's uncommon indigence, occasioned by that war, rendered it doubtful whether the money promised could be raised without a re-sale ; so great was the sum of £1,250 at that time in view of a war-worn, exhausted community. The legislature therefore, invested the Governor and Assistants with discretionary power, to make a disposition of the entire Province, if necessary, either by transfer or pledge, to effect a reimbursement of the loan.* There were no capitalists nor foreign merchants at this period in the country. 'New planters from England had rarely come over for many years past ; nor had any Irish, or Scotch foreigners of late become settlers ; moreover, our own traders were neither numerous nor wealthy. Few vessels were built in the country over 100 tons' burthen ;† and there was a scarcity of circulating medium,

A. D. 1679. The gentlemen clothed with judicial authority for the eastern Province, in 1679, were Joseph Dudley and Richard Waldron, Commissioners—Edward Rishworth, John Wincoln, Joshua Scot-tow, and Samuel Wheelwright, Associates ; at whose last session in a County Court, holden at York, under the colony government, before the administration was changed—the circumstances of one case, decided in July, are worthy to be related.

July.

A trial.

James Adams of York, affronted with one of his neighbors, Henry Simpson, determined to avenge himself upon two of his unoffending sons, whose ages were between six and nine years. His contrivance and crime were the more satanical as they were deliberate. In a solitary place, 4 or 5 miles from the dwelling-houses of the inhabitants, he built of logs beside a ledge of perpendicular rocks, a pen or pound, several feet in height, inclined inwards from the bottom to the top. After this, he decoyed the boys into the woods under a pretence of looking for birds' nests, and had the art to draw them within the pound,‡ where he left them confined, to perish with famine and suffering. The children were soon missed, and the alarmed inhabitants searched the woods for them thoroughly, more than forty-eight hours without success. The boys, presently aware of their wretched situation, made various trials to get out, and at length by digging away

* 1 Hutch. Hist, p. 296.—He says "to reimburse the expense of defending it."

† Chalmers, p. 436, 437,

‡ The place has been since called "*the Devil's Invention*."

with their hands, the surface of the earth underneath one of the A. D. 1679, bottom logs, effected their escape. They wandered in the woods three days : being at last, attracted to the seashore, by the noise of the surf, where they were found.

The depraved criminal was soon arrested, and after conviction received this sentence.—“ The Court having considered your in-
“ human and barbarous offence against the life of the children,
“ and the great disturbance to the country, do sentence you to
“ have thirty stripes well laid on ; to pay the father of the chil-
“ dren £5 money—the treasurer of the county £10, out of
“ which, the expenses of postage and searching the town are to
“ be discharged ;—also pay the charges and fees of the prison ;
“ and remain a close prisoner during the Court’s pleasure, till
“ further order.” The same month sureties entered into recog-
nizance of £100, before two of the Associates, “ conditioned to
“ send him, within twenty-one days, out of the jurisdiction.”*

The eastern Indians had now been pacific and tranquil upwards of a year ; and the fugitive inhabitants of the Province were returning to their late habitations and places of abode. But as hostilities might be easily renewed, and were much feared, no new settlement was permitted to be commenced, without a license from the Governor and Assistants, or from the County Court.

At the October session, the affairs of Maine were made the subject of legislative discussion. The territory was extensive,† October,
The governa-
ment of
Maine. and the value evidently much greater than the price paid. The General Court, not unacquainted with the intrigues of royal cabinets, were jealous that if they in any way parted with the country, it might become the property of the French ; and finding the condition of their funds improving, reconsidered their order passed a year since for selling it, and resolved to keep it.

A great question then arose‡—how shall the Province be governed? It was argued by some, that all the assignable rights and interest of Gorges were pecuniary, not political ; that allegiance was personal, and civil power vested in an individual, was not transferable ; and that a public functionary could never delegate his authority ; the sale and purchase of office being a manifest

* Hon. David Sewall, A. D. 1794.—3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 9-10.—1 Coll. Maine Hist. Soc. p. 285-6.

† Supposed to be “ 9,600 square miles.”—1 Doug. p. 389.—80 by 120 miles.

‡ Sullivan, p. 384.

A. D. 1679. outrage upon every principle of civil liberty.—But other reasons and arguments, appearing to be more satisfactory, prevailed. For the royal charter to Sir Ferdinando, passed unto him, “his heirs and assigns,” the jurisdiction as well as the property. Massachusetts in her corporate capacity, had by lawful purchase, become the assignee and lord proprietor of the Province; as Lord Baltimore was of Maryland, and the Penns of Pennsylvania. Still, it was plain the Province must be governed according to the provisions and stipulations in the charter—not as a constituent of Massachusetts colony; for, 1. she by the purchase had recognized a right in Gorges; and 2. the north-easterly limits of her own territory, had, by a late decision in 1677, been restricted to an imaginary line, three miles from the mouth and north bank of the Merrimack.*

A. D. 1680.
February.
Gorges’
charter as-
sumed.

It was determined, therefore, by the General Court, in February, 1680, to assume the royal charter granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and in conformity with its provisions, to frame a civil administration over the Province. For this purpose, the general oversight and direction of its affairs were, by a legislative ordinance, committed to the Governor and Board of Colony Assistants. The government they established, was this—to have a *Provincial President*, chosen by them from year to year, and two legislative branches;—the upper one was to be a *Standing Council* of eight members, and the other to be a popular delegation, consisting of *deputies* chosen by towns as in Massachusetts. The Council, who were to be appointed by the Board of Assistants, and continue in office during their pleasure, were to be the judges of a Supreme Court, and magistrates through the Province. The legislative body was to meet at least once in every year.

Thomas
Danforth P.
President.

The Board of Assistants then proceeded to elect a President, and the choice fell upon THOMAS DANFORTH, at that time Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts.† He was a gentleman of handsome talents, and good education, and at this period, possessed a great weight of character. He was born in England, A. D. 1622, came over in early life, and before 1679, the first year of his

* 4 Mass Rec. p. 173-193.

† As Mr. Danforth’s residence was in Cambridge (Mass.), when he was absent from Maine, his place was supplied by a Deputy-President, pro tempore. B. Pendleton, and J. Davis were Deputy-Presidents.

being Deputy-Governor, he had been twenty years an Assistant. A. D. 1680. Besides being president of the board of Commissioners of the United Colonies, he had previously for several terms presided in the County Court of Yorkshire. His wisdom, firmness and prudence, qualified him to conduct difficult public affairs with success; and his uncompromising opposition to arbitrary power, and his high-minded republican politics, rendered him preeminent in popular estimation. He held the office of President of Maine, till the dissolution of the Massachusetts charter.*

To assist President Danforth in organizing and arranging the civil affairs of the Province, and holding a term of the judicial courts, the present season, the Board of Assistants, after the General Election in May, appointed Samuel Nowel, a special commissioner. He was an Assistant this year, and the next, he was appointed against his will, to the office of joint agent with Mr. Stoughton to England. He had been a minister of the gospel,† was a man of reflection and good sense, and in politics, strongly attached to the high republican party of his times.

Several obstacles lay in the way of their progress, which the General Court found it difficult to remove. There were royalists and episcopalians in the Province and elsewhere, always complaining to the crown against Massachusetts, and never willing to be her subjects; and the king himself was still pursuing his demand of the country. In his address to the General Court, about this time, he says,—‘It is marvellous that you should exclude ‘from office, gentlemen of good lives and estates, merely because ‘they do not agree with you in the *congregational* way; especially since liberty of conscience was the principal motive of ‘your first emigration. Nor is this the only thing to be noticed. ‘The title-deeds of Maine, we expect will be surrendered to the ‘crown, on the advancement of the purchase-money and interest.

* He was after this among the most prominent opponents to Governor Andros’ administration, and acted as president of the Council, when the people took the government from him. Restored to the office of Deputy-Governor, on the re-assumption of colony authorities, he continued to hold it till the charter of William and Mary; under which, in 1695, he was appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature. He died at his seat in Cambridge, A. D. 1699, aged 77. His only son, Samuel, a graduate at Harvard, died in England, 1771.—See the *Biog. Dictionaries of Rev. Dr. Allen and Rev. Dr. Elliot. Article Danforth Thomas.*

† 1 Hutch. Coll. p. 535.

A. D. 1680. ‘ We likewise mention to you, “ the acts of trade and navigation,” ‘ passed A. D. 1672, for the whole of New-England, and inform ‘ you, we have appointed under them, our trusty and well beloved ‘ subject, Edward Randolph, collector, surveyor, and searcher.’*

Randolph's
representations.

Randolph, the evil genius of the country, who first visited it four years before, was already here, engaged in the exercise of his office. He was the emissary of the Lords Commissioners of foreign plantations, to whom he made long and exaggerated statements. He early undertook the vindication of Edmund Andros, in all his measures as well at Sagadahock as New-York. To his judicious management, Randolph imputed the late peace with the Indians ; and represented, that if, according to his advice, the Mohawks had been sooner introduced into the public service, the war might have been shortened and many of its calamities averted. He even presumed to assert that the people of Massachusetts, especially “ the Bostoners,” had a strong antipathy to Sir Edmund, and at one time had greatly interrupted the trade between that colony and New-York ; and that while they were giving countenance to an illicit trade with the Acadians, they were exciting among the eastern inhabitants great jealousies towards that people, and encouraging a most shameful Indian traffic. Yes, said he, the Indians “ to get their fill of rum and brandy, will strip themselves to their skins ;” and then the depositaries of the law will whip and fine them for drunkenness. In a word, Massachusetts, according to his representations, was coining money, making laws averse to those of the mother country, purchasing dominions, and aiming to be a free state.†

To such aspersions, the colony rulers were ready to repeat, as often as it was expedient, the facts previously stated to the ministry, through the medium of a letter addressed to the Earl of Sunderland, in which they say, ‘ our lives and treasures have ‘ been unsparingly sacrificed to rescue Maine from the utter ruin ‘ attempted by a barbarous and bloody enemy ;—sacrifices for ‘ which we have never received nor requested of the Provincials ‘ the least remuneration. We have from many of them, the fullest assurances of their past satisfaction with our course, and of ‘ their desire still to be connected with us, and their unwilling-

* Letter, dated July 24, 1679, entire in Hutch. Coll. p. 519–22.

† See *Randolph's Narrative* entire.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 477–511.

'ness to hazard a change : and, as we without the least shadow A. D. 1680,
'of disloyalty obtained title to the Province, a twelvemonth after
'his Majesty decided it to be in Gorges, it is our duty to favor
'the inhabitants and provide them with a free systematic admin-
'istration.'*

Early in the year, Messrs. Danforth and Nowel repaired to York ;† and so far as we can learn from the mutilated records and slender evidences preserved, the former proclaimed his authority, exhibited his commission of Provincial President, and being assisted by Mr. Nowel, now reported an administration of government consisting of a Council, and an Assembly of Deputies, to be elected by the several towns.‡ But there were evidently many malcontents and objectors. Some preferred to be a constituent of the Massachusetts government, rather than its colony. No less than 115 of the inhabitants, resident in different parts of the Province, subscribed and transmitted a petition to the king, complaining of a tax of £3,000 as an intolerable burden imposed on three towns only, viz. York, Kittery and Wells, to defray the charges of the late Indian war, and praying his Majesty 'to re-establish among them his royal authority, and allow them to 'have a government of their own, according to the laws and constitutions of the Province, till his pleasure be further known.'§

It had, however, been ascertained, that the principal objection to the paramount jurisdiction of Massachusetts, would arise from the *eastern* inhabitants of the Province. Many of them were holding lands under the Lygonian proprietors ; and might foster jealousies and fears of being disturbed in their possessions. They had, too, in the previous administration of justice, received some special favors ; and a few were bold enough to utter threats of resistance, unless their rights, interests and privileges, were first fully secured to them.

Before the war, they were entertained with the prospect of a new settlement eastward of Falmouth, under a grant from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, or his son ; and the revival of the enterprize was now desired, both by them and the surviving grantees. It

* 4 Mass. Rec. p. 469, 489.

† 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 296.—Perhaps the first meeting was in March.

‡ Elliot's Biog. Dic. p. 146.

§ 1 *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* p. 302—3.—See there the names.

A. D. 1680. would be a frontier barrier eastward, against the Indians in the event of a rupture; and would offer many advantages inviting to settlers. The township was described as originally lying ten miles on the seacoast, or Magocook bay, from the south-eastern corner of Falmouth, and extending from the water, five miles in width on each side of *Westecustego** [now Royall's] river; and thence northerly, or back from the coast, about nine or ten miles, according to the run of the river, or 2 and 1-2 leagues in direct course at right angles from the shore. As requested, therefore, the General Court at their spring session of this year, confirmed it to Joseph Phippon and the other surviving proprietors.† In this act of confirmation, were reserved to Massachusetts, all the rights and royalties, belonging by the provincial charter to the Lord Proprietor. It also required the proprietors, or their legal representatives, to assign to the President of the Province, 300 acres for a farm, in any part of the plantation, where he might make the selection; to pay, after the first seven years, annual rent-charge of five beaver skins forever; and to settle at least thirty families and a minister of the gospel within two years.

The provincial charter itself was generally acknowledged to be excellent;—containing more privileges, and less restrictions, than any other of similar character, which had received the royal signature. To conciliate the people of Casco bay, Governor Bradstreet addressed to them, from Boston, a letter, dated June 4th, in which he says—‘As we have become the proprietors of the royal charter, and have concluded to settle a government in the Province according to its provisions;‡ any opposing measures will render the authors of them obnoxious to punishment. Let the emergency be avoided;’ for “you shall have protection, and all provision made for your security and improvement, consistent with the principles of that charter and your greatest

Casco.

June 4.

*“Swegustagoe.”—4 *Mass. Rec.* p. 373.

† The first set of trustees consisted of Bartholomew Gedney, Joshua Scottow, Sylvanus Davis and Walter Gendell, appointed, July 13, 1681.—*N. Yarmouth Records.*

‡ One account states, that the provincial government was settled, March 17th, 1680, and warrants issued for the choice of Deputies to the “General Assembly,” to be holden at York; and the session commenced there, March 30th, 1680.—Perhaps the eastern towns were not then reconciled, nor represented.

“good,”—and to close, we, “your loving friends, commend you A. D. 1680.
“to the guidance and protection of Almighty God.”

To prevent, therefore, the usurpations and encroachments of Governor Andros, as well as to quiet the people of Casco,* and settle a government through the Province, President Danforth, Mr. Nowel and Mr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, another Assistant, embarked in August, from Boston, with sixty soldiers, in a ship and sloop, and proceeded to “*Fort Loyal*,” then commanded by Capt. Edward Tyng. This was a public garrison, erected on the southerly shore of Casco-neck, [in Portland], in pursuance of a legislative order, passed four years before;† and now furnished with munitions of war. Here President Danforth and the two Assistants, as special commissioners, had a consultation with the inhabitants, in which they became acquainted with their wants and wishes, and made to them a proposition for convoking a General Assembly of Deputies from the whole Province, at York, in the ensuing spring, agreeably to the provisions of the charter.

But according to one account, the freeholders in the Province of Maine, being summoned, met at York, March 17th, 1680; and a commission, under the seal of the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, was openly exhibited and read, thereby declaring themselves the lawful assigns of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and giving notice, that they had erected and constituted a *Court and Council*, and deputed THOMAS DANFORTH, Esq. for the first year, President:—“to the end that the above named Province might “be protected in the enjoyment of their just rights and privileges, “according to the rules of his Majesty’s royal charter, granted “unto the above named Sir F. Gorges, Kt.” Warrants for the choice of deputies to the General Assembly to be holden at York, were issued for a session in March, or perhaps June. *Major Bryan Pendleton* was appointed Deputy-President, and authorized with the assistance of other members of the Council, or Magistrates, to hold intermediate terms of the Court. Pendleton was among the earliest colonists of Massachusetts, and settled in Watertown, which he represented six years in the General Court of Massachusetts; and in 1646, he commanded the military corps, since denominated the ‘Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company’ in Boston. He resided in Portsmouth several

* 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 297.

† See ante, 1676, chap. xx.

A. D. 1680. years ; from which he removed to Saco, in 1665. He signed a petition to the king as Deputy-President, in 1680, praying 'for aid in rebuilding the towns wasted and desolate,' by reason of the late Indian war. He died soon afterwards. He was succeeded in the office of Deputy-President, by John Davis of York. Deputies were chosen from year to year by towns, and annual sessions of the General Assembly were holden at York, for five or six years.*

The subject of the new township, among other things, was presented to the President and Commissioners ; and the following order, passed at their adjournment, shews in some degree the power they were authorized to exercise.—'At Fort Loyal in 'Falmouth, 22d Sept. 1680 ; it is ordered, for the further enlargement and encouragement of the settlement on Westecustego river'—"that the waste lands lying between the said grant and Falmouth, shall be added to the township ; and also an Island lying between the sea and said township, called New-Damariscove. It is also hereby ordered and declared, that the name of the said plantation shall be *North-Yarmouth*,†

"Pr. THOMAS DANFORTH, *President*."

Sept. 22.
North-Yarmouth.

* An election sermon was preached at the commencement of each annual session ; the one in 1683, being delivered by Rev. Shubael Dummer of York. It seems some towns sent two deputies, and some one, to the General Assembly, Saco sent, in 1681, John Harmon ; in 1682, John Davis ; 1683, Benjamin Blackman ; in 1684, John Sargent ; and in 1685, George Turfrey. But it appears that Mr. Davis, however, was "disaccepted as a scandalous person,"—for by a colony ordinance of Massachusetts, the spirit of which seems to have been transferred hither, a deputy must be 'sound in the orthodox faith—and not scandalous in conversation.'

† This is the 8th town in the Province. (a) Its name was taken, probably, from *Yarmouth*, in England. The town records begun, A. D. 1680, [1st vol. folio, 321 pages,] and carefully preserved, contain many valuable facts. Three towns have since been taken from North-Yarmouth ;—viz. Freeport, A. D. 1789 ; Pownal, in 1808 ; and Cumberland, in 1821.—See *Sullivan*, p. 182, 191.—An early settler, was John Mare, at a point now in Brunswick, called "Mare-point." William Royall came over about 1630 ; made a purchase of Gorges, 1643 ; in 1653 he settled on the east side of Westecustego river, with J. Cousins, R. Bray, and John Maine. A fort was early built near the mouth of Royall's river, for the accommodation

(a) *Appledore* [see A. D. 1661] was properly the 8th town established ; but it seems not to have retained its name in subsequent years, and therefore its number is omitted in the enumeration.

The report of the President and Commissioners, the general A. D. 1681. affairs of the Province, and the expediency of maintaining a January 7. garrison at Fort Loyal, were referred to a committee of seven Fort Loyal garrisoned. members, at the January session of the General Court, in 1681 ; when it was resolved that a garrison, well established, would be an asylum and safeguard of the people on any sudden incursions of the Indians, and also greatly encourage husbandmen "to replant themselves in this town and the vicinity;" and that it ought to be maintained and continued at the charge of Massachusetts, provided the people of Maine would furnish and pay six soldiers to man it.*

Next, a form of government, like that under Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was fully established, and a civil administration organized, under a commission from the Governor and Council of Massachusetts.—It seems the first *Provincial Council*, consisting of eight members, were BRYAN PENDLETON, CHARLES FROST, FRANCIS HOOK, JOHN DAVIS, JOSHUA SCOTTOW, SAMUEL WHEELWRIGHT, and JOHN WINCOLN;—EDWARD RISHWORTH was Secretary of the Province, or Recorder; and either he or

Form of government in Maine.

The Council.

and defence of the inhabitants. But they were compelled by the Indians, in 1676 and in 1688, to abandon the settlement and the fort. The town was revived in 1680, and again in 1722, and resettled.—[See *post*, A. D. 1722.]—In the second year of the *Spanish, or fifth Indian war*, A. D. 1745, the inhabitants suffered severely by the savage enemy. Of the persons killed, were Messrs. Greely and Eaton. The house of John Maine, at Flying-point, was broken up and a child killed in its mother's arms. This point is S. E. of Harraseeket river, in Freeport; and three or four miles eastward of the settlement on the westerly side of Royall's river, towards its mouth. Subsequent to the capture of Canada and the close of the Indian wars, the town has had a flourishing growth; so that when it was divided, in 1789, it contained upwards of 3,000 inhabitants; having at that time a greater number than any other town in the county of Cumberland. The number in Freeport, in 1790, was 1330. The sole minister of North-Yarmouth, at this time, was Rev. T. Gilman. But on the 26th of June, 1794, there was set off from his Society the *North-west Congregational Society*, and a meeting-house was built; and on the 20th of June, 1797, a *Baptist Society* was incorporated for North-Yarmouth and Freeport; and Elder Thomas Green was settled. There are several Islands which are attached to North-Yarmouth; especially *Great and Little Gebeag*. It was first represented in the General Court, in 1742, by Cornelius Soule, between 1745 and 1766, by Jeremiah Powell, and in 1773, by John Lewis. Mr. Powell was an eminent man of his age, and many years a member of the Council.

* 4 Mass. Rec. p. 310.

A. D. 1681. EDWARD TYNG* belonged also to the Council. *Major Pendleton* of Saco, was chosen Deputy-President—as stated by the former account. *Mr. Tyng*, a worthy, well-informed and active citizen, had been an Assistant in the legislature of Massachusetts. He married the daughter of Thaddeus Clark, an emigrant from Ireland to the peninsula or neck, in 1663,—a respectable freeholder and resident on what has since been called Clark's point [in Portland.] In 1684, under President Danforth's administration, Clark was a deputy to the General Assembly, from Falmouth. *Messrs. Frost and Hook*† were both of Kittery; the former had represented his town several years in the General Court, and was now appointed *Commandant of the Regiment*:—The latter, supposed to have been the son of William Hook, one of Gorges' first Council, was *Province Treasurer*. *Mr. Davis* lived at York, had been the commanding officer of the militia company, and in the late war had distinguished himself as a brave and discreet soldier. He succeeded Pendleton as Deputy-President in the year 1681. *Mr. Scottow*, originally from Boston, dwelt in Scarborough;‡—a name identified with the author of "the old man's tears."§ *Mr. Wheelwright* was a son of the Reverend founder of Wells, and afterwards a Councillor in the General Court of Massachusetts. *Mr. Wincoln* of Newichawannock settlement, in Kittery, captain of the town company, was a brave officer and had been several years a deputy to the General Court.—These Councillors, or Magistrates, called themselves *Justices*, as they held the judicial courts of the Province.

A general assembly.

In June, the President and Council met in General Assembly, with deputies or representatives from the several towns; where, after political subjects were discussed, they at length agreed upon the following propositions, and adjourned to August. The number in the lower branch this year is not ascertained; but four

* 10 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 181.—If *Mr. Tyng* was not of the Council the first year, he was afterwards Councillor. He was now Captain of the garrison.—It is supposed the members of the Council were designated by the Massachusetts Board of Assistants, who acted as substitutes for the original Lord Proprietor.

† Hook now of Saco—thence removed to Kittery.

‡ Capt. Scottow was a man of great public spirit, and did much towards defending Scarborough against the Indians. From his name is Scottow's Hill.—*MS. Letter of Rev. N. Tilton.* § 3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 300.

years afterwards, there were 6 Councillors or Assistants, and 12 A. D. 1681. Deputies.*

*On the part of the Province, the articles were these:—*1. All public charges henceforth arising in the Province, whether for government, protection or otherwise, shall be defrayed out of the provincial treasury. 2. A garrison at Fort Loyal, sufficient for its defence, shall at all times be maintained at the charge of the Province, and the command of it belong to the Provincial President. 3. All who have taken patents or leases from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs or agents, shall perform their respective covenants to Massachusetts, the present chief proprietor, in acknowledgement of her right to the soil. 4. All other inhabitants and residents shall severally pay into the provincial treasury for the use of the chief proprietor and the support of government, a stipend for himself and family, in this ratio,—that is, if a person's single county or province tax be 2 shillings or less, he shall render 1 shilling—if it exceed 2s. then 3s. will be exacted of him. 5. To meet and defray the provincial expenditure, entitled "*Public Charge*," all persons, all estates, and all landholders, whether resident within or without the Province, shall be equally rated and taxed; with the exemptions only of town commons and the public lands of the chief proprietor.—6. *On the part of Massachusetts;—*She must grant and guaranty unto the inhabitants of the Province, a full acquittal and discharge forever, of all claims and demands due for time past to the chief proprietor, by charter or otherwise; and all townships and other tracts granted either by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Massachusetts, or their respective agents, and all streams and mill-sites which may be hereafter granted, must be forever exempt from rent, and every other claim of the chief proprietor, or Provincial President;—excepting when the defence of them shall render an assessment necessary and reasonable.†

The General Assembly of Maine, convening, August 18, pursuant to adjournment, concluded to adopt the propositions or *Articles*; and consequently they were tacked to a petition and transmitted to the General Court of Massachusetts.

August 18.
General assembly
adopt the
articles.

All the articles received the unqualified approbation of that body, to which a few others were added. The Provincial Presi-

* Perhaps these measures belong to the year 1680.

† 4 Mass. Rec.

A. D. 1681. dent was directed to execute under his official signature and seal to landholders, legal confirmations of their real estates; without any other exactions at the time, than the said stipend of one or three shillings,* reserved to the chief proprietor, and paid in acknowledgement of the tenure or the grantor's right of soil. All suitable exertions shall be used for the people's safety and defence;† and the revenue accruing to the chief proprietor shall be appropriated to those purposes. The arrears, due to the commander of Fort Loyal, to the soldiers, and the purveyor of supplies, shall be discharged by Massachusetts; and after this, the charges of supporting the garrison shall be defrayed out of the revenue arising from the Indian trade. Every subsequent grant of lands was to be first made by the General Court, and then confirmed by deed of the Provincial President.

Province
Treasurer's
duties.

In completing the arrangement of public affairs, Francis Hook, the Province Treasurer, was appointed to receive the stipends, or tenure-fees on the confirmations of titles to landholders;‡ to take possession of all houses and real estates, belonging to the chief proprietor or his agents, or to the late servants of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, or his heirs; to prosecute by law all such as improperly withhold possession; and furthermore, with advice of the Provincial President, to make leases of such lands and tenements belonging to the chief proprietor, as may enure and be for his sole use and benefit.

The President's
powers.

The President, according to the charter, had the power of appointing the commander of the garrison; all militia officers; the marshal; and all justices of the peace.§ In the Council, which was the Supreme Court of Judicature, he presided; and in the

* The lands within Lygonia were confirmed by the President to boards of trustees, to be distributed according to individual ownership; the trustees of North-Yarmouth being Jere. Dummer, Walter Gendell, John Royall, and John York; those of Falmouth, 1684, were Edward Tyng, Sylvanus Davis, Mr. Gendell, Thaddeus Clark, Anthony Brackett, Dom. Jordan, George Brimhall, and Robert Lawrence.

† A garrison was established at Fort Loyal, to be supported partly by Maine and partly by Massachusetts. For which purpose, all the saw-mills in the Province, 24 in number, were taxed about £92, 10s.

‡ President Danforth was authorized, May 11, 1681, by an instrument under the Colony seal, to make those confirmations.

§ Justices were appointed in towns, where no Councillor dwelt. Mr. Blackman was a Justice of the peace in Saco.

enactment of laws, his approbation was requisite. Though after A. D. 1681. the first year, the towns were represented in the General Assembly by Deputies, and full powers for the regulation of the affairs of the Province appear to have been committed to the legislative body ; its proceedings were of a very mixed character. Laws were made and enforced ; legal questions settled ; letters of administration granted, and wills proved ; roads laid out, military commissions issued ; provisions made for the public safety in case of war ; the religious affairs of towns superintended ; and in short, every subject of public and many of private interest, according to the usage and example of Massachusetts, came under the cognizance of the Court. One act or order prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians under a penalty of 20s. for every pint sold to them ; and also all trade with them without license from government was forbidden. The charter was neither silent nor definite upon the subject of religion, in its letter only, paying special deference to the Episcopal Communion ; hence the Provincial Rulers were actuated by the orthodox principles prevalent in Massachusetts. A single case will shew the spirit of the times.

The Baptists made their first appearance in Maine, A. D. 1681 ; when several persons in Kittery, embracing their tenets, were baptized by immersion. One of their brethren, *William Screven*, manifesting great zeal in religion, became their leader in worship and devotion. He was born in England, A. D. 1629. Emigrating to Kittery in early life, he married Bridget Cutts, and the fruits of the union were eleven children. His talents were naturally of a splendid order. He possessed a lively imagination, a glowing heart, and was a good English scholar. Edified and enlivened by his rare gifts and ardent piety, his religious associates gave him testimonials of fair character and full communion ; representing him *to be in the eye of charity, one whom God had qualified and furnished with the gifts and graces of his Holy Spirit, to open and apply the good word, which through the blessings of the Lord Jesus Christ, might be by him made effectual and useful* ;—commending him to the fellowship of their Baptist brethren in Boston. In his visit to them they encouraged him in his labors of love and zeal ; and committed him to the

The Baptists persecuted.

A. D. 1682. faith and fellowship of the saints, wherever God in his Providence might call him to exercise his abilities.

The proselytes of this sect, when their sentiments became known, excited so much notice, that Mr. Hooke, one of the magistrates, or Provincial Council,* and Mr. Woodbridge, minister of the parish, sent a summons to all who had attended a Baptist meeting, requiring them to appear and answer for their offence. They presented themselves accordingly, when the magistrate threatened them with a fine of 5s., if they presumed again to offend in that way.

August.
Mr. Screven
fined.

Mr. Screven, on returning, was likewise summoned before the General Assembly, at their August session; and after being examined upon the subject of unlawful preaching and holding religious meetings, he was fined £10, for his past offences; and ordered never more to have any public religious exercises whatever, at his own house or elsewhere, especially on the Sabbath.

His refusal to submit to the injunction, was deemed a contempt of his Majesty's authority, and the Court awarded sentence against him;—*that he in future forbear from his turbulent and contentious practices;—give bond for his good behavior;—and stand committed till the judgment of Court be complied with.*

August 17

August 17, 1682.

EDWARD RISHWORTH, Recorder.

But against all opposition, a church of eight male members was embodied, Sept. 25; and the next year, they with Mr. Screven and their families removed to Cooper-river in South-Carolina.† This is said to have been the only instance of religious persecution within the limits of this State.

Scarborough.

At this time the settlements in the Province had greatly revived.‡ Scarborough, for instance, which had been depopulated in the late war and most of its houses reduced to ashes, contained, in 1681, fifty-six ratable polls, many large fields and eighty

* The Deputies or Representatives in the General Assembly, in 1682, were Nicholas Shapleigh from Kittery; Abraham Preble, and John Puddington, York; John Harmon, and Benjamin Blackman, Saco; and Anthony Brackett, Falmouth. George Turfrey was Deputy for Saco; and George Ingersoll for Falmouth, A D, 1685.

† Greenleaf's Ecc. Hist. p. 240—1.

‡ There were at this time in the Province of Maine, 24 saw-mills; viz. in Kittery 5, and Quampegan 1; in York 3; in Wells 6; in Cape Porpoise 3; in Saco 3; and in Casco 3, including that of Sylvanus Davis, and one at Presumpscot.—See ante, p. 563, (note †).

cows. The town records were commenced the same year; a A. D. 1682. tax of 2s. 1d. was assessed, on every man, in 1682, "for the Lord;" and in 1684,* the land-titles were confirmed by President Danforth, to Capt. Scottow and other trustees for proprietors,—according to the practice in all the Lygonian towns.†

Besides the preceding confirmations of land-titles; several Grants of land. tracts of a thousand acres were granted; namely, one lot at Mer-ryconeag-neck to the college; one to the colony-treasurer, Mr. Russell; House Island, to Mary Mountjoy; and Swan Island, claimed under an Indian purchase, was confirmed to Humphrey Davy.

Large tracts of woodland, being unproductive to individual Woodland first taxed. proprietors, had never hitherto been taxed. But their gradual rise in value, particularly in the vicinity of settlements, the occasional appearance of speculators, and the burdens of the late war, wrought a change in public opinion; and the General Court ordered an annual tax of 2s. to be assessed on every lot of 100 acres, and collected by the marshal, provided the land was lying without the limits of a corporate town. This probably originated the practice which prevailed to the time of the Separation, of taxing *unimproved* lands, at a lower rate according to their value, than any other property.‡

It was auspicious to the Province at this time, that she was separated from Massachusetts, harassed as that colony was by her persevering enemies. Even twenty of her ablest and most popular statesmen, President Danforth being one, were not only denounced by Randolph for their republican patriotism and politics, as basely factious: but they had moreover been pursued by him, two years, in articles§ of impeachment or accusation before the throne; charging them with high misdemeanors and offences. With them was also identified the charter of Massachusetts, which was assailed with so much force and virulence, that the General Court directed their agents in England, to resign the title-deeds of Maine to the crown, provided any such expedient

A. D. 1683.
President
Danforth
and others
persecuted.

* *Rev. N. Tilton's MS. Letter.*—A dispute about setting the meeting-house was referred to E. Tyng and F. Hooke, two of the Council.

† The population of the Province at this time might be 6 or 7,000; New-Hampshire, contained 4,000; 4 townships; 450 militia.—*Chalmers*, p. 494.

‡ 4 Mass. Rec. p. 410—11. § See the articles.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 526.

A. D. 1683. could preserve from wreck the colony charter—yet never to concede a single right or principle it contained.

But as unconditional submission was what the king imperiously required, the duties of the agents were at an end ; and Oct. 23, they arrived in Boston, closely followed by Randolph, with a writ of *Quo Warranto*, sued out of the Chancery Court at White Hall, July 20th, preceding. The precept was soon served upon the Governor, and, being returned, no facts, no arguments, no influence, could prevent a decree of Court against the charter. The royal prerogative was in truth at war with all charters. That of London itself had been assailed ; several others in England had been surrendered ; and this of Massachusetts, on the 18th of June 1684, was adjudged to be forfeited ; and the liberties of the colonies were seized by the crown.

A. D. 1684.
June 18.
Colony
charter of
Massachu-
setts vacat-
ed.

King's
death.

The decree was immediately succeeded by the appointment of Colonel Kirke, Governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New-Hampshire and Maine ;—a man of more opprobrious memory, or more universally disgusting to the colonists, could not have been found.* But happily for them, before he was prepared to embark, a demise of the king happened, Feb. 16, 1685, which annulled the appointment ; and his brother and successor, James II. did not incline to renew it.

That monarch was publicly proclaimed at York, in April, The Provincial Assembly of Maine, this year, consisted of the President, Deputy-President, six Councillors, Magistrates or Justices, and twelve Deputies.†

* To understand what sort of characters were sometimes selected to govern these colonies, a few facts relative to *Kirke* may be mentioned. He had been lately withdrawn from the Tangier Fort, in Fez, on the African shore ; and entered the army on the crown's side against the Duke of Monmouth. At one time, in this civil war, he ordered 19 of his fellow citizens, taken in arms, to be hanged without the form of a trial. Once he ordered at every health he drank, a person to be hanged. A young maid, flinging herself at his feet, pleaded for the life of her brother, with all the persuasives which the charms of beauty and innocence bathed in tears could inspire. Not softened by love or clemency, yet influenced by desire, the tyrant promised to grant her request, provided she would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions. But after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage shewed her from his window her brother suspended on a gibbet. In the midst of dishonor, rage and despair, she became distracted.—6 *Hume*, p. 216.

† In 1684, the General Assembly appointed J. Scottow, Edward Tyng,

By thus vacating the colony charter of Massachusetts, the A. D. 1684. ties which connected the Provincials of Maine with that people were loosened; and some of them took fresh encouragement in resuming purchases of the natives. A most important deed of conveyance to Richard Wharton, was executed July 7, 1684, by Warumbee, and five other Anasagunticook Sagamores. It was at first supposed, the conveyance included the lands between Cape Small Point and Maquoit, thence extending northward on the western side of the river Androscoggin four miles in width to the Upper Falls;* and from these, five miles in width on the other side of the river, down to Merrymeeting bay, including the Islands upon the coast. The deed itself premised, that Thomas Purchas, the first possessor of the tract, settled near the center of it about 60 years before, and obtained, according to report, a patent from England;† that Nicholas Shapleigh had at some time purchased of the Sagamores Merryconeag peninsula,‡ Sebascodegan Island, and the other Islands between Cape Small Point and Maquoit, and had died seized of them; that the widows and heirs of Purchas and Shapleigh, after a few reservations, had joined in a quit-claim of the whole to Wharton; and that the six Sagamore grantors, wishing to encourage him in settling there an English town, and in promoting the salmon and sturgeon fishery, as well as in consideration of the money they had received, did grant and confirm to him the aforescribed tract. The deed was acknowledged by the Sagamores, July 21, before Edward Tyng, Esq. of Falmouth; a formal possession having been given “at the Fort of Pejepscot,” the day the deed was dated. But they reserved to themselves the use of all their an-

Pejepsot
purchase.

Sylvanus Davis, Walter Gendell and Nathaniel Fryer, to superintend the repairs of Fort-Loyal, and settle a chief officer over the garrison.

* 1 *Doug. Sum.* p. 390.—He says Mr. Wharton was a merchant of Boston. He supposed the purchase embraced “500,000 acres;” and was five miles in width on the west side of the river, and extended to a “certain fall in said river,”—probably much above Lewiston Falls; thence, as Douglass erroneously states, “northeast, about 144 miles to Kennebec.” It is true that subsequent proprietors have claimed as high as the Great Falls in Rumford.

† See ante, A. D. 1636, 1642. Post, A. D. 1715.—1 *Brit. Dom. N. Amer.* p. 292. ‡ But 1000 acres of this had just been granted to Harv. Col.

A D. 1684 cient planting grounds, and the accustomed privileges of hunting and fishing.
July.

This has been denominated "*the Pejepscot Purchase*;" and, owing to the indefinite description of the boundaries in the deed, and to the long controverted question, *what "falls"* were intended;—no other proprietary purchase or patent in the State, has caused so much discussion and controversy. For should the tract be bounded westward on North-Yarmouth, and restricted by diagonal lines, extending easterly and westerly from a point at the head of the second [or Lewiston] Falls, the purchase embraced only the territory of eight or nine townships, perhaps in all 200,000 acres;* less than half what Mr. Wharton might expect the purchase to contain.

Danforth's
administra-
tion.

It is evident, that under the presidency of Mr. Danforth, a legislative body had annual meetings; and government, as well as justice, was satisfactorily administered for six years.† To maintain a garrison at Fort Loyal, which appears to have been an object of general concern, a tax was laid upon all the saw-mills in the Province. In this way there were raised, by the year, £93; and at a session of "the Council and Representatives of the several towns, assembled at York, May 24th, 1682," they agreed with Anthony Brackett, for one year, to take the charge and command of the garrison, furnish provisions, ammunition, and every necessary article, and man it with six men in summer and four in the winter, for £160. Another important subject was that of confirming the land-titles, as mentioned in the 4th article of settlement; for which purpose, President Danforth, in 1684, conveyed to several boards of trust, the townships of Scarborough, Falmouth and North-Yarmouth; reserving to the chief proprie-

* A tier of towns on each side of Androscoggin, viz. on the west side, Harpswell, Brunswick, Durham, Danville, [lately Pejepscot] Poland, and part of Minot:—on the eastern side, Topsham, part of Bowdoin, Lisbon, and Lewiston.—See *Statement of Kennebeck Claims*, p. 8-11.

Note.—Possession was given by the Sagamores to John Blaney and his wife, who administered on the estate of Purchas; and they, for the heirs, passed the seizin to Wharton.

† Deputies from Falmouth to the General Assembly of the Province, in 1681 and 2, Anthony Brackett; in 1684, Thaddeus Clark; and in 1683 and 5, George Ingersoll.—Saco, in 1633, Benjamin Blackman; in 1684, John Sargent; and in 1685, George Turfrey.

tor a small quit-rent. The trustees then proceeded to make A. D. 1685. surveys and assignments to settlers and proprietors according to their just claims and rights; whereby they became quieted both as to titles and lines.

Great precaution was used in the establishment of new plantations, by reason of the fearful apprehensions conceived of another rupture with the Indians. For in the spring of 1685,* they disclosed unusual restlessness, also some symptoms of malignity. Their jealousies were moreover disturbed by a terrific story sent into circulation, that ‘two hundred Mohawks were coming to exterminate the eastern Indians.’† So much did John Hagkins, Sagamore of the Penacooks, believe the report, that he was induced to address a letter to the Governor of New-Hampshire, May 15, praying for protection, and adding, *if you never let “Mohogs” kill us, we’ll be submissive to your worship forever.* Troubles with the Indians.

Indeed, a renewal of hostilities was from month to month August 13. greatly and justly feared. Francis Hook sent a letter from his residence in Kittery, August 13, to Capt. Barefoot at Portsmouth, representing to him, from information received by a foot-post, that there were just grounds for apprehending some sudden design of the “heathen” against the inhabitants. ‘They have lately,’ said he, ‘been guilty of affronts in the vicinity of Saco, threatening the people and killing their dogs; and within the last three days, they have gathered all their corn, and moved off “pack and baggage.” “A word to the wise is sufficient.” “The proverb is, forewarned, forearmed.” “Myself and the rest in commission with us are setting ourselves in a posture of defence; and to-morrow our Council meet to consider what is needful to be done.’

But by timely and energetic measures, which eventuated in a treaty, the attack or mischief was averted. The Abenaques tribes were requested to attend the negotiation; and on the 8th A Treaty with four Tribes. Sept 8.

* In 1685, the General Assembly ordered, that Fort Loyal be the gaol or prison for the four associate towns of Saco, Scarborough, Falmouth and North-Yarmouth, and that “the justices in the respective towns, direct their mittimuses to the keeper of the gaol” there,—‘the charges for setting and keeping the same, to be paid from the common or Provincial treasury.’—*Willis’ Hist. Portland*, p. 181.

† 1 Belknap’s N. H. p. 334, 346.

A. D. 1685. of September, the treaty was concluded and signed by Lieut. Gov. Walter Barefoot and three of his Council, on the part of New-Hampshire ; and Francis Hook and John Davis, two of the Provincial Councillors of Maine ; also at different times by twelve Sagamores and Chiefs* from Penacook, Saco, Androscoggin and Kennebeck. By this it was agreed, 1. that there should be lasting friendship between the English and the Indians ; 2. that if either harm the other, the English shall be tried and punished by a Justice of the Peace, and the Indians by their Sagamore ; 3. that whenever any Indian shall manifest designs of mischief, the other Indians inhabiting these Provinces shall give notice to the English and assist them ; 4. that all the tribes, while in friendship, shall be protected against the Mohawks ; and 5. that whenever the Indians shall remove with their wives and children, without giving timely notice to the English, they may be apprehended, or war may be made upon them till the Sagamores render satisfaction.†

Colony of
Massachu-
setts.

This event was rendered more important by occurring amidst a revolution in the civil affairs of Massachusetts ; as her destiny would probably have an essential influence upon the political state of the Provincials in Maine. Symptoms of an expiring administration in that colony were apparent through the season. The charter was a dead letter ; and it was even doubtful, if an act passed this year, giving the magistrates a chancery jurisdiction, was valid.

A. D. 1686
May 12.
New admin-
istration.

In the organization‡ of the government, under the declining shadow of the colony charter, May 12, 1686, only 36 Deputies took their seats ; and the arrival of a commission from the king to JOSEPH DUDLEY, put an end to the General Court, on the third day of the session.§ Mr. Dudley was a native of Massachusetts, son to the first Deputy-Governor of the colony, a graduate of Harvard college, in 1665, and an Assistant as early as 1676 :—He possess-

J. Dudley
President.

* Kancamagus, [John Hagkins or Hawkins] ; Wahowah, or Hopehood, Kennebeck ; Natambomet of Saco, and others.

† 1 Belk. N. H. App. p. 348.

‡ *Hutch. Coll.* p. 543.—Bill of nomination.

§ Mr. Danforth was now removed from the office of President in Maine and a Court substituted, which was composed of Hon. William Stoughton, Judge ; John Usher and Edward Tyng, Esqrs. Assistants or Councillors ; and a Justice was appointed in each town. The Court sat at York in October.

ed eminent talents, and his aspiring ambition seldom met with its A. D. 1686. equal.

He was commissioned President of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Maine and Rhode-Island; and to assist him in the administration of government, fifteen mandamus Councillors were appointed by the crown. Edward Randolph was one; and the two designated for Maine were Edward Tyng, and Bartholomew Gedney.* Though the latter lived in Salem, he had property, frequent agencies, and occasional residence in Maine.

To the President and Council were committed the power of managing and directing all the political and judiciary affairs of these several colonies, without any house of deputies, or other co-ordinate branch of government. A majority of the Council constituted the Superior Court, which was to set three times in the year, probably in Boston, for the whole country. The County Courts were to be holden by a member of the Council, assisted by associate justices, commissioned for the purpose; from whose decisions appeals were allowable to the Council. The courts of probate were to be holden for Massachusetts at Boston, by the President himself as ordinary; and in each other Colony or Province, now considered a county, by a surrogate or substitute. Juries were to be "pricked" in each county, by the marshal and one justice of the peace, from a list given them by the selectmen of the towns.†

In general, all legal usages were observed. But Dudley's administration was short, and though unpopular, it was not grievous. It lasted only four months and 26 days; when he was superseded by *Sir Edmund Andros*. This man arrived at Boston, Dec. 20; and on the same day published his commission. He possessed a despotic disposition, and was strongly attached to the interests of the crown. Between 1674, and 1682, a period of eight years,‡ he had been ducal Governor of New-York and Sagadahock;—an office wherein his temper, imperious manners, and arbitrary

Dudley superseded by Gov. Andros.

* The other members of the Council were, William Stoughton, Simon Bradstreet, John Pyncheon, Peter Bulkley, Nathaniel Saltonstall, John Fitz Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, John Usher, Jonathan Tyng, Robert Mason, Richard Wharton, Dudley Bradstreet and John Hinckes.—When the board was full, twenty eight.—*Ellet*, p. 31.

† 1 Hutch. Hist. 316—1 Belk. N. H. p. 186.

‡ 1 Doug. p. 430.—He says "seven years."

A. D. 1686, politics, had rendered his name odious to many in the former Province ; and his character unpopular, among all classes in Massachusetts and Maine. Nevertheless, his master, James II. had now greatly enlarged his political sphere, by giving him a commission of Captain-General and Governor in Chief, over all his colonial dominions in New-England, without excepting Plymouth or Connecticut.

CHAPTER XXII.

The French in Nova Scotia and at Penobscot—Dutch there—Umbrage taken by the French Governor—Dutch seize upon Penobscot—Expelled—Andros succeeded by Dungan—He appoints Commissioners to Sagadahock—Their measures—Andros commissioned Governor of New-England—His administration—He plunders Castine at 'Biguyduce—Has a parley with the Indians at Pemaquid—Orders the fort there to be repaired—His treatment of the Indians—His eastern expedition—Garrisons established in Maine—Andros and his adherents thrown into prison—Council of Safety—Government under the Colony Charter resumed—James II. abdicates the throne—William and Mary proclaimed—Government of Maine reorganized—War between France and England—Policy of the Canadians—Nova Scotia subdued by Phips—His expedition to Canada—First paper money—Charter of William and Mary.

To preserve the country of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, against the incursions of adventitious invaders, the French after a repossession,* established forts at Port-Royal, Chedabucto, St. John's, La Heve and Penobscot. Mons. Mourillon de Bourg, acted as Governor; a profitable trade was pursued in furs, peltry and fish; French visitors and traders were multiplied; and the Jesuit missionaries labored with renewed zeal to christianize the natives. In other respects the country, for several years, was treated with great inattention;† Canada appearing to afford the principal attractions to the enterprize of the French. Meanwhile, the whole coast between Penobscot and St. Croix remained untouched by the arts of culture and improvement, and almost without inhabitants.

The Dutch had manifested early and great desires to share the North American coast with the English and French. Commercial in their pursuits, they knew how to set an adequate value upon water privileges; and after their treaty with England, A. D.

A. D. 1670,
to 1673.
Nova
Scotia.

The Dutch.

* Ante, A. D. 1668-9-1670, in Chap. xv.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 489.

† 40 *Universal Hist.* p. 9.—Population only 900 whites in Nova Scotia,

A. D. 1674. 1674, being still at war with France, they despatched an armed ship to seize upon the fort at Penobscot. In the capture, there was a loss of men on both sides,* The success was not pursued,—the enterprize offered no considerable gains,—and the possession acquired was not long retained.

The country was open and inviting to various adventurers. The Indian trade, masting and fishing, offered encouragements to enterprize; and several small vessels were employed in a friendly intercourse and trade between the Acadians, and the people of New-England. The cod-fishery upon the Acadian coast was free; and nothing interrupted the subsisting harmony and mutual correspondence, enjoyed by de Bourg, and the inhabitants of New-Hampshire, Maine and the Duke's Province, until the commencement of king Philip's war.†

A. D. 1675. By enquiries how the Indians could be so generally equipped and supplied with arms and means for assailing the English; it was sufficiently ascertained that they procured guns and ammunition of the Acadian traders, probably with the Governor's approbation; and the English colonists, from this circumstance, ventured to accuse, or at least suspect him of instigating the Indians to hostilities. De Bourg, affecting to be highly incensed towards the authors of these surmises and invectives, strictly inhibited his people from having any trade or intercourse with the English; and ordered an impost of 400 codfish to be demanded and taken of every vessel, found fishing upon the coast: and if they refused to render the number exacted, their fish and provisions should be seized and taken from them.‡

De Bourg
takes af-
front.

Dutch again
seize upon
Penobscot. Such was the peculiar antipathy generally entertained towards the principles and manners of the French, that any seizure of their dominions, it might be well supposed, would excite gratitude as well as pleasure among the English colonists. Possibly influenced by this motive—certainly by a perpetual desire of possessing a fine unoccupied region, the Dutch, again in the spring of 1676, sent a man-of-war to Penobscot, and captured the French fortification there; determining now to keep possession of the country. But, as this was a part of New-England, and within the Duke's Province; and as anticipations were entertained of its returning, amid some future events, to the English or their colonists,

A. D. 1676.

* Hutch. Coll. p. 464. † 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 280. ‡ Hutch. Coll. p. 489,

either by purchase, recession, or reconquest; two or three ves- A. D. 1676.
sels were despatched thither from Boston, which drove the Dutch
from the peninsula.* To the French this must have afforded
the greater satisfaction, because the English captors did not tarry,
but immediately abandoned the place.

These events and circumstances drew the attention of Gov- A. D. 1677.
ernor Andros to his master's Sagadahock Province; and in con- Gov. An-
nexion with other reasons induced him, in 1677, to take formal dros' acts
possession of the country—likewise, as previously stated,† to erect at Sagada-
a fort at Pemaquid. He was a man of activity; yet, through hock,
his whole administration, his aim at monopoly and usurpation,
rendered his conduct a subject of common animadversion.

He was succeeded in the government of New-York and A. D. 1683.
Sagadahock, August, 1683, by Col. Thomas Dungan; whose August.
appointment, by the Duke of York, was on the 30th of the pre- Andros suc-
ceding September. Though a papist, inflexible as his master, he ceeded by
is reputed to have been “a man of integrity, moderation and Dungan.
genteel manners.”‡ He entertained correct notions of civil
liberty, and was the first Governor, who convoked a Legislative
Assembly in the Province of New-York. He was a man of
good sense and judgment. When a rupture of the eastern In-
dians was apprehended, in 1684, his opinion was consulted by A. D. 1684,
the government of New-Hampshire, upon the wisdom and ex-
pediency of inviting the Mohawks into the public service.§ For,
though the French could neither subdue that brave people, nor
treat with them, he secured their friendship to the English this
year by treaty—which was succeeded, thirteen months and a A. D. 1685.
half afterwards, by another with the Abenagues before described.

Receiving his commission from the Duke of York, he was
unaffected by the demise of the crown, as before mentioned, Death of
Feb. 16, 1685;—still exercising the power and enjoying the Charles II.
emoluments of the office, until reappointed the next year, by the A. D. 1686.
same royal person, now James II. In the confirmation of his

* 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 280, 353.—President Danforth says, ‘it were better
‘to expend £3,000, to gain Canada itself, than that either the French
‘or Dutch should have it; such is the value of the fishery, masting, and
‘the fur trade.’

† Ante, p. 552.

‡ 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 461-3-4.

§ 1 *Belk. N. H.* p. 183, 322.—For the Mohawks were better acquainted
with the “Indians’ skulking fight.”

A. D. 1686. official authority, Dungan entered upon new projects of administration eastward.

Palmer and West, commissioners of the Duke's Province.

To superintend and manage the ducal Province at Sagadahock, he appointed two commissioners, John Palmer,* one of the Council in his Majesty's plantation and colony of New-York, and John West, one of his partisans and favorites, both eager of wealth and distinction; and, investing them with plenary powers, he sent them into the Province. They repaired to Pemaquid, early in the summer of 1686, and published their commission. Here they found most of the inhabitants returned to their places of abode, which had been forsaken in the late war; and Abraham Shurte, exercising the office of town clerk. They visited Sheepscot, New-Dartmouth, the other settlements, and the Islands; considering the provincial territory, as a county by the former name of *Cornwall*.

Their conduct.

Next, they proceeded to regrant or confirm the lands to the settlers, and to other claimants or possessors. In this transaction, they were not only guilty of mean and cruel avarice; "they were," as a cotemporary author expresses himself, "arbitrary as the grand Turk;"†—the basest oppressors of a poor, warworn, distressed people. In the single town or plantation of New-Dartmouth, it is stated, they executed about 140 leaseholds;‡ reserving an annual quitrent of 5s. for every 100 acre lot—or otherwise a bushel of merchantable wheat, or its value in money. The several tracts so leased to individuals, were generally intended to contain 100 acres, yet some were allowed only house-lots of 3 or 4 acres, and for executing any leasehold of 100 acres of woodland and 20 of marsh, they exacted the enormous fees of £2. 10s., and probably a proportionate sum for less or larger quantities. For themselves they made ample provisions, without much regard to the rights of any one; surveying to each other 10,000 acres, also to Mr. Graham the Attorney-General of Massachusetts and to some others, very large and valuable tracts of 6 or

* Palmer was also one of Andros' Council;—perhaps a Judge likewise.

† 2 Math. Mag. p. 510.

‡ See one of these deeds, in *Sullivan's Hist.* p. 162-4—It seems that Palmer acted by commission from "Rt. Hon. Col. Thomas Dungan," Governor in behalf "of our most gracious sovereign," King James II. supreme Lord of the Colony;—given under "the seal of the Colony;" and signed, "J. Palmer."—John Velf, Deputy Secretary.

8,000 acres. From the settlements upon the main, they proceed- A. D. 1686.
ed to the Islands; and even John Dalling, an old inhabitant of
Monhegan, found his only safety in taking from Palmer, Sept.
13, a leasehold of his own homestead upon that Island.

Besides the amount of money, being not less than 5 or £600, ^{The suffer-}
filched in this way from a distressed and enterprizing people; ^{ings of the}
the emissaries of the commissioners were busily engaged in ex- ^{people.}
citing among the timid settlers, the fears of being ejected from
their lands and homes, if they delayed to take the deeds and pay
the fees; and many were thus terrified into the measure.* But,
as their purchases were not surveyed nor the boundaries definitively
described, the soundness of their titles and extent of their
claims might still be questioned, and future contentions and troubles
be their unhappy doom:—a dilemma, which necessarily constrained
them to enquire, whether they ought to apprehend the most evils
from the savages, or from these harpies. Nor did the leaseholders
in fact, derive by these instruments any titles; none of them ever
prevailing against Indian deeds, or the grants under Elbridge and
Aldsworth.†

In the further execution of the power and trust committed to
them, Palmer and West were directed 'to lay claim to the ^{The com-}
'country as far eastward as the river St. Croix,'†—the limit of ^{missioners'}
the Duke's patent; and exercise over it the prerogatives of gov- ^{seize a car-}
ernment, to the extent of his power and right. Unadvised of these ^{go of wines}
facts, a shipmaster from Piscataqua, in the course of trade, pro- ^{at Penob-}
ceeded to Penobscot, with a cargo of wines, where they were land- ^{scot.}
ed under an idea, that the place was within the French territory.
But because they had not been entered in the custom-house at
Pemaquid, and the duties paid; Palmer and West sent and seized
them. This gave great affront both to the French and the people
of New-England. The government at Boston issued a general
circular to all fishermen and likewise to the inhabitants of
New-Hampshire and Maine, warning them not to venture upon
the eastern coasts, lest they should be surprized and compelled
to answer for injuries or damages, done even by

* Hutch. Coll. p. 547-563-5.

† Sullivan, p. 162.—The Commissioners, (*A. D.* 1811, *Report*, p. 23.) say,
'no claims under these leaseholds or grants were before them, except the
'rights of settlers, who held their possession under such deeds.'

‡ Hutch. Coll. p. 548.

A. D. 1686. others. However, through the influence of the French ambassador at the English court, a restoration of the wines was ordered, and the difficulty healed.

Dungan's administration unpopular. A. D. 1687. In Dungan's administration of five years, which terminated with the month of March, 1688, "he removed many Dutch families from the banks of the Hudson—to this Province;" whose residence was continued till the subsequent Indian war.* All his measures in this region, were rendered extremely unpopular, by the cupidity, and arbitrary procedure of his agents, Palmer, West and Graham; for "they placed and displaced at "pleasure," and some of the first settlers were denied grants of their own homesteads; while these men were wickedly dividing some 'of the best improved lands among themselves.†

Andros, Gov. of New-England; and his administration. At length the appointment of Sir Edmund Andros, A. D. 1687, Governor of "Massachusetts, Connecticut,‡ New-Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, Pemaquid, and Narragansett" or Rhode-Island, seemed to suspend or nullify Dungan's authority in the province of Sagadahock, and bring its jurisdiction into competition between the two rivals. Yet the dispute was soon settled, by a new commission in March, 1688, to Andros; appointing him Captain-General and Vice-Admiral over the whole of New-England, New-York, and the Jerseys.§ His Council consisted of *thirty-nine* members,|| any five of whom constituted a quorum. Edward Randolph was commissioned Secretary.

March, A. D. 1688.

* Sullivan, p. 291:

† Hutch. Coll. p. 565.

‡ 1 *Doug.* p. 374.—He says, "*Connecticut*" was named in the commission. But *Chalmers*, p. 419, does not mention *that* colony.

§ 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 473.

|| A list of Gov. Andros' Council:—[See 8 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 182. *New Series.*] *Massachusetts*—Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, John Pynchon, Richard Wharton, Jonathan Tyng, William Brown, and Edward Randolph.—*Maine*—Bartholomew Gedney and Edward Tyng.—*New-Hampshire*—John Usher, Robert Mason, Samuel Skrimpton and John Hinckes.—*Plymouth*—Thomas Hinkley, Barnabas Lathrop, William Bradford, Daniel Smith, John Sprague, John Walley, Nathaniel Clark, and John Cothill.—*Rhode-Island*—Walter Clark, Walter Newbury, John Green, Richard Arnold, Richard Smith, and J. Alborow.—*Connecticut*—Robert Treat, J. F. Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allen.—*New-York*—A. Brockholt, Francis Nicholson, Lt. Governor, Frederic Philipse, Anthony Baxter, Henry Couillard, John Young, and John Palmer.—*New-Jersey*—Nicholas Bayard. They are arranged by colonies so far as can be ascertained; though it is believed W. Winthrop was of Boston. Col. Gedney resided some time at York,—usually, at Salem.

The commission blended the several departments of govern- A. D. 1688.
ment, legislative, executive and judicial ; admitting the interposi- Gov. Andros' ad-
tion of no popular branch, and prescribing no particular form of ministra-
administration. Nor were the Governor and Council guided by tion.
any other instructions, or mandatory precepts, than the rules and
formulas of their own will and discretion. All statute-laws were
at their feet ; all taxes were subject to their command ; and land-
titles might be made their playthings.

It is true, Governor Andros at first, like king James, his master, made plausible professions. He gave sanction to all colonial laws not inconsistent with his commission ; he directed taxes to be assessed agreeably to former usages ;* and ordered a regular administration of justice, according to antecedent practices and the customs of the country.

But he soon proved himself a fit instrument of despotism, and a just object of general execration. Palmer, Mason, Brockholt, Usher and Randolph, of the Council, were his principal advisers, and West, Graham, and Bullivant, were his parasites and confidants. Seldom did he convene more than six or seven of the Council on any occasion,—even when his orders and measures touched the vital interests of the community. The people were permitted to meet in their primary assemblies, only once in a year, at the usual time of choosing their town officers. Those worshipping in the congregational way, were threatened with the loss of their meeting-houses, unless they reformed. No marriage was allowed to be solemnized, unless the parties or their friends were first bound in a bond with a penalty, to be forfeited unto the government, should any lawful impediment come to light. The press was restrained ; and land-titles were directly and fatally assailed. The doctrine was industriously spread and strenuously urged, that the inhabitants must have new patents of their real estate. Indian deeds were pronounced to be no better than “the scratch of a bear’s paw.” Nor could any old deeds of lands, or ancient titles to real estate, it was said, possibly be valid, in colonies where the charters were vacated ;—according to a pretended law-maxim of Grievances.

* A tax for 1688, was apportioned thus, *Kittery*, £16, 3s. 6d. ; *York*, £6, 1s. 10d. ; *Wells*, £4, 3s. 4d. ; *Saco*, £3, 19s. 2d. ; *Scarborough*, £3, 16s. 2d. ; *Falmouth*, £4, 8s. 4d. ; *Cape Porpoise*, £1, 0s. 10d. ; *Isle of Shoals*, £1, 0s. 10d. = £41, 14s. 4d. total ;—at one half-penny tax, for £1 valuation.

A. D. 1688. *the day—the unborn young dies with the expiring dam.*—Hence, Grievances under Andros. to procure a new assurance of land, it was necessary to file a petition, describing the lot and the claim, and praying for a confirmation; to obtain a favorable report from the committee to whom the petition was referred; to take a warrant for a survey and cause it to be effected, and a descriptive report to be made; and then, and not till then, could a deed be obtained:—large fees being exacted in every step and stage of the process.*—Sometimes it cost £30, to obtain a single deed, and £2, 10s. were demanded for the probate of a single will:—while Andros, the supreme ordinary or judge, and Dudley, his deputy, divided the emoluments between them.—However, it must be acknowledged that they, in managing the business of the probate department, were the authors of considerable improvement, for they introduced the forms adopted in the spiritual or ecclesiastical courts of England, which have subsequently prevailed in our courts of probate.

Andros was as much determined upon the enlargement of jurisdiction, as upon the unlimited exercise of power, and the accumulation of wealth. He could not be a stranger to the rapid changes of public opinion in England. Party spirit ran high; and in the counter currents of politics, one was setting strongly in favor of Holland, and another with equal force against France. Nay, though he was the creature of Jame II., who was a papist, he possessed neither love nor veneration for papal domination, nor for French catholicism. He feared the Dutch, and might suppose, if they again seized upon the open country between Penobscot and St. Croix, which was both in his commission and in the ducal patent, they might, with the present temper of the nation in their favor, be permitted to hold it. He was fully sensible how much a repossession of it would give him credit among the people of New-England; and he had reason to believe, the order for restoring the wines seized at Penobscot, was rather an act of justice to the colonists, than of partiality to the French.

With these views, he resolved to seize upon Penobscot; and

* Through the influence and persuasion of Edward Tyng, one of Sir Edmund's Council, and Sylvanus Davis of Falmouth, many of the inhabitants of that town took deeds of their lands, in 1687 and 8; who afterwards became incensed towards those men, for urging them to such acts and expense.

in March or April ordered Capt. George, commander of the A. D. 1688. frigate *Rose*, then at Pemaquid, to be prepared for the expedition, by the time he and his attendants should arrive there. Proceeding to Piscataqua by land, he sent a message from that place, and directed Col. Mason, who was then examining into the state of the provincial militia of Maine, to meet him on the eastern margin of Casco bay; as he was about embarking for the eastward, in a sloop attended by a commodious barge. His passage among the Islands of that bay, afforded him much pleasure. He visited Mr. Wharton's possessions at Pejepscot,—ascended the Kennebeck several leagues—and returning, joined Capt. George at Pemaquid; and both sailed for the peninsula of 'Biguyduce.*

April.
Gov. Andros seizes upon Pejepscot.

Soon as the frigate was conveniently anchored in the harbor, near the old fort and habitation of Baron de St. Castine; the Governor transmitted to him by a Lieutenant, due notice of his being on board, ready for an interview if desired. But the Baron, too wary to be made a prisoner by surprize, had already taken his family and retired to the woods; leaving all to the will of the unexpected visitors. They found household furniture, firearms, ammunition and coarse cloths—all which they put on board the frigate; in nowise injuring his catholic altar, chapel-service, pictures, ornaments, or buildings.

In this expedition, the Governor had brought with him carpenters and materials, to repair the fortification and render it fit for a garrison. But it had been originally constructed in greater part, of stones and turf; and had fallen so much into ruins, that he concluded to spare the expense, and abandon the undertaking and the place.

He returned to Pemaquid, where, agreeably to previous invitation, he was met by several Indians. In a parley—he warned them never to follow, nor yet fear the French. Call home, said he, all your young men; be quiet; live in peace; and we will assist and protect you. Turning to a Tarratine Sachem, he added,—yes, and you tell your friend Castine, if he will render loyal obedience to the king of England, every article taken from him shall be restored at this place. Hoping to win their good will by courteous talk and kind offices, he then treated them with ar-

Returns to Pemaquid, and parleys with the Indians.

A. D. 1688. dent spirits, and distributed among them shirts and some other presents.

The situation, harbor and bay, appeared to so great advantage in his eye, he thought Pemaquid might be the principal mart in the eastern country. Finding, however, that the fort, built by his directions eleven years before, had gone greatly to decay, he ordered it to be thoroughly repaired. To him, some of the inhabitants made complaint against the mismanagement of Palmer and West, and prayed him to confirm their original rights and possessions to them. This is unnecessary, said he, for all that Dungan's commissioners did, is of no effect. During the spring, an account was taken of the inhabitants scattered along the eastern coast from Penobscot to St. Croix*—after which, his attention was for several months diverted from this country, by public business, which called him to New-York.†

Castine's affront connected with a 2d Indian war.

The treatment which Castine had received gave him great umbrage. He considered the plunder of his house a wanton outrage upon him, being fully able, as he believed he was, to justify all his conduct towards the English; and fully determined never to submit to their domination. Nor had he any great regard for the government of France. He preferred to be the ruler of the Indians—and indeed his influence among them was supreme.

Moved by motives, which are hereafter to be more fully stated, though somewhat connected with his advice, the Indians commenced hostilities in August. Immediately every fort, between Piscataqua and Penobscot, was repaired and put in the best pos-

* *At Penobscot*—Baron Castine, his family, and Ranne, his servant.—*At Edgemoragan Reach*—Charles St. Robin, his son and daughter, and La Flour and his wife.—*At "Mount Desarts," viz. at Pel's Pleasants*, Lowry, wife and child, [French]; Hinds, wife and 4 children, [English]; and *on the east side of Mount Desert*, "at Winscheag Bay," Cadillac and wife.—*At Machias*—Martel, John Bretoon, wife, and a child of Jersey; Lattre, wife, and 3 children.—*At Passamaquoddy and St. Croix*—St Robin, wife and son; Letrell; John Minns, wife and 4 children; Lambert, and Jolly Cive, his servant; Zorza, and Lena, his servant;—perhaps 45 souls, *See, 1 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 32-3. 3d. Series.*

† In July, 1688, *Nicholas Manning*, Esq. was appointed by Governor Andros, Chief Magistrate and Judge of the Court, in the Province of the Duke of York, called Sagadahock, or the County "of Cornwall;" [*See ante, A. D. 1665,*] provided Henry Joscelyn was not present,

ture of defence ; and in September, soldiers were enlisted or A. D. 1688. detached, for an eastern expedition.

But when Governor Andros returned to Boston, he wholly dis-
 approved of the measure, and utterly refused to have war de-
 clared. He believed a kind and generous course of conduct
 towards the Indians, was better policy ; and on the 20th of Oc-
 tober, he issued his Proclamation, by which he ordered all the
 Indian prisoners to be discharged ; and commanded the savage
 aggressors immediately to set at liberty every one of his Majesty's
 subjects, they had taken, and to surrender for the purpose of
 trial and punishment, by Nov. 11, every Indian concerned in
 the late homicide. He also strongly encouraged the tribes, if
 they were desirous of peace and safety, to dwell near the Eng-
 lish towns and settlements, and give early proof of their mutual
 or friendly dispositions. But they paid no regard to his mandates
 or encouragements,—our prisoners being released, while theirs
 were retained ; and some of them in their barbarous frolics,
 were actually put to death.

Gov. Andros' proclamation.

Oct. 20.

Perceiving war to be inevitable, he rushed into the opposite ex-
 treme. Determined now to subdue the savages, or frighten
 them into terms, he collected a force of 800 men ;* and, late in
 November, he led them into the eastern country, breathing threats
 and slaughter. The expedition was opposed by all the more
 wise and considerate, and like most of his projects, proved in the
 end to be abortive. His soldiers suffered incredibly with cold
 and fatigue, and several of them perished. Never had an officer
 juster cause of chagrin than he ; for in all his excursions, he
 neither killed a savage, nor took a captive.

His eastern expedition.

To cloak and varnish this inglorious adventure, he proceeded
 to establish garrisons through the eastern country ; and if we
 may credit his own statements, *eleven* were manned and well sup-
 plied. 1. At *Pemaquid*, he stationed two new companies of 60
 men each, under Col. E. Tyng and Capt. Minot, joined by 36 reg-
 ulars ; and gave the command of the garrison to Capt. Brockholt
 and Lieut. Weems. 2. In *New-Dartmouth* fort, now Newcastle,
 he placed 24 of the regular soldiery under Lieut. John Jordan ;

He establishes 11 garrisons.

* 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 474.—Belknap says 700 ;—Eliot says 1,000 ;
 and it is added by President Danforth, that Sir Edmund had as many in
 ay in 1689.

A. D. 1688. also Capt. Withington's company of 60 men. 3. The little fort on the eastern side of the *Sheepscot*, [one account says Damariscotta,] was to be relieved every week from the garrison at New-Dartmouth. 4. At *Sagadahock*; 5. at *Newton* on Arrowsick Island; 6. at *Fort Anne*;* and 7. at *Pejepscot*, he distributed 40 of the regular troops, and two militia companies of 60 men each; and gave the command to Lieut. Col. McGregory, Maj. Thomas Savage and Capt. Manning. 8. At *Falmouth*,—**Fort LOYAL** was commanded by Capt. George Lockhart, and manned by his company of 60 soldiers. 9. At Saco, Andros stationed Capt. Lloyd and his company, also a detachment of 28 men, from the troops under the command of Maj. Henchman and Capt. Bull. 10. The fort at Kennebunk, commanded by Capt. Puddington, was to be relieved from Saco. 11. And lastly the fort at Wells was to be relieved in the same manner. The whole

A. D. 1689. number, in service and under pay through the winter, and distributed among the forts, was 566 men.† The Governor caused several forts to be repaired, particularly at New-Dartmouth and at *Pejepscot* [or Brunswick lower falls]; and put in requisition three government vessels, the sloop *Mary*, sloop *Speedwell*, and brigantine *Samuel*.‡ All this was merely a military movement or display—neither the result of wisdom, experience, or sound judgment; nor yet promotive of any considerable public good.§ Had he been in the least acquainted with the habits of the Indians, or listened even to the statements of hunters; he would have known, that these tenants of the forest retire in the autumn from the sea-board, and pass the winter upon their hunting births in the interior wilderness.

This expedition fruitless.

Andros' administration lasts only 1 year and 4 months.

An administration of sixteen months, closed the career of Andros in New-England. Unfortunately for his purpose, he found himself in the midst of a generation, constituted of the first emigrants and their patriot sons; who were schooled to the doctrine of principles and consistent measures,—and alive to every senti-

* Perhaps this was on the peninsula, at Popham's ancient fort.

† Mr. Eliot says Andros returned "with a part of his army, having put the remainder into winter quarters in two forts, viz. one at *Sheepscot* and the other at *Pejepscot* falls."—*Biog.* p. 34.

‡ They were commanded by John Alden, John Wiswell and J. Hook.

§ The garrisons might deter the savages from incursions.—*Chalmers*, p.

ment of liberty, civil, religious and rational. Equality of rights A. D. 1689. was a maxim inscribed upon the tables of their hearts. But by tame submission, to rulers in whose appointment their wishes were not consulted; to laws, in making which they had no voice; to taxes, imposed and appropriated without their consent;* to attacks upon the sacred rights of conscience, and the title-deeds of their homes, without resistance,—were to put on at once, and tamely wear the chains of slavery. The popular and mighty struggle in the mother country against popish hierarchy and despotic domination, under king James and his adherents, was well understood through the colonies; and the triumphs of liberty and privilege were news most ardently desired and daily expected. Such a prospect must have inspired our provincial patriots and statesmen here, with a bolder spirit of reform. In the spring a general murmur of discontent spread through the community; which was followed by the flashes of a rumor, that the Governor's guards were to be let loose upon Boston. Half-smothered indignation could no longer be suppressed. The smitten spark set the public in flames; and early in the morning of April 18th, April 18: the populace threw the Governor and thirty of his most obnoxious partisans into confinement. Several of them, such as An-^{The revolution.} dros, Dudley, Randolph, West, Palmer, Graham, Sherlock and Farwell, were not allowed to be enlarged, on any bail that could be offered.†

Next, through the united solicitation of the town's people, and hundreds who immediately rushed in from the country, Simon^{Provisional govern-ment.} Bradstreet, late Governor, Thomas Danforth, late Deputy-Governor and President of Maine, and thirteen other men of firmness and distinction, were induced to take the direction of the revolutionary changes, and to interpose their influence for preventing, if possible, all extravagances in the reforms undertaken; and they at last prevailed upon Andros, to surrender the keys of government, and the command of the fortifications.‡ On the

* Men in Ipswich were fined and imprisoned, because rates were refused, to be assessed or paid.—1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 473.

† Some of them were in close prison 20 weeks.—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 343.

‡ *Hutch. Coll.* p. 570.—President Danforth says, in a letter, July 30, to Mr. Mather, the changes in England makes "the arbitrary commission of Sir Edmund, null and void," as on a demise of the crown.

A. D. 1689. third day the tumult ceased ; though the shock continued to be felt in every part of the administration, for a much longer time.

April 20.
A convention and council of safety.

A general convention of the people having assembled, April 20, for the purpose of considering the broken state of public affairs, appointed Messrs. *Bradstreet, Danforth and 35 others*—

“A COUNCIL FOR THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE AND CONSERVATION OF THE PEACE,” and chose Isaac Addington, clerk, and Wait Winthrop, Commander-in-chief of the militia. On recommendation of this Council, delegates were chosen by towns, to the number of 66 ; and convening in assembly, May 2, confirmed the new provisional government, and advised to a meeting of the General Court, which was consequently holden at Boston on the 22d of the same month, by representatives from 54 towns. In session, the House determined “*to resume the government according to charter rights ;*” and on the 3d day, Governor Bradstreet, Danforth, Deputy-Governor, and the Assistants, chosen in May, 1686, were prevailed upon to signify in writing their ‘acceptance of the care and government of the people, according to the rules of the charter, until by direction ‘from England,* there be an orderly settlement of government.’

May 2

May 22.

May 24
Charter rights resumed.

Revolution in England.—James II. retires to France.—William and Mary proclaimed.

The report of a great political overturn in England, which had been so strongly anticipated, during the late revolutionary changes in the colony, was fully confirmed by an arrival, May 26, to the great and general joy of all New-England. It was now certain, that James II. had abdicated the English throne on the 12th of December past,† and gone to France ; and that his son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland, and Mary his wife, the king’s daughter, were proclaimed, Feb. 16, king and queen of England.

Affairs in Maine.

During the past three years, the Province of Maine had experienced peculiar vicissitudes. A new and promising administration, commenced under the executive magistracy of President Danforth, had been exceedingly weakened, if not entirely paralyzed ; for by vacating the charter of Massachusetts, abolishing the legislative power that appointed him to office, and shifting the paramount command into other hands, the authority, at least, of

* The election was afterwards annually continued, till the arrival of the new charter.

† Or, “December 23d, 1688.”—1 *Holmes’ A. Ann.* p. 474.

the President became problematical. Nevertheless, the towns and settlements were constantly filling with inhabitants, till the late ravages of the Indians had somewhat damped the spirits of the people, and possibly given a check to enterprize. At any rate, every thing was deranged and unsafe; for though the country had been garrisoned at great expense, the people considered themselves in jeopardy; and surely, no other colony or province in New-England ever suffered an equal complication of evils with Maine, merely through want of a settled efficient government.

The news of the revolutionary changes in Boston, when they reached the eastern garrisons, occasioned great disturbances.—From some of them the soldiers withdrew and went home;* in others they seized their officers, particularly Brockholt, M'Gregory, and Lockhart,† and sent them to Boston; and in no one was there due subordination. To rectify, therefore, and settle the military, 'the Council of Safety,' immediately after the Board was constituted, appointed *Major Charles Frost*, to command the western, and *Col. Edward Tyng*, the eastern regiment; and it seems, they also had the superintendence of the garrisons, excepting the one at Pemaquid. This, at the request of the inhabitants, was still kept by Lieut. Weems, who was directed by Massachusetts to take charge of all the public stores belonging to that important post, till orders, daily expected, be received from England.‡

C. Frost and E. Tyng commandants of the eastern militia.

The Council of Safety, May 15th, confirmed the former Councilors of the Province,—viz. *Charles Frost, Francis Hook, Edward Tyng, John Davis, Joshua Scottow, Samuel Wheelwright, and John Wincoln*; all of whom were afterwards established in their official trust by the General Court, on the 24–5th of the same month; and Mr. Danforth was fully restored to the office and authority of Provincial President.

Government of Maine reconfirmed.

Our Council were 'empowered and directed to consult, advise, 'determine and put in execution, whatever they should judge 'necessary for the public peace and safety, and the common 'good, in the present exigency of affairs; or, upon any emergen-

* 2 *Math. Magnal.* p. 510.—Some, he says, took occasion "to desert their stations in the army."

† 6 *Mass. Rec.* p. 6.

‡ 6 *Mass. Rec.* p. 20, 22.—By this it appears, that Massachusetts assumed a command over the late ducal province.

A. D. 1689. 'cy which might occur within the Province ; and all the officers
' and people therein, were commanded to observe the orders of
' the President and Council.

Delegation
from the
Tarratines.

About this time, Madockawando, from Penobscot, accompanied by several Indians and an interpreter, visited Boston. They stated that Castine was highly affronted with the English for plundering his house ; and that a great war was apprehended. The government treated them with the greatest courtesy—loaded them with presents—made them repeated promises of protection and kindness, if they continued peaceable—and gave them a passage home in the colony sloop. To Castine, a very respectful address was prepared by the government and sent by Capt. Alden, the master, exculpating the present administration from all censure on account of the ill-treatment he had received, and making proposals of an amnesty upon generous terms. Presents were also prepared for Wonnolancet and his tribe, at Penacook ; and moreover, Capt. Noah Wiswell, with 30 friendly Indians, well armed and equipped, was despatched eastward to protect York, Wells, and other unfortified places.*

A letter
from king
William.

A gracious address, received from king William, entirely allayed the anxieties of the public, occasioned by the late revolution. In a royal instruction issued by him, Aug. 12, "to the Governor, Council and Convention of Representatives" in Massachusetts ; he authorized them 'to continue their care and trust, 'in the administration of government and preservation of the 'public peace, till further directions be received ;'—commanding them to send over Andros and his accomplices, to answer in the kingdom for his mal-administration. On their arrival at Court, they were slightly examined before the privy Council, and then discharged. Andros was afterwards appointed Governor of Virginia ; and Dudley, chief justice of New-York.†

A rupture
feared be-
tween the
English and
French.

All the prospects and hopes, which had been entertained, that an Indian war might be avoided, were at length shrouded with deep gloom, by the gathering storm in Europe. France had received king James into her bosom, and was warmly espousing his cause against William and Mary. Hence, usurpers—hugue-

* 6 Mass. Rec. p. 12.

† 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 347-8-350.—*Eliot's Biog. Dic.* only names Andros, Dudley and Randolph. There are no government-records found in Boston, as made during Andros' administration.

nots—execrable transgressors of all laws, human and divine, A. D. 1689. binding upon filial love and obedience—were the most elegant epithets bestowed upon them. In return, James was denounced as a despot,—a papist,—a traitor,—unworthy to rule or live among the lovers of true liberty or religion. Connect these fortuitous circumstances with a long-existing rivalry between France and England, fed by jealousy and pride, and enflamed by the flames of religious dissensions; and we are not surprised to find war inevitable between the two kingdoms. Nay, war between popery and protestantism—between power and right, had already commenced; and the first sparks of this electric effervescence were felt to the extremities of their respective dominions.

The French on this side of the Atlantic, seemed to commence aggressions with an eager haste, and pursue them with malignant fury. The Canadians took the lead by instigating the Indian tribes to join them, and fall with exterminating rapacity, upon the outer settlements of New-England—particularly in New-Hampshire and Maine. Southerly, the French privateers were infesting the Acadian coast, and taking all the English colonial vessels which fell in their way.* In the interior, the Jesuit missionaries were inflaming the resentments of the savages against the encroaching settlers, calling them “English heretics.” Some attacks and captures had already been made; and as soon as war was proclaimed at Boston, Dec. 7,† between England and France, the General Court resolved upon a course of measures and preparations, for regaining Nova Scotia and reducing Quebec.‡

War proclaimed,
Dec. 7.

Early in the spring, therefore, eight vessels and 700 men besides boys, were in readiness for the meditated expedition. In the public estimation, the fittest man to take the command was Sir William Phips; and to him the commission was given.

A. D. 1690.
Expedition
against N.
Scotia.

Sir William was a native of this State, born in Woolwich upon the Sheepscot, Feb. 2, 1650;—one of the youngest of his mother's 26 children, 21 being sons. Bereaved of his father, when a child, he passed his boyhood with his mother till he was 18; afterwards learning the trade of a ship-carpenter, and acquiring some

Sir William
Phips.

* 1 Hutch. Hist. p. 352.

† In England, war was declared against France, May 7, 1689.

‡ The French, settled in New-France, were now 11,249 persons.—41 *Universal Hist.* p. 47.

A. D. 1690. education. About the time of Philip's war, he built a ship in Sheepscot river; and being driven away by the Indians, he became a seafaring adventurer. In some of his voyages, he heard, that a Spanish ship laden with silver, had been wrecked and sunk half a century before, not far from the Bahama Islands. He told the interesting story to the Duke of Albemarle; and entering into an agreement with him, sailed twice under his auspices, from England into those waters, in search of the wreck. During the second voyage, in 1687, after indefatigable efforts, he found it, between 40 and 50 feet under water; and took from it the immense treasure of 34 tons of silver, besides gold, pearls and jewels—equivalent in value to \$1,350,000. Of this treasure his part exceeded \$70,000, besides a golden cup worth \$4,000 presented to his wife by his noble patron. For his enterprize, success and honesty, king James II. conferred upon him the order of knighthood, and appointed him high-sheriff of New-England. This was during the administration of Andros, with whom he differed so widely in politics, that he declined the office.*

Conquest
of Nova
Scotia.

May 20.

To command the present expedition, he was thought to possess every qualification. His little squadron, destined against Nova Scotia, left Boston harbor on the 28th of April. It consisted of seven sail—a frigate of 40 guns, two sloops, one of 16, the other of 8 guns, and four ketches.† Sir William proceeded directly to Port-Royal, which being in no capacity to stand a siege, surrendered at discretion. He then put on board his frigate Maneval, the Governor, a military officer and 38 soldiers; and in visiting Chidabucto, Isle Perce, St John, and other French settlements, he took formal possession of the whole country and coast to Penobscot, including the Islands. He appointed a Governor over the Province, assigned him a council of six members,‡ and returned to Boston, May 30, with his prisoners, also

* Phips married a daughter of Roger Spencer of Saco, a young widow, late consort of John Hull, merchant of Boston, where he dwelt for a period, after his removal from Sheepscot river. He had no child. Spencer Phips was his nephew and adopted son. The specie found, consisted of pieces of eight, bullion, and solid ingots of silver, which Dr. Mather says were called "sows and pigs."—See his 2 *Magnal.* p. 151-208.—*Danforth's Letter, April, 1690.*—1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 553. † 40 *Univ. Hist.* p. 62.

‡ 1 *Holmes' A. Ann.* p. 178.

with plunder thought to be sufficient in amount, to defray the A. D. 1690. whole expense of this short expedition.* It was supposed, the French population at this time in the entire Province did not exceed 2 or 3,000 souls.† Sir William was now holden in high estimation; and, at the general election this spring, he was for the first time chosen into the Massachusetts Board of Assistants.

The easy conquest of Nova Scotia inspired the colonists with fresh courage and renovated zeal, in the premeditated enterprize of reducing Canada to a British Province. In consideration of the fishing, the fur-trade, the masting-business, and the deep-rooted enmity of the Canadians towards the English colonies; it were far better policy, as many argued, for the crown to expend thousands of pounds in conquering the country, than to let it remain in possession of the French.‡ The idea was well conceived; and never was sagacity more truly prophetic of what New-England would find to be her true interest.

The magnitude of the enterprize was universally realized.—New-England and New-York agreed to join in preparing 40 armed vessels, and raising 4,000 men. Half of them were to embark on board the fleet, under Sir William, the Commodore, who was to attack Quebec; and the other half were ordered to take up their march by land, under the command of Maj. Gen. John Winthrop, of Connecticut, who was to lead them against Montreal. Most earnest solicitations were also sent to England by express, and presented to the king, for several frigates and a supply of arms and ammunition; and such were the uncommon exertions of the people, that in two months, the colony forces were in readiness to be put in motion.

But, unhappily, no naval armament nor military stores arrived from England; while the best part of the season was wasting, and the enemy was probably gaining every advantage by the delay. Influenced by these considerations, Sir William sailed, August 9th; and Gen. Winthrop arrived at Wood-creek, near the southerly end of Lake Champlain, early in the same month.—Here he met with great discouragements. Only 70 Mohawk

August 9.

* 2 Math. Magnal. p 522.

† 2 Hutch. Hist. p. 13.—1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 474,—3 or 4,000; but Haliburton says, vol. 1. p. 68, only 900 on the Peninsula of Nova Scotia.

‡ Danforth's Letter, A. D. 1690.

A. D. 1690. warriors had appeared to join him ; the number of batteaux and canoes provided, was not half enough to transport his men across the lake ; his provisions and supplies were short ; and after due deliberation he ordered a retreat, or rather return, of his whole army.*

- October 5. The fleet, retarded by fortuitous incidents and events, did not arrive before Quebec, till the 5th of October. Next morning the Commodore addressed a note to Count Frontenac, the Governor, demanding a surrender. But the haughty nobleman, rendered more insolent by tidings from Wood-creek, returned a contemptuous answer, adding,—*You and your countrymen are heretics and traitors. New-England and Canada would be one, had not the amity been prevented by your Revolution.*† Phips, though thwarted by contrary winds, was able, on the 8th, to effect a landing of about thirteen hundred effective men, upon the Isle of Orleans, four miles below the town ; and to commence a cannonade from his shipping, among which were frigates carrying 44 guns. But their approach was repelled and prevented by the long guns in the French batteries ; and the land forces were violently assailed and harassed by the French and Indians from the woods. Amidst these and other discouragements, the Commodore, on the 11th, learned from a deserter, the condition and great strength of the place ; and the same day he and his troops re-embarked with precipitation.

Repulse
and disasters.

The fleet, overtaken in the St. Lawrence by a violent tempest, was dispersed ; two or three vessels were sunk ; one was wrecked upon Anticosta ; some were blown off to the West Indies ; and the residue of the shattered squadron were more than a month on their way home ; Sir William himself not arriving in Boston till the 19th of November. His losses by the smallpox, the camp-distemper and other sickness, by the enemy and by shipwreck, were two or three hundred men ; and the expenses of the expedition, like its disasters, were great. In a few weeks Sir William sailed for England, to solicit the king's assistance towards another expedition.

So confident had the public been of success, that no adequate provision had been made for the payment of the troops. The

* 1 Trumbull's Conn. p. 383.—1 Williams' Vt. p. 296.—2 Mather's Mag-nalia, p. 522.—He says, " 32 sail." † 1 Hutchinson's History, p. 356.

administration of Andros had emptied the treasury ; an Indian A.D. 1690. war, which had now raged more than two years in Maine, had filled that Province with embarrassments, and Massachusetts with perplexities ; and the late disasters, without booty or glory, were lying with oppressive weight upon the government. Nay, though "ten single rates" had been levied and assessed the preceding spring, there was no money in the public chest, to pay the soldiery ; and it is said, there was considerable danger of a mutiny.

In this extremity, the General Court of Massachusetts, Dec. 10, laid upon the people a tax of £40,000 ; and in anticipation of payment issued "*Bills of Credit*," or *public notes*, as a substitute for money, differing in amount from 2s. to £10. ;—the first ever sent into circulation by any of the colonies. These, paid out in discharge of public debts, it was expected, would be collected by the tax-gatherers and shortly returned into the treasury.—*Such is the origin of paper money* ; till which, the colonial currency was sterling.

It soon depreciated in value, so that four dollars in the bills could be purchased by three in specie ; though it was afterwards equal to gold and silver, and so continued while the sums issued from year to year were not large.*

At the May-election, in 1691, the government was organized, under the declining shades of the colonial charter, for the last time. Bradstreet was re-elected Governor, and Danforth, Deputy-Governor and President of Maine ; the present being the twelfth year, since Danforth's first appointment or election, to that office. Though his residence was in Cambridge, he was often in the Province, frequently consulted with his Council, and at stipulated times, met them and the General Assembly of Councillors and Deputies, under the provisions of the charter to Gorges. He had rendered himself highly acceptable to the Provincials, by his republican politics, his rigid virtues and his untiring exertions to promote their best interests, and to preserve the people from the ravages of the Indians. Among his official labors, the current spring, one was an endeavor to negotiate peace with some of the tribes ; and another was an examination of the garrisons.

First paper money.

May, 1691. Last General Court under the colony charter.

* 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 357.—Wheat was set at 5s. ; rye 4s. ; corn 3s. 6d. ; oats 1s. 6d. per bushel.—5 *Mass. Rec.* p. 122.

A. D. 1691. The people of Massachusetts were so strongly attached to the colonial charter, that they sent three agents to England and employed Sir Henry Ashurst of the realm, for two years, to urge their pleas before the king in council, for its restoration, with some additional privileges. But their arguments and solicitations were pressed in vain. A new draft was reported, June 8th, by a committee of Council, and shewn to the agents, who presented written objections to several of its particulars; and hence a decision was delayed three months, owing, however, principally to the king's absence in Flanders.* In the meantime, its provisions were fully considered and discussed by the committee and the agents; and after his return, the important instrument, denominated the **CHARTER OF WILLIAM AND MARY**, or the **PROVINCIAL CHARTER**, passed the seals, October 7th, 1691, and received the royal sanction. It was the celebrated Prescript, which was afterwards, for 89 years, the constitutional foundation and ordinance of civil government, for the united territories and people of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, and Sagadahock;—collectively called '*the Royal Province of Massachusetts Bay*.'

October 7.
Charter of
William
and Mary
granted.

The Prov-
inces and
Islands it
embraces.

The Province of *Maine*, in consequence of the purchase, was made a constituent part without objection, according to the boundaries in the charter to Gorges,† together with the *five* northerly *Isles of Shoals*, as originally belonging to his patent. The country, situated 'between the river Sagadahock [or Kennebeck] and Nova Scotia,' and extending 'northward to the river of Canada,'‡ or 48th degree of latitude, was inserted in the charter without any specific name, though usually called the *Province of Sagadahock*,—now so much enlarged, beyond what primarily bore the same territorial name. It embraced the *second* principality in the twelve great Divisions of 1635,§ lying between Kennebeck and Pemaquid, and between the coast and a northern line running westerly from the head of the latter river to Swan Island, in the Kennebeck;—also, the ducal province of James II., being the residue of the whole territory between the last mentioned river, and St. Croix,|| Schoodic or Nova Scotia, whose province had reverted to the crown on his abdication. ¶ Moreover,

* 1 Math. Mag. p. 179, 181.—9 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 273–4.

† See ante, A. D. 1639.

‡ 1 Doug. Sum. p. 382.

§ See ante, A. D. 1635.

|| Ante, A. D. 1664 and 1674.

¶ So many have been the changes as to the governments within the present State of Maine, prior to the charter of William and Mary, that it

to prevent the French from having a repossession of *Acadia*, or A. D. 1691. *Nova Scotia*, which, though it were resigned to them under the treaty of Breda, (1667,) had been lately captured by Phips;—

becomes expedient, for the sake of perspicuity and reference to give a synopsis of them in this place—as it respects, I. *the Province of Maine*; and, II. *Sagadahock*, as divided by the *Penobscot*, into two great sections, the *Western* and *Eastern*.—I. As to the *Province of Maine*,—1. Sir Ferdinando taking the 3^d and 4th of the 12 divisions, in 1635, which he called *New-Somersetshire*, formed a government therein under William Gorges.—2. His charter of Maine and administration, in 1639–40.—3. The division of the Province by the river *Kennebunk*, under Rigby's claim, and his rule of Lygonia, after 1646, by Cleaves.—4. Massachusetts, in 1652–3, assumes to govern Gorges' part; and, in 1658, Rigby's part also.—5. The king's three commissioners, in 1665, took command of the whole.—6. Massachusetts, in 1668, resumed the government of the entire Province, and in 1677, purchased it.—7. An administration, in 1679–80, is established under the executive trust of President Danforth.—8. In 1686, President Dudley, and, after him, Governor Andros, were commissioned to govern it and other Provinces.—9. Massachusetts, in 1689, ousted Andros of his power, and soon recommitted the government to Danforth.—II. (First,) *Western Sagadahock*, was—1. after 1631, principally under the rule of the *Pemaquid* proprietors.—2. James, the Duke of York, in 1664, took his patent; and the king's three Commissioners, the next year, assumed the government within it.—3. Massachusetts, in 1674, established there, the county of Devonshire; and the same year the Duke took a new patent; Andros being ducal Governor, who assumed possession in 1680. In 1683, Governor Dungan succeeded him, who managed it by his agents, Palmer and West.—4. Andros, in 1686, was commissioned Governor of New-England, including Maine and Sagadahock.—5. In May, 1689, Massachusetts took the government from him.—(Secondly,) *Eastern Sagadahock*, was, 1. embraced by the New-England patent, of 1620.—2. After the treaty of St. Germain's, in 1632, it was claimed by the French, as a part of Nova Scotia.—3. The whole, in 1654, was reduced to the possession of the English, by Major Sedgwick, under Lord Cromwell, and the government of it given to Col. Temple.—4. Under the treaty of Breda, concluded in 1667, it was claimed and possessed by France, as a part of Nova Scotia.—5. In 1688, Penobscot was seized upon by Governor Andros, and the repossession of it completed by the English arms, under Phips, in 1690.—6. The charter of William and Mary, in 1691, embraces it.—7. It was claimed by the French, as a part of Nova Scotia, under the treaty of Ryswick, 1697.—8. Possession of Nova Scotia was recovered by the English forces under Nicholson, in 1710;—and the charter of William and Mary, ever after made effectual, as far east as St. Croix—the original extent of jurisdiction claimed.

A. D. 1691. that Province was also inserted in the charter.* In a few years, however, it was conceded by the Province of Massachusetts, to the entire exclusive dominion of the English crown. *New-Hampshire*, according to the wishes of her inhabitants, would have been put into the same charter, had it not been recently purchased of Mason's heirs, by Samuel Allen of London, who prevented its insertion.† In fine, the charter also included "all "Islands and inlets lying within ten leagues directly opposite the "main land within the said bounds;" reserving to the crown, admiralty-jurisdiction and one fifth of all gold and silver ore and precious stones found therein; and to all English subjects, a common right of fishery upon the seacoast, or "in any arms of the sea, or salt water rivers."

Remarks. By the union of these colonial territories, a collective strength and importance were given to the Province, which might be considered a counterbalance to some abridgment of privilege. Though the charter on its arrival was encountered by several strong objections, it met with general acceptance; there being great solicitude for the establishment of a stable government. The last General Court of the colonial administration closed its session, May 6, 1692;‡ when all the public offices in the constituent sections of the new Province became extinct;§ and,

* 40 *Univ. Hist.* p. 62.—The Chevalier Villebon hoisted the French flag at Port-Royal, Nov. 26, 1691; having arrived from France to assume the command of Nova Scotia.

† 1 Belk. N. H. p. 192.

‡ The whole number of Deputies in the Massachusetts General Court, was now only 29.—The last Court holden at York, July 15th, 1690, under the administration of President Danforth, consisted of *Major John Davis*, Deputy-President, *Captain Francis Hook*, *Major Charles Frost*, and *Captain John Wincoln*, magistrates, or justices; when they "ordered," that if any ordinary or tavern-keeper should sell any rum, flip or other strong liquor to an inhabitant of his town, except in case of sickness or other necessity, or more than one gill to a stranger, he should forfeit his license.

§ It is said, that during this contest, about the old and the new charter, originated, in Massachusetts, the two great political parties, *Republicans* and *Loyalists*.—Their politics, though assuming, subsequently, new appellations, continued unchanged to the Revolution. The warm adherents to the *democratic* principles in the old charter, were very highly esteemed by the people, as *liberty-men*; their opponents, professing to be more *loyal* subjects,—enjoying, also, more of the king's favor, were denominated *royalists*, or *prerogative-men*.

the returning prospect of political quiet and prosperity, was only A. D. 1691. darkened by a storm of savage warfare in the eastern region, which was already oppressing the inhabitants with intermingled bloodshed and distress.

Note 1.—Form of an old-tenor bill.—‘*This indented bill of — pounds, due from Massachusetts colony to the possessor, shall be in value equal to money ; and shall be accordingly accepted by the Treasurer, and Receivers subordinate to him, in all public payments, and for any stock at any time in the Treasury. Boston, in New-England, February the third, 1690 ;—By order of the General Court.*’

Note 2.—*Abraham Shurte, Esq.* died at Pemaquid, about 1680.

“The deposition of Abraham Shurte, aged fourscore years, or thereabouts, saith—

“That in the year 1626, Alderman Alsworth and Mr. Giles Elbridge of Bristol, merchants, sent over this deponent for their agent, and gave power to him to buy Monhegan, which then belonged to Mr. Abraham Jennings of Plymouth, who they understood was willing to sell it ; and having conference with his agent, about the price thereof ; agreed to fifty pounds, and the patent to be delivered up ; and gave him a bill upon Alderman Alsworth ; which bill being presented, was paid, as the aforesaid wrote me. The deponent further saith, *that about the year 1629*, was sent over unto him by the aforementioned Alderman Alsworth and Mr. Elbridge, a patent granted by the patentees, for twelve thousand acres of land at Pemaquid, with all Islands, islets adjacent, within three leagues ; and for the delivery, was appointed Capt. Walter Neale, who gave me possession thereof ; and bounded the twelve thousand acres for the use above named, from the head of the river of Damariscotta, to the head of the river of Muscongus, and between it to the sea. Moreover, it was granted by the same patent ; that every servant, that they, Alderman Alsworth and Mr. Elbridge did send over, one hundred acres of land, and to every one there born, fifty acres of land, for the term of the first seven years ; and to be added to the former twelve thousand acres—Likewise this deponent saith, that Damariscove was included, and belonging to Pemaquid ; it being an Island, situate and lying within three leagues of Pemaquid point ; and some years after, Mr. Thomas Elbridge coming to Pemaquid, to whom the patent by possession did belong and appertain, called a Court, unto which divers of the then inhabitants of Monhegan and Damariscove repaired, and continued their fishing, paying a certain acknowledgement—and farther saith not.”

“Sworn to, the 25th December, 1662, by *Abraham Shurte*.

“Before me, *RICHARD RUSSELL, Magistrate*.

“Boston, March 28, 1774, recorded in the Secretary’s Office, in the Book of Patents, fol. 169.

J. WILLARD, Secretary.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

King William's war—The settlers and natives—Causes of the war—First skirmish at North-Yarmouth—Indians arrested—Reprisals—New-Dartmouth and Sheepscot overthrown—Measures of Gov. Andros—Change of administration—Destruction of Dover—Captives first sold in Canada—Skirmish at Saco—Pemaquid destroyed—The eastern people all withdraw to Falmouth—The eastern expeditions of Swain and Church—The Mohawks—Church has a battle with the enemy at Casco—Berwick destroyed—Capture of Fort Loyal and fall of Falmouth—The inhabitants between the peninsula and Wells, withdraw to the latter—Sufferings of captives—Attacks of the Indians at Wells, Berwick and Kittery—Church's 2d expedition—He destroys the forts at Pejepscot—A truce—Only 4 eastern towns remain—Cape Neddock burnt—Four companies in the public service—A part of York burnt—Wells attacked and defended with great bravery—Gov. Phips builds Fort William Henry—Church's 3d eastern expedition—Nelson at Quebec gives information of French expeditions anticipated—Saco fort built—A treaty—The Jesuits—Their imposition upon the Indians—Conduct of Capt. Chubb—He surrenders Fort William Henry—Church's 4th eastern expedition—He is superseded by Hawthorn—Maj. Frost killed—Last hostile acts of the Savages—Peace of Ryswick—Treaty with the Indians—Losses.

A. D. 1688.
King William's war.

The English and Indians.

THE second war with the Indians, long and distressing, commonly called "*king William's war*," develops great varieties and strong features of character. To numbers living in that generation, both colonists and natives, the wilds and solitudes of the country unbroken, were fresh in recollection. Born neighbors, they were more than half-acquainted with each other's dispositions, language and habits. In their intercourse, there were some instances of mutual confidence and particular friendship; otherwise, the two people generally disagreed in every thing, except in the common endowments of nature.

An interval of ten years' peace had enabled the returning inhabitants of Maine, to repair the ruins of the last war, and in some degree to enlarge the borders of their settlements. They

seemed to exult in their yearly advances upon the heavy-wooded forest; in their fenced, though rough inclosures, and in their log-house cottages; being quite contented in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, with the merest competency, the humblest comforts and their limited improvements—as the fruits of their own enterprize, fortitude and toil. Yet they were destitute of sanctuaries for divine worship, schools for their children, mills, bridges, and even passable roads. Framed houses, smooth fields, and large stocks of cattle, when the instances occurred, were in this age accounted wealth and luxury. Yes, and happily for them, their successes in times past, and the encouraging anticipations of the future, gave an inspiring influence to motives of courage and emulation. Apprehensions of attack or injury from the Indians, were the sources of their greatest troubles; as a few garrisons and fortified habitations were, under the Divine protection, their principal, if not their only safeguard and shield.

The natives, on the contrary, ever contemning the arts of discipline and culture, were enraged to see the breaches between the waters and the woods, continually widened by the axe and the toils of the white men; and to notice the advances of civilization stealing upon them like approaching flames. Though it be true that the western Indians, by a coalition and intermarriages with them had partly sustained a declining population: yet in a much greater degree, these emigrants had been exciting the resentments of the eastern Sagamores, and inflaming them against the settlers.

An union most remarkable, and altogether without precedent, was found now to exist among the natives themselves. Most of the Newichawannocks, were lost among the Penacooks; both of them being disposed to regard no longer the dying advice of Passaconaway and Rowles,* who had charged them to keep peace with the English. If *Wonnolancet* himself wisely observed his father's council; *Kancamagus*, another Sagamore of the tribe, surnamed John Hagkins,† could not forget the seizure of the 400 Indians, and the fatal attack of the Mohawks, in the employ of the English. Taking affront also, from some ill usage he thought he had received, he paid no great attention to any dissuasives, nor to the presents made him by Massachusetts; for

* Ante, Chap. 17. † Also called John Hawkins.—1 *Belk. N. H.* p. 346.

A. D. 1683. he had resolved to take arms. *Netombomet*,* the successor of Squando, complained, that the English interrupted the fishery belonging to his tribe in the Saco river; and he and *Robin Doney*, a Sachem of the same tribe, were determined to avenge their injuries. The Anasagunticook Sagamore, *Warumbee*, who had succeeded Taramkin, being encountered in his objections to encroachments, by his own grant to Wharton, in 1684, was ready to exclaim boldly and loudly against the new neighboring settlement at North-Yarmouth; for by the treaty of 1678, it was pretended, the English were only to enjoy their former possessions, not enlarge them. *Hopehood*, still living, *Moxus* and *Bomaseen*, Sagamores of the Canibas tribe, and *Toxus*,† a Sachem, or chief among the Indians about Norridgewock, were cherishing strong suspicions, that in the conveyances of lands upon Kennebeck river by Monquine, Robinhood, Abagadusset and others, there was much deception practised. The Wawenocks, after the extensive sales of territory by their Sachems, Josle, Witte-nose, Obias, and others, became identified with the Canibas tribe; and Jack Pudding or *Sheepscot John*, is the only Sagamore of theirs, mentioned at this period. The celebrated *Maddockawando* was at first an advocate for peace, engaging to negotiate a treaty, in which "*Egeremet*‡ of Machias," and the three Etechemin tribes, would in all likelihood have joined; had not the movement been prevented by Baron de Castine.

Causes of
war.

All the Abenagues tribes, instigated by the French, moreover, uttered grievous complaints, that the corn, promised by the last treaty, had not been paid, and yet their own was destroyed by the cattle of the English; and that they, being deprived of their hunting and fishing births, and their lands, were liable to perish of hunger.—No changes affected by the cultivator's hand, yielded any beauties to their eye. The wild scenery of nature, untouched by art, so captivating to the poet, the painter, and the rambler, must, for reasons self-evident, afford the untutored savage the only desirable places of residence. It was the land of their birth, their childhood and their fathers' graves. Bound to their native country by a thousand attachments, they resolved not to

* Called also by other names.

† 2 Hutch. Hist. p. 80-1.

‡ Moxus had also the name Egeremet.—2 Mag.—530-543.—Sull. p. 147, 2 Hutch. Hist. p. 359.

leave it without a most desperate struggle. Hence, nothing dis- A.D. 1688
turbed them more, than new settlements and fortifications.

The plantation begun at North-Yarmouth, they thought to be Attack upon North-Yarmouth.
a direct encroachment. To deter the inhabitants from complet-
ing the rising garrison, which they were building on the eastern
shore of Royall's river; the Indians proceeded to kill several
cattle, about the settlement on the opposite side, and gave other
indications of hostility. As the work still progressed with re-
doubled efforts; a small party, about the middle of August,*
waylaid two workmen, as they went one morning from the settle- August 13. The beginning of the war.
ment, in search of their oxen, to labor on the garrison, and made
them both prisoners. The rest of the savage party, well armed,
rushing from the bushes towards the other men, who were going
to work at the same place, accosted them with insolent language,
and began to provoke a quarrel. Words were followed by a
scuffle, in which at first an Indian gave one Larabee a violent
push, who instantly raising his gun, shot his assailant dead.
While in the act of firing, he was seized by another sturdy In-
dian, whom Benedic Pulcifer struck with the edge of his broad-
axe; and the skirmish became general, and some fell on both
sides.

The English, perceiving themselves inferior in number to their
foes, withdrew to a place of less exposure under the bank of the
river, where they defended themselves with great bravery, till
their ammunition was nearly expended. To a part of the contest,
Capt. Walter Gendell, at the garrison, was an eyewitness. He
had long been a fur trader with the Indians, and supposed, from
the very friendly intercourse he had always had with them, they
would not knowingly hurt him. Observing now his friends had
ceased firing, he took a bag of ammunition, and hastened with a
servant and a float to their assistance; standing upright, as the
servant paddled, that the Indians might know him. But before
they were entirely across, each received a fatal shot in his body,
by particular aim; and Gendell threw the ammunition ashore, hav-
ing only time to say before he breathed his last, "I have lost my
life in your service." Thus supplied, the planters were enabled

* One account says this was July.—*Hutch. Coll.* p. 566.—But, 2 *Math. Magnalia*, p. 509, says it was in September; yet he says, the attack on Sheepscot, "was soon after;" which was September 5th.—*Sullivan*, p. 185, mistakes the year.—See 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 325.

A. D. 1688. to maintain their ground—the engagement continuing till dusk, when the Indians retreated.* Our loss was two killed, besides Capt. Gendell, whose death was deeply lamented. He was one of the trustees, to whom the township had been confirmed, and a man of enterprize and worth. Several of the Indians were killed, and the survivors passed the night upon Lane's Island. Here they had a horrid carousal, in which they butchered the two wretched men taken in the morning, and another brought with them; leaving their mangled bodies above ground. It is said to have been an usage among the savages, to make as many of their prisoners victims, as they lost of their own men in battle.

Jewel's
Island.

This attack wholly frustrated and prevented the settlement of North-Yarmouth for several years. The inhabitants soon removed from the garrison to Jewel's Island—in hopes by repairing the fort there, to render themselves secure. But they were pursued by their inveterate enemies, and were barely able to defend themselves successfully, against a violent attack. They were afterwards taken off by a vessel, and carried to Boston.

Twenty In-
dians arrest-
ed at Saco.

This bloody affair alarmed and aroused the people upon the whole coast. The temper, and some threats of the Sokokis, excited strong suspicions against them; and it was believed, they had, contrary to the treaty, withholden the knowledge they possessed of the intended rupture. To bring them to terms, and discover more perfectly the secret springs of these hostile movements, Benjamin Blackman, Esq. a justice of the peace at Saco, issued a warrant to Capt. John Sargent, by whom about eighteen or twenty of them were arrested, especially those who were the known ringleaders in the last war, and all were sent under a strong guard to Fort Loyal. They were subsequently transported to Boston, and there discharged by Gov. Andros.

Reprisals at
Sagadahock.

To counteract this policy, the Indians began to make reprisals. Nine were made prisoners about Sagadahock; the houses on the north margin of Merrymeeting bay were plundered; and the inhabitants, who made resistance, were murdered in a barbarous manner. The Indians soon after killed several of their captives

* Mr. Willis states, that Capt. Gendell was sent thither with a company of men, to construct stockades on both sides of Royall's river, where he was attacked by 70 or 80 Indians; and in the skirmish, several were killed on both sides—and John Royall was taken prisoner, and ransomed by Castine.
—1 *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* p. 195.

in a drunken frolic,* and sent the rest to Teconnet. Next, they A. D. 1688. proceeded to New-Dartmouth [Newcastle]—a town which had become remarkably flourishing. It had been patronized by Governor Dungan, and much enlarged and improved by Dutch emigrants; being accounted, as one author says, “the garden of the east.”† Within it was also a fortification, which proved to most of the inhabitants a timely asylum. In approaching the place, the Indians, September 5th, first secured Henry Smith and his family, and deferred a further attack till the next day; when they made Edward Taylor and his family prisoners. To this interval evidently, may be ascribed, under Providence, the preservation of the people; for they all had retired to the garrison, when the onset was made; and the Indians, flouting in disappointment, set fire to the deserted houses, and reduced the whole of them except two or three to ruins. As an instance of their perfidy and barbarism, they abused the man sent from the fort to treat with them, and then assassinated him. There was a fort on the banks of the Sheepscot river, which, with all the buildings were destroyed about this time‡ and the settlement entirely broken up. The overthrow of these ancient plantations was truly a fatal catastrophe. The Dutch settlers migrated from this quarter, never to return; and the places themselves, so lately and so long inhabited and flourishing, lay waste about thirty years. The concluding outrage of this year, was the captivity of Barrow and Bussey, with their families, between Winter-harbor and Kennebunk, who were probably carried to Teconnet, the general depository of prisoners.

Sept. 5, 6.

New-Dartmouth and Sheepscot destroyed.

The interposition and policy of Governor Andros, in this emergency, were attended with no memorable advantages. His dismissal of the Indian prisoners—his proclamation, October 20th, commanding the Sagamores to surrender the guilty Indians—his deputation sent to Falmouth and Maquoit for the purpose of treat-

Measures of Gov. Andros.

* 1 Hutchinson's History, p. 326. † 2 Mather's Magnalia, p. 507-9.

‡ Sullivan, [p. 165] by mistake, says “1680;” but that year was a time of profound peace.—In the winter following, [viz. in A. D. 1688-9] Gov. Andros placed a garrison at New-Dartmouth, or Newcastle, of 24 regulars and 60 militia; he also left men in the fort at Sheepscot. Upon the revolution, in April, 1689, he says, of the fort at Newcastle, most of the men were drawn off, and others debauched—they seized their officer and carried him a prisoner to Boston, and thereupon the fort was deserted.

A. D. 1689. ing with them—his army of 7 or 800, led by him into the eastern country—accomplished nothing. Only the establishment of garrisons, as previously stated,* were productive of any good effects. The Indians were scattered through the interior wilderness during the winter; and in the spring, the reins of government, amidst a sudden revolution, as before noticed, were changed into other hands.

April.
A change of
administra-
tion.

In April, the administration of public affairs in Maine, under the direction of Massachusetts, was resumed by President Danforth and the Provincial Council; Maj. Frost and Col. Tyng were appointed to command the western and the eastern regiments; and the forts underwent a review and thorough revision. Though Castine, according to report, had the preceding year, instigated the Indian fighters to hostilities, by furnishing every one of them with a roll of tobacco, a pound of powder and two pounds of lead; it was still thought by many, that good management might prevent a war. Madockawando, his neighbor, a Sagamore of great power and influence, had strongly expressed himself in favor of peace, and promised to negotiate a treaty†.

June 7.
Destruction
of Dover.

But the awful destruction of Cocheco [now Dover]‡ in New-Hampshire, June 7, blasted every expectation. The seizure of 400 Indians at that place, more than twelve years before, was a transaction never to be forgotten,—never to be forgiven by savages. Lapse of time had only wrought their resentments into animosities, malice and rage; and an opportunity now offered, to satiate their revenge. Two squaws, that fatal night, begged lodgings within the garrison; and when all was quiet, they opened the gates and gave the signals. In a moment, every apartment was full of Indians, and several rushed towards the door of the room, in which Major Waldron was asleep. Aroused by the noise, he sprang out of bed, though eighty years of age, and drove them through two doors with his sword. Turning back for his pistols, he was stunned by the blow of a hatchet, dragged into the hall, and seated in an elbow chair upon a long table. They then cut long gashes across his breast and loins with their knives, exclaiming with every stroke “I cross out my account.” His nose and ears they slashed off, and forced them into his mouth; and when, through anguish and loss of blood,

* Ante, chap. xxii. A. D. 1689.

† 6 Mass. Rec. p. 8.

‡ 2 Math. Mag. p. 511.—1 Belk N. H. 200.

he was falling from the table, one held his own sword under him, A.D. 1689. which put an end to his life and his misery.* Besides setting fire to the mills and five dwellinghouses, which were consumed, they killed twenty-three of the inhabitants and took twenty-nine captive, whom they carried into Canada and sold to the French.

This merchandize of prisoners gave to Indian warfare and Indian captivities, a new character. To prevent bloodshed, to Captives first sold in Canada. preserve life, to take captive the greater number uninjured, and to treat them better,—these were some of the effects incident to the practice, when it became one; for the premiums, which the Indians received of the French for a captive, bore some proportion to his appearance and worth. The sale, however, was not an unhappy event either to the country or to the captives themselves, especially if they had the fortune to become family-servants. Still they were not unfrequently urged and pressed by every seducing art, to embrace the popish religion, and sometimes they were kept in confinement, until they were ransomed.

The inhabitants were always in danger of being killed or taken Manner of Indian warfare. captive unawares. For the Indians never intended to be discovered, before they did execution. Their courage was not manly—they feared to face their foes, or fight in the open field. By ‘skulking’ under fences near the doors of dwellinghouses, and lying in wait behind logs and bushes about woodland paths, they achieved their principal exploits. The time of attack was usually at an early hour in the morning; and it has been known by their own confession, after they have assaulted a house or sacked a neighborhood, that they have lain in ambush for days together, watching the people’s motions, and considering the most favorable moment for making an attack. They were sparing of their ammunition—therefore their guns made a small report.† In

* Major Richard Waldron, a native of England, was one of the early settlers in New-Hampshire. He had represented Dover in the General Court of Massachusetts, 25 years, and was sometimes speaker of the house. In 1679, he was elected by the inhabitants of Kittery, their deputy, though a non-resident. He was a man of true courage and military merit; and a long time commanded the New-Hampshire regiment. He was Vice-President under Mr. Cuits; and in 1681, at the head of that Province. Seldom is a man more deserving, seldom more beloved.—See his *Character in the Grafton Journal, N. H. June, 1825.*

† Soon after the revolution, the troops stationed at Fort Loyal, it appears, were withdrawn; and the fort left to the care of the people. In

A. D. 1689. the bolder assaults, they often yelled and shouted. One of their secret feats was at Saco. Four young men going out, in July, to catch and bridle their horses, fell into an ambush, and were all killed at the first shot. To bury the slain, a company of twenty-four men, well armed, proceeded to the place, upon whom a body of Indians fired from their covert, and sprang forward to the attack. A severe encounter ensued, in which they were at first driven to a swamp; then returning with an auxiliary force and infuriated spirits, they compelled their antagonists to retreat, with a loss of six left upon the ground.*

July.
A skirmish
at Saco.

August 2.
Pemaquid
destroyed.

The garrison at Pemaquid, under the command of Captain Weems, was a particular object of savage vengeance. Being only a kind of resting place for the inhabitants, it was poorly manned, since Brockholt and all the men, except Weems and 15 men, had left it, and in quite an unfit condition to repel an assault. One Starkie, in passing from it, Aug. 2, to New-Harbor, was seized by a party of Indians, who threatened him, yet promised him favor, if he would tell them what he knew about the fort. To save his own life, he told them with too much truth, that Mr. Giles and fourteen men were then gone to his farm at the falls; and that the people were scattered about the fort, and few in it able to fight. The Indians then divided into two bands; one went and cut off Giles and his companions, and the other attacked the garrison with a fierceness and perseverance, that forced a

June, they stated to government that the men in the fort were few and worn down with fatigue and that they had only 20 balls for the great guns, and 3 1-2 bbls of powder,—but no provision—nor a musket belonging to the garrison.—1 *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* p. 197.

* 2 *Math. Magnal.* p. 512.—About this time, the garrison-house of Dominicus Jordan, son of Rev. Robert Jordan, at Spurwink, was violently assailed by the savages, which he defended with bravery and success. To intimidate him, an Indian called to him loudly, ‘we are ten hundred in number;’—“I don’t care,” replied Jordan, “if you are ten thousand.” A few years afterwards, perhaps at the commencement of the third Indian war, several Indians visiting his house, were received with familiarity, common in time of peace; when one inflicted a mortal blow upon his head, exclaiming, ‘there, Dominicus! now kill ’em ten thousand Indian! The family were all made prisoners and carried to Canada; and Mary-Ann, who married a Frenchman, at Trois Revieres, never returned. A son, of his father’s name, Dominicus, lived on the old estate, at Spurwink, and was representative from Falmouth in the General Court, several years. He died in 1749, aged 66. Samuel, his brother, settled in Saco.—*Folsom*, p. 181.

surrender. The terms of capitulation were life, liberty and A. D. 1689. safety—all which were violated; the savages butchering some, and making prisoners of others. About the same time, Captains Skinner and Farnham, coming to the shore, from a neighboring Island, were shot dead as they were stepping from their boat upon the ledge; and Capt. Pateshall, whose vessel was lying in the barbacan, was also taken and killed.*

Reduced to despair by these fatalities, which were aggravated by fresh depredations of the Indians upon the Kennebeck, and by Acadian privateers upon the coast, the inhabitants eastward of Falmouth withdrew to that town, or removed to other places of more security. The forts eastward were abandoned, and a wide country, lately adorned with settlements, herds and fields, exhibited all the forms and facts of a melancholy waste.†

The eastern inhabitants withdrew to Falmouth.

In defence of the remaining towns and settlements of the Province, President Danforth, his Council, and the people, resolved to use every precaution and effort. He appointed in each of them a committee of six men,‡ whom he empowered and directed to order scouts and watches; to regulate and equip their militia; to dispose of the people in forts and fortified houses; and to do whatever else they in the exercise of sound discretion might judge expedient for the public safety. He also directed an account to be taken, of all the resident inhabitants within the Province, and of all who had left it.

Committee of safety.

To confirm, moreover, the fortitude of the people, and protect them—to overawe or fright the enemy—and to settle and strengthen the garrisons; Massachusetts ordered 600 men to be raised, by detachments from the militia or by voluntary enlistments, and gave the command to Maj. Swaine. His place of rendezvous was at Newichawannock, from which his forces, Aug. 28th, August 28,

Massachusetts sends 600 men eastward.

* 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 352.—*Charlevoix* [2 vol. of *N. F.* p. 417] says, the Indians possessed themselves of ten or twelve stone houses and a street; and at night summoned the commander of the fort to surrender; when an Englishman sung out, "I am fatigued and must sleep first."—It was understood there were about an hundred people that belonged to the fort and village; but when they surrendered, (as he states, on the 20th of August,) the commander appeared at the head of fourteen men only, being all that remained of the men, attended by some women, and a few children.

† *Math. Mag.* p. 512.

‡ Those of Falmouth were Capt. Sylvanus Davis, and Brackett, Ingersoll, Clark, Gallison and Andrews.—6 *Mass. Rec.* p. 68-9.

A. D. 1689. took up their march eastward. One of his officers was the brave Capt. Hall, who had distinguished himself in king Philip's war ; and one of his companies, consisting of 90 Natick Indians, was commanded by Captain Lightfoot. The garrisons were now supplied with soldiers, and furnished with ammunition, 'corn, rye, biscuit, salt, and clothing;' and Swaine happily arrived in season to drive the enemy from Blue-point and Falmouth. In chasing the savages from Fort Loyal, Capt. Hall lost about ten of his best soldiers.

Benjamin
Church.

Sept. 6.

President
Danforth's
orders.

Swaine was soon followed into the Province, and a part of his forces joined, by the celebrated *Benjamin Church*,* at the head of 250 volunteers, English and Indians, whom he had enlisted in New-Plymouth and Rhode Island. He was commissioned, September 6th, by the government of Massachusetts, with the rank of Major, to the chief command of all the troops in service. It appears furthermore, that President Danforth, then presiding in a session at Boston, holden by the Commissioners of the United Colonies,† superadded a mandatory order, addressed to all the authorities of the Province, which he presented to Major Church, in these words.

Sept. 16.

" Boston, September, 16th, 1689.

" To all sheriffs, marshals, constables, and other officers, military and civil, in their Majesties' Province of Maine.

" Whereas, pursuant to an agreement of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Major BENJAMIN CHURCH is commissioned Commander-in-Chief, over that part of their Majesties' forces, levied for the present expedition against the common enemy, whose head-quarters are appointed to be at Falmouth, in Casco bay :—

" In their Majesties' names, you, and every of you, are required to be aiding and assisting, to the said Major Church in his pursuit of the enemy, as any emergency shall require ; and so impress boats and other vessels, carts, carriages, horses, oxen, provisions, ammunition, men for guides, &c. as you shall

* He was born at Duxbury, A. D. 1639, and died in 1718 ; a man of military talents, piety and influence. No one's name struck greater terror to the Indians.

† The Board consisted of Thomas Danforth, President and Elisha Cook, from Massachusetts ; Thomas Hinkley and John Walley, of Plymouth colony ; and Samuel Mason and William Pitkin, of Connecticut.

"receive warrants from the said chief Commander, or his Lieu- A. D. 1689.
 "tenant so to do. You may not fail to do the same speedily and
 "effectually, as you will answer your neglect and contempt of
 "their Majesties' authority and service at your utmost peril.

"Given under my hand and seal, the day and year above
 "written, *Annoque Regni, Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Ma-*
riae primo.

"By THOMAS DANFORTH, President

"of the Province of Maine."

The United Colonies of New-England now made the war a common cause, and on the 18th, gave the commander his instructions. By these, he was directed to keep out scouts and a forlorn hope before his main body, to avoid every ambush, to promise the soldiery, besides their stipulated wages, the benefit of all the captives and lawful plunder taken, and a further reward of £8 for every Indian fighting-man slain; and in general to punish all drunkenness and profanity, and see that the army observe the worship of Almighty God, by morning and evening prayers and the sanctification of the Sabbath. He was also instructed to cooperate with Major Swaine, in all practicable cases; and to consult with Capt. Sylvanus Davis, of Falmouth—a man of acknowledged acquaintance with the Indians and the eastern affairs.*

The Commissioners furthermore endeavoured to persuade the brave Mohawks into the eastern service:—it might, as it was observed to them, open a new field of glory. But they said, *No—we have fought our own battles with the French, and burnt Montreal to the ground. We are by treaty the allies of the English; we promise to preserve the chain unbroken. Amity is a river refreshing to us as to you—and we wish the sun ever to shine in peace over our heads. We have no will to go with gun and hatchet against the "Onagounges,"*†—as the eastern Indians were collectively called by them.

The successes and cruelties of the Mohawks, and their unchanging friendship for the English, from whom they received a supply of weapons and ammunition, produced among the Canadians the sharpest and most inveterate feelings of revenge. M. de Callieres, the military commander of the country, having con-

* Church's Expedition, (edition 1710) p. 96.

† 6 Mass. Rec. p. 71.—1 Holmes' A. Ann. p. 477.

Instructions
from the
United Col-
onies.

Mohawks
decline en-
tering into
the eastern
war.

A. D. 1689. ceived the project of subduing the entire Province of New-York, by an attack upon the northern parts, with an army, and upon the south, by a naval force, went to France, and prevailed upon the king to afford the assistance requested. The fleet and troops arrived at Chebucta in Nova Scotia, and himself and Count Frontenac, who had lately been reappointed Governor of Canada, reached Quebec soon after the destruction of Montreal. Astonished and dismayed at the calamities and confusion of the country, they immediately felt the imperious necessity of abandoning the expedition altogether; and the fleet returned to France.

September.
Church's
skirmishes
at Falmouth.

Major Church arrived at Falmouth in the latter part of September, though* not before Major Swaine and a part of his force had retired, to the rendezvous at Newichawannock. Landing his men near Fort Loyal in the dusk of the evening, Church disposed of them in the garrison and neighboring houses. Hall, Southworth and Davis, were some of his Captains; and Numposh commanded the Seconet and Cape Indians. The principal intelligence, he received of the enemy, was from Mrs. Lee, Maj. Waldron's daughter, who, after being made a captive at Cocheco, had been rescued by a colonial privateer. She stated, that the army of Indians she left, had 80 canoes, and they said their company consisted of 700 men. She saw several Frenchmen among them, and understood, the whole force was preparing to attack Fort Loyal. The truth of her story was confirmed by the report of a spy or scout, who said he had the preceding day, seen at a distance a large body of the enemy.

Church, fully acquainted with the Indian modes of war and fighting, marched his forces, an hour before day, towards the woods not far from the head of Back Cove, and halted them in a thicket, about half a mile northwesterly from the garrison. The Indians had already landed upon the other or westerly side of the Cove, and a scout had taken Anthony Brackett,† one of the principal inhabitants, a prisoner. A brisk firing was commenced in his orchard, by an advanced force under Capt. Hall,

* This time is supposed to be correct from the whole narrative; though Church in his "Expeditions" is not particular as to *time* or *place*. Governor Sullivan has described some of the places.—*Sull.* p. 202.

† Son of the one killed in the last war.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 528.

after they had forded over, which alarmed the town, and drew A. D. 1689.
 to him a reenforcement under Church himself, with an additional ^{Skirmishes}
 supply of ammunition. It seems the cove at this place was ^{at Fal-}
 narrow, and the Indians on the farther side were so near its mar-
 gin, that Church's men were able to reach the enemy with their
 shots, over the heads of Hall's soldiers. Church next proceeded
 in haste up the cove 80 or 100 rods, determined to pass over to
 the same side, join Hall, and attack the Indians in the rear. The
 latter, desirous to prevent it, met him and his troops, and advanced
 to attack them; manoeuvring to prevent their junction with
 Capt. Hall, but being unable, they retreated into the woods.
 Major Church at this juncture, finding the bullets too large for
 the caliber of the guns, ordered casks of them to be cut into
 slugs,—still resolved to pursue the enemy. But as the day was
 far spent, he concluded finally to return, with his dead and wound-
 ed, to the fort.—The companions of Southworth and Numposh,
 afforded Hall and his company timely and signal assistance.
 In the midst of the action, the Indian Captain Lightfoot, perceiv-
 ing, that their ammunition was nearly exhausted, passed over,
 and taking a cask of powder upon his head, and a kettle of bullets
 in each hand, repassed to them in safety. Church represents
 the enemy to have conducted with courage and considerable
 policy, during the action. They divided, and a party construct-
 ed an opposing breastwork of logs, which they stuck full of
 bushes to screen them from view, and prevent his cooperation
 with Hall and his company. The Indians in their flight threw
 themselves into a cedar-swamp; and the reason assigned by
 Church, why he did not intercept their retreat, was the intervening
 rough and bushy grounds. The loss to the English is said to
 have been 21 or 22 killed and wounded;—of the former, six be-
 longed to Capt. Hall's company, and of the latter, six were In-
 dian friends.*

Major Church then proceeded to Kennebeck, which he ascend-
 ed several leagues; and returning, ranged the coast, revisited the ^{The distress}
 garrisons and sailed for Boston; leaving 60 soldiers quartered at ^{of the peo-}
 Fort Loyal, under the brave Capt. Hall. Many of the suffering ^{ple.}
 people entreated him to take them away in his transports; and

* Church's Expedition, p. 89-106—and Letter to the Governor of Mass-
 chusetts.—*Sullivan*, p. 202-3.

A. D. 1689. Capt. Scottow of Black-point, who accompanied him, complained, that President Danforth, by requiring of them provisions for a supply of the military, had brought them into great distress.

Three
French
expeditions
planned.

Count Frontenac, anxious to raise his credit among the Canadians and Indians, and to distinguish himself by some enterprizes against the American subjects of king William, with whom his master was at war in Europe, projected three expeditions against the English colonists. One of them, despatched from Montreal, destroyed Schenectady, a Dutch village on the Mohawk river,

Feb. 8, 1690.
Schenectady
destroyed.

Feb. 8th, 1690 ; committing the most atrocious cruelties.* The other two proceeded against the outer settlements of Maine.

Until this period, the frontiers had a respite from Indian warfare, during the winter months ; as the deep snows and cold weather were a security against incursions. But the French had now joined the Indians, and became actors and partakers in scenes, which ought to put every mortal, calling himself a christian, to the blush.

March 18.
Berwick
destroyed.

Newichawannock, [Berwick] which suffered so much in the last war, had more than revived—as it contained, according to Charlevoix, 27 houses. To destroy this flourishing plantation, a party arrived, March 18th, from Trois Revieres, under the command of the Sieur Hartel, or Artel, a Canadian officer of distinguished reputation. The whole number was fifty-two men, of whom twenty-five were Indians, under the famous Hopehood. They commenced the assault at daybreak, in three different places. The people, though entirely surprized, flew to arms, and defended themselves in their garrisoned houses, with a bravery applauded by Hartel himself. They fought till thirty-four of the men were killed ; but in this, as in most other such onsets, the assailants, having altogether the advantage, forced the people to surrender at discretion. The number of prisoners were 54, of whom the greater part were women and children. The assailants then took all the plunder they could consume or carry away, and set on fire most of the houses, the mills and barns, which with a great number of cattle were consumed.

The party with their prisoners and booty now retreated, pursued by about 150 men, in the vicinity, aroused to arms by the smoke of the burning village ; who came up with Hartel in the

* Williams' Vermont. p. 293.

afternoon, at a narrow bridge over Wooster river. Expecting an A.D. 1690. attack, the latter posted his men advantageously on the opposite bank, when a sharp engagement ensued, which lasted till night. ^{A skirmish.} Four or five of the pursuers were killed, and the enemy lost three men, two of whom were Indians, and the other Hartel's nephew; his son, also, was wounded. Another Frenchman was taken prisoner, who was treated so tenderly, that he remained with the English and embraced the protestant faith. He said the French and Indians were severally receiving from the Canadian government, the monthly wages of ten livres.*

The third expedition, meditated by Frontenac, was sent against ^{May.} Falmouth. There were at that time upon the peninsula, three ^{Falmouth and Fort} fortifications besides Fort Loyal. One was near the present ^{Loyal at-} burying-ground; another was on the rocky elevation southerly of the new court-house, almost indefensible; and the third, in a better condition, was further westward, near the water-side. The public garrison had been under the command of Capt. Willard, of Salem; but, on his being ordered abroad, to pursue the enemy, he was succeeded by Capt. Sylvanus Davis, who, it seems, had only a small number of regular troops left with him.

The body of French and Indians, collected to destroy this place, was sent under the command of M. Burneffe, and consisted of 4 or 500 men.† His Lieutenant was M. Cortè de March, who was a leader in taking Schenectady. The greater part of the Frenchmen were from Quebec, under one M. de Portneuf; 55 men were mustered at Trois Revieres, of whom 25 were Algonquins‡ and Sokokis; and all, it is stated, were met by Hartel on his return, and reenforced by a part of his men. To these were united an unknown number of Indians from the eastward, under Castine§ and Madockawando. The whole were seen passing over Casco bay, in a great flotilla of canoes, early in May; and were, it seems, deterred from an immediate attack, by a knowledge, and possibly a view of the squadron un-

* 1 *Belk. N. H.* p. 207.—*Charlevoix* says 2,000 head of cattle were burnt in the barns. This must be an exaggeration.

† *Mr. Mather*, (2 *Magnal.* p. 524,) says 400. But Capt. Davis says 4 or 500 French and Indians set upon the fort, May 16th, 1690.—*His Letter*, 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 104-5, 3d series.—But *Charlevoix* says Portneuf commanded. He also says there were four small forts near the garrison.

‡ 40 *Universal History*, p. 56-7.

§ *Church's Expedition*, p. 106.

A. D. 1690. der Commodore Phips, which must have passed these coasts towards Nova Scotia, about the same time.

Attack upon
Falmouth.
May 10.

Nothing more was heard of the enemy till about the 10th of the month; when a bold party approached within three or four miles of Fort Loyal, probably in the north-westerly skirts of Falmouth, and drove off twenty cattle, supposed afterwards to be slaughtered for the use of the army. The inhabitants conjectured from this circumstance, that the head-quarters of the Indians must be in that direction; and President Danforth ordered Major Frost to detach, without delay, 100 men from the provincial militia, to be joined by a party from the garrison; all of whom, under Captain Willard, were directed to proceed in the search and pursuit of the enemy.* When they departed, the command of Fort Loyal was assumed by Captain Sylvanus Davis, as previously mentioned.

May 16.

Early in the morning of the 16th, one Robert Greason, going from home, at Presumpscot river, was seized by an Indian scout and made a prisoner. This bold arrest induced the general suspicion, that the enemy was watching in that quarter for an advantageous surprize of the town. To make discoveries, therefore, about thirty young volunteer soldiers, under Lieut. Thaddeus Clark, proceeded from the garrison, about half a mile, to an eminence, evidently Mountjoy's hill; and entered a lane which was fenced on each side, and led to a block house in the margin of the woods. Observing the stare of the cattle in the field, they suspected an ambush behind the fence, and yet all rashly ran towards the place, raising the shout, *huzza! huzza!* But the aim of the cowering spies was too sure and deadly; for they brought Clark and thirteen of his comrades to the ground at the first shot; the rest fleeing, upon a second charge, to one of the forts. Flushed with this success, the French and Indians rushed into town, and beset the several fortifications, except Fort Loyal, with great fury. All the people, who were unable to make good their retreat within the walls, were slain. After a manly defence through the day, the volunteers and inhabitants finding their ammunition nearly exhausted, and despairing of re-

* It was a misfortune to Casco, though not to Willard, that he, so qualified an officer, should be "called off two or three days before" the attack.

—2 *Mather's Magnalia*, p. 521.

cruits or supplies, retired under the covert of darkness to the public garrison. A. D. 1690.

The assailants, next morning, finding the village abandoned, plundered the houses and set them on fire. They then proceeded to storm the garrison. Thwarted in this attempt, and sustaining considerable loss from the fort guns, they entered a deep contiguous gully, too low to be reached by the shots of their antagonists, and began the work, at some distance, of undermining the walls. Four days and nights, they wrought with indefatigable and incessant exertion, till within a few feet of the fort, when they demanded a surrender.

It was a crisis trying in the extreme to all within the walls. They were exhausted with fatigue and anxiety. The greater part of the men were killed or wounded. Capt. Lawrence had received a shot which was mortal. All thoughts of outward succor or relief were fraught with deep despair; and on the 20th* Garrison of Fort Loyal capitulates. May 20. a parley was commenced, which terminated in articles of capitulation. By these it was stipulated, that all within the garrison should receive kind treatment, and be allowed to go into the nearest provincial towns under the protection of a guard:—to the faith and observance of which Castine “lifted his hand and swore by the everlasting God.” The gates were then opened, when a scene ensued, which shocks humanity. The prisoners, who were seventy in number, besides women and children, were called heretics, rebels and traitors, the dupes of a Dutch usurper, and treated with every insult and abuse. No part of the articles was regarded. Capt. Davis, who was one of the prisoners, says, ‘the French suffered our women and children and especially the wounded men, to be cruelly murdered† or destroyed after the surrender; and the rest, being 3 or 4 with himself, took up a march of 24 days to Quebec.’‡ The whole number of prison-

* *Charlevoix* says 27th May; but Capt. Davis says the enemy forced a surrender the 20th of May. He himself was at Quebec 4 months; and was finally exchanged for a Frenchman taken by Sir William Phips.—*Charlevoix* [3 vol. *N. F.* p. 135] says the Canibas and other Abenagues Indians “laid waste 50 leagues of country,” this year.

† Nathaniel White, the Indians tied to a stake, “and cut off one of his ears and made him eat it raw.”

‡ Capt. Davis says, “Frontenac blamed Burneffe for breaking their oaths.”

A. D. 1690. ers, including some taken in the vicinity, was about a hundred. Falmouth destroyed. Capt. Willard and his men had not returned. The fortifications were all laid waste, and the dead bodies of the inhabitants were left to bleach and moulder above ground. Such was fallen Falmouth—a spectacle of homicide, ruin and melancholy.*

All the eastern people withdraw to Wells.

The capture of Fort Loyal was considered a great calamity. The victorious enemy, ranging through the country, and rioting on the spoils, threatened the destruction of the entire Province. All within the fortifications of Purpooduck, Spurwink, Black-point and Blue-point, departed without orders, to Saco, thence proceeded in a few days to Wells [Kennebunk] and thence to Storer's garrison. Here they were reenforced and ordered by government to abide and resist all attacks.

Sufferings of captives.

To mention the hardships and sufferings of a few captives, taken at Newichawannock and Falmouth, will give some idea, though a faint one, of an Indian captivity. They were compelled to travel through pathless deserts and deep swamps; over craggy mountains and windfalls; in rain, cold and snow; and oftentimes barefoot, half-naked and half-starved. By day and by night they were exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather and always oppressed with the excruciating pains of mind, arising from remembrance of lost homes, friends and social scenes. In travelling, they were loaded with burdens, pushed forward by the points of weapons—not unfrequently tortured, or made the victims of instant death.

Robert Rogers.

Robert Rogers, a corpulent man, taken at Newichawannock, the March previous, being unable to carry his burden further, threw it down, fled and secreted himself. The Indians found him by his footsteps, hidden in a hollow tree. They stript him, beat him most cruelly, pricked him with the points of their swords and knives and tied him to a tree; then building a fire near him, bidding him take leave of his friends and say his prayers, they pushed up the fire to his flesh, danced around him, and, cutting collops from his body, threw them bleeding into his face. With his back to the stake, they left him broiling in the fire, till he was consumed.

* *Charlevoix* [3 vol. N. F. p. 78] says there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in the fort. No want of ammunition; and when the prisoners marched out of the fort, 50 in all, the savages raised a shout, fell upon them with hatchet and sword and killed all except four, and these were wounded.

Mary Plaisted, made a captive at the same time and place, A. D. 1690. three weeks after confinement, was compelled to lie on the cold ground and open air with her infant, both quivering and starving. After travelling many days through swamps and snows—over logs, rocks and mountains, she could not move another step. Her Indian master coming to her, seized her infant, and, stripping off its rags, dashed out its brains against a tree and threw it into the river. Now, said he, ‘you are eased of your burden—you can walk faster.’

To mention the painful case of one other sufferer, taken with the preceding two,* will suffice for this place. Mary Furguson, a girl of 15, was so overburdened with plunder, laid upon her back, that she burst into tears and said she could not go another step. An Indian led her aside, cut off her head and scalped it; holding up the scalp and exclaiming, *so I'll do with you all, if you dare cry or complain.*

Hopehood, one of the most bloody warriors of the age, again appeared with a gang of desperadoes, prowling through the Province. In July, they had a severe skirmish at Wells, with a party under Capt. Sherburne. Fired with uncommon revenge towards Newichawannock, they proceeded to reduce the remains of that ill-fated settlement to utter ruin; shooting one man and burning several buildings. At Spruce-creek [Eliot] they killed an old man and took a woman captive. Next, they pushed into New-Hampshire; killing, burning and destroying in every place, where the people were unguarded. But these were the last feats of Hopehood. He was soon after killed by a party of Canada Indians, who mistook him for one of the Mohawks.† As a further specimen of his character, it may not be improper to notice an instance of his cruelty. James Key, a boy of five years, one of the captives taken by him at Newichawannock, in March, being quite broken-hearted, had spells of crying to see his parents. To still the little sufferer, the savage stripped him naked, lashed both his arms around a tree, and whipped him from head to foot, till he was covered with blood. Soon after, the child had a sore eye, which Hopehood said was caused by crying; and seizing him, he turned it from the socket with his thumb, exclaiming, “if I hear you cry again, I'll do so by 'tother.” One day, because

Mary Plaisted.

Mary Furguson.

Skirmishes at Wells, Berwick, and Spruce-creek.

Hopehood killed.

* 2 Mather's Magnalia, p. 517.

† 2 Mather's Magnalia, p. 524-5.

A. D. 1690. the child in travelling was unable to keep up, the monster at once sprang and cut his head to pieces with his hatchet.

The Indians
left by the
French.

After the conquest of Nova Scotia by Phips, was completed, and the expedition planned against Canada was known at Quebec, the Indians* were left chiefly to themselves, in the management of the war against the English frontiers; for Count Frontenac was needing all his men and means at home. This was considered a favorable period for chastising the eastern tribes; and while the fleet was gone to reduce Quebec, Major Benjamin Church was again, September 2, taken into the public service.

Sept. 2.
B. Church's
2d expedi-
tion.

About 300 men were placed under his command, consisting of enlistments in Plymouth Colony, and troops from Massachusetts. This government furnished him with the necessary shipping and supplies; and the General Court and Commissioners of the United Colonies gave him instructions. He was directed to visit Casco, Pejepscot, and any other places in the vicinity, where the French and Indians had their head-quarters, and, if possible, to kill them or drive them from the country; also to ransom, rescue, or in some way recover the captives.

He visits
Maquoit
and Pejep-
scot

He first landed his men at Maquoit and led them across land, before daylight,† towards Pejepscot-fort, on the western side of the Lower Falls in the river Androscoggin. He and his advanced guard first saw young Doney, a Sokokis, his wife and two captives, about a mile from the fort, on the further side of a stream and marsh full of water, which they were obliged to ford, though it were to their armpits. Doney ran for the fort; and Church, though retarded by wading through the water, closely pursued him. As the fleet-footed Indian entered the gate, he cried, *Englishmen! Englishmen!*—when all within it, flew precipitantly in different directions; some leaped into the river and were drowned; a few fled under the falls and were seen no more; and several ran unwarily into the very arms of Church and his men, who by this time had arrived at the place, expecting a skirmish. But there was no resistance. The English captives recovered, were in a starving, wretched condition. The prisoners taken, consisted of one Indian,—the wives of Kancamagus and Warumbee,—several other squaws,—and a great number of

* Only about a third part remained, and these were Protestants.—1 *Brit. Emp.* p. 176.

† 2 *Math. Mag.* p. 522, he says 'by night.'

Indian children. The life of the native was spared, through A. D. 1690. the importunity of two female captives, who said, he had been the means of their preservation, and that of many others. He represented, that the Indians were abroad, engaged in drawing the Marechites of St. John's river into the war. The wives of the two Sagamores and their children were saved and sent on board his vessels, in consideration of a solemn promise made by the women, that eighty English prisoners should be restored. But it is painful to relate, and nowise creditable to the usual humanity of Major Church, that the rest of the females, except two or three old squaws, also the unoffending children, were put to the tomahawk or sword.—The old women, he left with some necessaries and this errand,—‘tell the Sagamores, they may find ‘their wives and children at Wells.’*

Major Church, the next day, proceeded with his men, forty miles up the Androscoggin, to the Indian fort, where he recovered seven captives, killed twenty-one of the enemy, and took one prisoner. After plundering the fort, which contained some valuable property, he left it in flames. His prisoner was Agamcus, called from his size Great Tom, who was a sullen fellow, and on the march had the cunning to escape from his careless keepers. Flying to some of the Sagamores, he told them such frightful stories about the tremendous Church and his forces, that the Indians fled into the woods, leaving Brackett, taken the previous year at Falmouth, who arrived at Maquoit, about the time Church was reembarking his troops.†

Church proceeded to Winter-harbor, where, in a skirmish which a party of his men had with old Doney and the enemy, A skirmish of Church at Casco. near Scammon's fort,‡ he killed two savages and recovered an English captive, who informed him, that the Indians were collecting at Pejepscot, to go against Wells. In his return to that place, he was only able to take some additional plunder. He next anchored at Purpooduck, Sept. 21, and landed three companies upon Sept. 21. the peninsula. Here he had a smart engagement with the Indians, in which he lost five of his Plymouth soldiers, killing 8 or 10 of the enemy, and taking 13 canoes. A returning captive told that

* Church's Expedition, p. 107–117.

† 2 Math. Mag. p. 523–9.

‡ Scammon's garrison was on the east side of the Saco, 3 miles below the falls.

A. D. 1690. the Indians, in consequence of their loss, butchered, according to custom, as many of their prisoners. He collected and buried the mouldering bodies of the people slain in the capture of Falmouth, and returned home, leaving 100 of his men at Wells, under Capt. Converse* and Lieut. Plaisted.

A view of
his 2d ex-
pedition.

Although Major Church acquired so much honor in king Philip's war, he added to it few laurels in this expedition. The government of Massachusetts thought his exploits were wholly of a negative character, unworthy of applause. Some of the disaffected eastern Provincials basely charged him with putting their cattle into barrels, and selling it in Boston for plunder. He himself complained, that the grievous report about the 'Eastward Expedition, rolled home upon him, like a snow ball, gathering size at every turn, till he was quite overshadowed, and hidden 'from all favorable view of his friends.' But he had lived long enough to know, that military merit is measured by successes; and though suspicion paints in the darkest colors, a consciousness of having performed well and wisely all that could be done, was a better security to reputation, than inscriptions on brass or marble. He magnanimously collected a considerable contribution in Plymouth Colony, which he transmitted to the eastern Provincials, accompanied by an address to Major Frost, John Wheelwright, Esq. and others, encouraging their expectations of still farther relief.

His policy at Pejepscot had the anticipated effect upon the Sagamores. For, in October, ten of them came to Wells, where they were extravagantly gratified, in the restoration of the captive wives and children. Being in a mood to talk with open heart, they said, *the French had made fools of them*, and three times repeated these words—"We will go to war against you no more;"—"We are ready to meet your head-men, at any time and place you appoint, and enter into a treaty."

Nov. 29.
A truce 5
months.

On the 29th of November, at Sagadahock, a truce was signed by commissioners from Massachusetts,—viz. Majors Hutchinson and Pike, two of the Assistants, and Capt. Townsend, Master of the Province sloop; and by six Sagamores,† in behalf of all the

* But Church says Converse went with him to Boston.—*Expedition*, p. 123.—It was only a trip, p. 129.

† These were Netoꝛꝛbounet, (or Naitumbuit,) of Saco; Warumbee, of Androscoggin; John Hagkins, alias Kankamagus, of Penacpek; Edgere-

Abenaques tribes, including the Penacooks. But it was, how- A. D. 1690.
 ever, preceded by a conference of no less than six days, and was
 finally subscribed by the Sagamores while they were in their
 canoes; nor was it to continue beyond the first of the ensuing
 May. Still, they stipulated and agreed to do no injury in the
 mean time to the English, to deliver up all the prisoners present,
 and on the first day of May, surrender at Storer's garrison, in
 Wells, all the others,—and there make a lasting peace. They also
 promised to give the English timely notice, should the French plot
 any mischief against them. Ten English captives were then re-
 leased, with one of whom, Mrs. Hall, they parted very reluctantly,
 because she wrote well and served them as a secretary.

This was almost the only good fortune of the autumn, which
 could counteract the fate of the Canada expedition and the great
 discomfiture of the public. Never had Maine witnessed a darker
 season. Only four towns remained,—viz. Wells, York, Kittery,
 and Appledore or the Isles of Shoals; and these, the enemy had
 evidently marked out for utter and speedy destruction.

There were in Wells, between the present highway and the
 beach, several houses, constructed of hewn timber, with flankers,
 and on each a watchtower—all of which were fortified, and might
 be occupied and used as garrisons. One of the largest and
 strongest was Mr. Storer's, situated near the old meeting-house,
 and about 100 rods from the present one,—considered at this
 period a public fortification.

At the time appointed, May 1st, 1691, President Danforth,
 attended by several gentlemen, besides some of his Council, A. D. 1691.
 and guarded by a troop of horse, visited Wells, in anticipation of
 meeting the Indians and forming a treaty. But not one of them
 appeared;—being evidently deterred, through French influence.
 A few of them, however, who were in the neighborhood, were
 brought in by order of Capt. Converse, and asked, why the Sag-
 amores were not present to enter upon a treaty, according to
 promise.—‘*We no remember the time,*’—said they.—‘*But still*
‘*we now give up two captives; and we promise, certain, to bring*
‘*the rest in ten days.*’—To try their faith and honor, they were

met, alias, Moxus, Toqualmot, and Watombamet, probably of Kennebeck.
 —See 1 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 358, where some of the names are differently spelt.
 —2 *Mather's Magnalia*, p. 529, 543.—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 104–5, 3d
 series.—*Sullivan*, p. 147.

A. D. 1692. then dismissed ; yet nothing more was seen of the Indians.—

Hence, President Danforth and his associates, thus disappointed, and despairing of a negotiation, soon returned to York ; promising as he departed, to send a reenforcement to Converse, consisting of 35 soldiers, from the county of Essex. They arrived June 9th ; and in one half hour afterwards, the garrison was furiously beset by Moxus and two hundred Indians. Being repulsed, they presently withdrew and proceeded to Cape Neddock, in York. Here they attacked a vessel and killed the greater part of the crew, set the little hamlet on fire, and then scattered in different directions. Madockawando remarked, as related by a captive, '*Moxus miss it this time,—next year I'll have the dog Converse out his den.*'

June 9.

Cape Neddock burnt.

July.
Four companies proceeded to Pejepscot.

Four companies, commanded by March, King, Sherburne, and Walton, the first being the senior officer, were despatched, late in July, into the eastern service, who landed at Maquoit and proceeded to Pejepscot-falls. Returning to their vessels, they had a sharp skirmish with a large body of Indians, in which Capt. Sherburne was killed. Nothing was effected by this expedition—it only deterred the Indians from their premeditated attack upon the Isles of Shoals. Unassisted now by the French, they diverted themselves in roving through the country, during the autumn,—shooting individuals when alone,*—and robbing or burning solitary houses.

York assailed.

Their attempts upon the village of York, in the last and the present war, had been remarkably delayed. Spread along the eastern side of Agamenticus river, near the margin of the salt water, it was in some degree sheltered from the enemy, by the frontier settlements. It had been, for many years, one of the provincial seats of government and justice, and since A. D. 1673, had been favored with the able and pious ministry of Rev. Shubael Dummer. Several houses were strongly fortified, and the people kept a constant and vigilant watch, excepting in the heart of winter. Unfortunately this was the season, ascertained by the enemy, to be most favorable for effecting its destruction

Early in the morning of Monday, Feb. 5, 1692, at the signal

* Dr. Mather, (2 *Magnalia*, p. 530,) says, "on Sept. 28th, seven persons were murdered or captured at Berwick ;"—engaged, probably, in taking some of the remains from that place.

of a gun fired, the town was furiously assaulted at different places, by a body of two or three hundred Indians, led on and emboldened by several Canadian Frenchmen;—all of them having taken up their march thither upon snow-shoes. The surprise of the town was altogether unexpected and amazing, and consequently the more fatal. A scene of most horrid carnage and capture instantly ensued; and in one half hour, more than an hundred and sixty of the inhabitants were expiring victims or trembling suppliants, at the feet of their enraged enemies. The rest had the good fortune to escape with their lives into Preble's, Harman's, Alcock's and Norton's garrisoned houses, the best fortifications in town. Though well secured within the walls, and bravely defending themselves against their assailants, they were several times summoned to surrender :—*Never*, said they, *never, till we have shed the last drop of blood.* About 75 of the people were killed; yet despairing of conquest or capitulation, the vindictive destroyers set fire to nearly all the unfortified houses on the north-east side of the river, which with a large amount of property left, besides the plunder taken, were laid in ashes.—Apprehensive of being overtaken by avenging pursuers, they hastened their retreat into the woods; taking with them as much booty as they could carry away, and, as Doct. Mather says,* “near an hundred of that unhappy people,” prisoners. Nay, it was now their hard destiny, to enter upon a long journey,† amidst a thousand hardships and sufferings, aggravated by severe weather, snow, famine, abuse, and every species of wretchedness.

About one half of the inhabitants, it has been supposed, were either slain or carried away captive. Mr. Dummer was found by some of his surviving neighbors, fallen dead upon his face, near his own door; being shot, as he was about starting on horseback to make a pastoral visit. He was a well educated divine, now in his 60th year; greatly beloved by his charge; and so eminent a man of God, that Doct. Mather supposes, an appropriate emblem in his coat of arms would have been, *a lamb in a flaming bush.*‡

Rev. Mr.
Dummer
killed.

* 2 Magnal. p. 530-1. † It is supposed they were carried to Sagadahock.

‡ His house was by the seashore, not far from the “Roaring Rock.” He was a graduate of Harvard College, A. D. 1656, and married the same year. He was, one says, “not only well descended, well tempered and well educated,”—but settled among a people strongly attached to him; whose faithful ministry had been greatly blessed among them. By reason

A. D. 1692. His wife, the daughter of Edward Rishworth, Esq. was among the captives, who being heart-broken, and exhausted with fatigue, soon sunk in death. But truth and fidelity require the writer to mention in this place, an instance of Indian gratefulness, among several of a kindred character, occurring at other times in our wars with the natives. To recompense the English for sparing the lives of 4 or 5 Indian females, and a brood of their children at Pejepscot, they dismissed some elderly women, and several children between the ages of three and seven years, and returned them safely to one of the garrison-houses;*—a circumstance which also confirms the opinion, that the Penacooks and the Anasagunticooks were concerned in this attack. A party instantly rallied at Portsmouth, as soon as the news reached the place, and went in pursuit of the enemy; too late, however, to effect a rescue of the prisoners, or to give the savages battle. In derision of the puritan ministers, towards whom the Indians, full of Romish prejudices, entertained the greatest antipathy; one of them, on a Sunday of their march through the wilderness, dressed himself in the ministerial attire of Mr. Dummer, and in mock dignity, stalked among the prisoners, several of whom were members of his church;—‘a demon,’ according to Mr. Mather’s view of him, ‘transformed into an angel of light.’

The melancholy condition of York

The massacre in York and burning of the town, were the more deeply and extensively lamented, because of the antiquity and pre-eminence of the place, and especially the excellent character of the people. “Many,” says an eminent cotemporary writer, “were the tears, that were dropped throughout New-England on “this occasion.” It had experienced so fatal a blow, that the remaining inhabitants entertained, afterwards, serious thoughts of abandoning it altogether, while the war continued. But Massachusetts, in her generosity, administered to the people, by the hands of Captains Converse and Greenleaf, immediate relief,

of their distresses, he “spent much of his patrimony” in his own support. When settled, he preached the ordination discourse from Psal. 80 c. 14 v. He was succeeded, A. D. 1700, by Rev. Samuel Moody—who continued in the ministry 48 years; and whose fame equalled that of any gentleman of the clergy in that age.—*Hon. D. Sewall*.—3 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 10.—*Greenleaf’s Ecc. Hist.* p. 9.

* One of them was the famous Col. Jeremiah Moulton, who died, A. D. 1765.—1 *Coll. Maine Hist. Soc.* p. 104.—See ante, A. D. 1690.

with such full encouragements of protection, as determined them A. D. 1692. to abide and risque future events. Major Elisha Hutchinson was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the provincial militia, and of the three companies in the eastern service, under Captains Converse, Floyd, and Thaxter; by whose united and prudent conduct, the frontiers were so well guarded, and the posts so readily corresponded with each other, through the medium of ranging parties, that it became impossible for the enemy to attack, in the usual way by surprise. Several of the captives taken at York, were recovered in the course of the spring, by a vessel sent for the purpose to Sagadahock.

Wells was next the object of attack by the Indians. The inhabitants were dispersed among the fortified houses,—in necessary circumstances; while Capt. Converse and fifteen soldiers were all the fensible men then in Storer's garrison. To supply them and the people with ammunition and provisions, two sloops, commanded by Samuel Storer and James Gouge, attended by a shallop, well laden, arrived in the harbor, Friday, June 9th, having on board 14 men. About the same hour, the cattle, much affrighted, ran bleeding into the settlement, from the woods; fortunately giving the alarm of an approaching enemy. Captain Converse instantly issued commands to the vessels, and to the people in all quarters, to be on their guard; and the whole night was passed in anxious and trembling watchfulness.

Wells defended by Converse and 15 men.

June 9.

Next morning, before break of day, John Diamond, a passenger in the shallop, on his way to the garrison, distant from the sloop a gunshot, was seized by Indian spies and dragged away by his hair. An army of about 500 French and Indians presently appeared, under Burneffe, their superior officer, who was chief in command at the capture of Falmouth—Labrocree, another French General, of some military reputation—and a few other Frenchmen of rank; attended by Madockawando, Egere-met,* Moxus, Warumbee, and several other Sagamores. They closely examined Diamond, who told them what he knew; only, by mistake, or design, he said there were in the garrison with Capt. Converse, thirty brave men, well armed. Flushed with the certainty of conquest, they apportioned the soldiers, the inhabitants, Mr. Wheelwright by name, the women and the children

June 10. Assailed by 500 French and Indians.

* Egere-met was from Machias or Passamaquoddy.

A. D. 1692. of the town, the sailors, and the plunder, among the officers, the Sagamores, and their host; when one habited like a gentleman, made a speech in English to them, in which he exhorted them to be active and fearless; assuring them, if they courageously attacked the English fortresses, all would be theirs—the heretics must surrender.

June 10. Instantly raising a hideous shout, they assailed the garrison with great fury, and continued the assault during the day. A party constructed, in the meantime, a breastwork of plank, hay, posts and rails, over which they fired upon the vessels, secured only by a high bank, too far distant for men to spring on board. Being only a dozen rods from the sloops, they were able to set them on fire several times with fire-arrows; the crews extinguishing the flames, by wet mops upon the ends of poles, and firing also with an aim and briskness, which at length compelled them to withdraw. One of the Indians, more daring than his fellows, then approached with a plank for a shield, whom a marksman by a single shot brought to the ground. Next, a kind of cart, rigged and trimmed, with a platform and breastwork shot-proof, was rolled forward from the woods, till within fifteen yards of the sloops; when one of the wheels sinking into the oozy earth, a Frenchman stepped to heave it forward with his shoulder, and was shot dead, and another taking his place, shared the same fate. The firing was continued upon the sloops with the repeated demand, surrender! surrender!—which was only retorted by loud laughter. At night they called out, *who's your commander?*—"We have, (said they,) a great many commanders." *You lie,*—cried an Indian,—*You have none but Converse, and we'll have him before morning.*

June 11. A scout of six men, sent by Capt. Converse, towards Newichawannock, a few hours before the enemy first appeared, returning about the dawn of day, being Sabbath-morning; were unwarily exposed, on their arrival, to certain death. But with great presence of mind, the corporal loudly bespoke Captain Converse, as if near him, *wheel your men around the hill and these few dogs are ours.* The enemy supposing Converse was at their heels, hastily fled, and the scout entered the gates unhurt.

The French and Indians, now embodied themselves, and began to move with great regularity towards the garrison; when

one of the Captain's soldiers sighed a surrender :—'utter the word again, said he, and you are a dead man :—'all lie close—'fire not a gun, till it will do execution.' As the besiegers with a firm step approached, they gave three hideous shouts—one crying out in English, *fire and fall on, brave boys*;—and the whole body opening into three ranks, discharged their guns all at once. A blaze of fire was returned, both from the small arms and the cannon, some two or three of which were 12 pounders; the women in the garrison handing ammunition, and several times touching off the pieces at the enemy. It was a crisis of life or death, and the repulse was so complete, that the attack was not renewed.

A. D. 1692.
Attempts
upon Wells
garrison.

One farther attempt, however, was made upon the vessels, which were still lying lashed together in the best posture possible for defence. The enemy now constructed a fire-float, 18 or 20 feet square, and filling it with combustibles, and setting them on fire, towed it as far as was safe, directly towards the sloops, in the current of the tide, and left it to fleet in flames against them. To avoid or to extinguish this burning magazine, appeared impossible, and their fate inevitable. But by the interposition of Divine Providence, as the anxious mariners viewed it, a fresh counter breeze was breathed upon them, which drove it aground on the opposite shore, where it split and filled with water.

Completely worsted in every effort made, and unable by reason of the levelness of the ground to undermine the garrison, the enemy despaired of forcing or inducing a capitulation; having killed none in the fort, and no more than a single one of the mariners. Some of the enemy, however, after this proceeded over the river and made havock among the cattle; while the leaders sent a flag of truce, and began a parley; offering Captain Converse the most seducing terms, if he would surrender. 'No,' said he, '*I want nothing of you.*' A short dialogue ensued,* after

Repulse
and retreat
of the
enemy.

* The dialogue was of this purport.—Converse told them, 'I want nothing but men to fight.' Then if you, Converse, are so stout, why don't you come out, and fight in the field like a man, and not stay in a garrison, like a squaw?—'What fools are you! Think you, (said he,) my thirty are a match for your five hundred? Come upon the plain with only thirty, and I am ready for you.'—No, no, we think English fashion, (cried a grin Indian), all one fool: you kill me—me kill you;—Not so,—better lie some-

A. D. 1692. which the Indian bearing the flag, threw it upon the ground, and fled. A few scattering guns were at intervals discharged till dusk, and about ten in the evening, the enemy all withdrew.

Incidents of
the siege.

The good management and great bravery of Capt. Converse and his men, and of the shipmasters and their crews, were not exceeded during the war. A siege of forty-eight hours, prosecuted by a host against a handful, was in the sequel no less a disgrace and discouragement to the one, than animating and glorious to the other. Several of the enemy fell—one was Labrocree, who had about his neck when found, a satchel inclosing Romish reliques, and a printed manual of indulgences. To avenge his death, the savages put their only captive, John Diamond, to the torture. They stripped, scalped and maimed him; slit his hands and feet between the fingers and toes; cut deep gashes in the fleshy parts of his body, and then stuck the wounds full of lighted torches; leaving him to die by piecemeal in the agonies of consuming fire.*

Gov. Phips'
administra-
tion.

June 8.

It was this spring, in which the new administration commenced under the charter of William and Mary; Sir William Phips, being commissioned the royal Governor. To the first legislature, which convened June 8, eight representatives were returned from the late Province of Maine. Sir William, in his speech to the two branches, stated that monies necessary to defend their Majesties' eastern subjects must be raised; and that the war against the French and Indians ought to be prosecuted with more system, and with renewed vigor. A *board of war* was established, consisting of three military men, for whom a stipend or salary was provided of £100 by the year. The Governor was authorized by the charter, and advised by the legislature, to march the militia, if it were necessary, against the common enemy.†

A board of
war.

The eastern coast at this time was infested with piratical sea-rovers and freebooters, who were committing depredations with fearful boldness. Nor was this the only trouble. The French, it is well known, were eager to attain a repossession of the extensive territory between Sagadahock and Nova Scotia, now em-

wheres and shoot e'm Englishman, when he no see, that's the best soldier.—Another exclaimed. *D—n you, we'll cut you small as tobacco, before morn-ing.* 'Haste then,' retorted Converse, 'I want business.'

* 2 Math. Mag. p. 532-6.—2 Hutch. Hist. p. 67.

† 5 Mass. Rec. p. 232.—Prov. Laws, p. 734.

braced in the new charter and overrun by the triumphant sav- A. D. 1692.
ages.

To fight the enemy, and keep possession of the eastern coun- B Church's
try, the Governor detached several companies from the militia, 3d expedi-
issued orders for some enlistments, and commissioned Benjamin tion.
Church, July 5, Major-commandant of the forces; who himself July 5.
enlisted a company of volunteers and a party of friendly or pray-
ing Indians. There was another enterprize, which the Gover-
nor had in view, and for accomplishing which, he had the king's
special instructions; this was the erection and establishment of a
strong public fortress at Pemaquid.

The Governor in person, attended by Major Church and 450 August.
men, embarked early in August, at Boston, for that place; touch- Fort Wil-
ing at Falmonth and taking off the great guns.* In examining liam Hen-
the ground, he determined upon a site near the old stockade- ry built at
fort, built by order of Edmund Andros, and destroyed three Pemaquid.
years before, by the Indians. The plat selected was twenty rods
from highwater mark,† on the east side of the river, a league
above Pemaquid point. The form adopted was quadrangular,‡
in compass 747 feet, measuring around the exterior contemplated
wall; the inner square, including the citadel, being 108 feet
across.

The building of the garrison was committed to the superin-
tendence and direction of Captains Wing and Bancroft, and was
finished under Captain March; two companies being retained to
do the work. Major Church was despatched, August 11, with
the rest of the troops, on a cruise to Penobscot and other places
in quest of the enemy; and the Governor himself returned to
Boston.

The walls were constructed of stone,§ cemented in lime-mor-
tar. Their height on the south side fronting the sea, was 22
feet, on the west 18, on the north 10 and on the east 12 feet;
and the great flanker, or round tower, at the south-western cor-
ner, was in height 29 feet.|| Eight feet from the ground, where
the walls were 6 feet in thickness, there was a tier of 28 port-

* Church's 3d Expedition, p. 133.

† Here the tide rises from 14 to 16 feet.

‡ *Brit. Dom. in Amer.* says, p. 166 "triangular."

§ It is said to have taken 2,000 cart-loads of stone.

|| 2 Neal's N. E. p. 489.—2 Math. Mag. p. 536-7.

A. D. 1692. holes. The garrison was finished in a few months ;—the whole cost of which is said to have been £20,000. Between 14 and 18 guns were mounted, six of which were 18 pounders ; it was manned with 60 men, and called **FORT WILLIAM HENRY**.

The charge of building this fortification and keeping it garrisoned, caused much dissatisfaction, and even complaints among the people. It was thought by many, not to be a convenient post for ranging parties, nor a well chosen asylum for the retreat of frontier settlers, in times of rupture. Remotely situated, it was liable to be captured, and might in war, become a strong hold of the enemy. If the establishment answered no other purpose than to protect a single harbor, and keep nominal possession of the country, the expenses were altogether disproportionate. But, as it was entirely designed for the public good, many, on the other hand, thought the objections arose from a reprehensible parsimony and shortsighted policy.

Excursions
of Major
Church at
Penobscot
and Kenne-
beck.

The expedition was immediately known by the Indians ; for Major Church, on landing with a party of his men on one of the Islands in Penobscot bay, now called “seven hundred acre Island,” was informed by two or three French residents, who were living with Indian wives and had families ; that a “great company” of Indians, were on a neighboring Island [evidently Long Island] and, having descried the vessels, had hastened away in their canoes. Unable, without whale-boats, to pursue them beyond the vicinity of the peninsula ; he took five Indians, also a quantity of corn, beaver and moose-skins, and returned to Pemaquid. Afterwards, in ascending the Kennebeck waters, he had a skirmish with a party of Indians, some of whom he drove to the woods, while others fled away in their canoes, up the river to their fort at Teconnet. As soon as they discovered him and his men in pursuit, they set fire to their huts in the fort, and ran away, burying themselves in the thickets. Whatever was not already on fire, particularly some cribs of corn, he committed to the flames ; and returning to Boston, concluded his *third* ‘Eastern Expedition ;’* rendered memorable by no exploit of any great moment.

The Sagamores were highly exasperated by these enterprizes ; and at the same time, greatly dissatisfied with the meagre aid

* Church's 3d Expedition, p. 131-137.

and recompense, they were receiving from the French. Madock- A. D. 1692;
awando, in August, made a journey to Quebec. In an interview French and
with Count Frontenac, he presented him with five English pris- Indians
oners, and received in return the reward expected. It was also conspire
agreed between them, that the Governor should send two ships of against
war and 200 Canadians to Penobscot, and there be reenforced Maine.
by 2 or 300 Indians under Madockawando; and that the whole
force, when conjoined, should proceed to destroy Wells, the Isles
of Shoals, the plantations of Piscataqua, including Kittery,
likewise the town of York, and then demolish Fort William
Henry.

This enterprize was a topic of too much conversation to be kept a secret. John Nelson,* appointed after the conquest of Nova Scotia by Phips, the Governor or commander of the Province, but being taken prisoner on, or after his passage thither, from Boston, was now detained in Quebec. Having opportunity to talk with Madockawando, he amused him with the project of settling a trading house at "Negas," [possibly Kenduskeag] 'up the Penobscot,' and drew from him some information. To communicate intelligence, Nelson bribed two Frenchmen and sent a letter by them to Boston, in which he informed the government that a French frigate of 34 guns, l'Envious, and a Dutch captured ship of 38 guns, le Poli, were about to be sent, under Iberville, to Port-Royal and Penobscot, for the purpose of sweeping the eastern waters of all the vessels they could find; and that he expected, in his undertaking and movements, to have the cooperation and assistance of the Chevalier Villebon, the French Governor of Nova Scotia. The two French messengers, on their return, being detected, were for their perfidy afterwards shot; and the patriotic Nelson, for sending the letter, was transported to France and imprisoned in the Bastile five years. At the close of the war, and not before, he returned home, after ten years' absence.

* He was the son of William Nelson, and devisee of Sir Thomas Temple, former proprietor of Nova Scotia.—1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* p. 136, 3d series. John Nelson was one of the high republicans, who required Edmund Andros to surrender his administration. His letter to the Court of Massachusetts, was dated August 26th, 1692. He was made an eyewitness to the execution of his two French messengers, and expected the same fate. After he was transported, he was released from the Bastile, through the influence of Sir Purbec Temple, (Eng.)—*Eliot's Biog.* p. 332.

A. D. 1692. Late in the autumn, Iberville, arriving at Penobscot, was joined by Villebon and a great body of Indians; and all proceeded to attempt the reduction of Fort William Henry. Struck with its apparent strength, and finding an English vessel riding at anchor under the guns of the fort, the commanders concluded to abandon the enterprize; the Indians stamping the ground in disappointment.

A. D. 1693. The next spring, the intrepid Converse was commissioned Major and Commander-in-Chief of the eastern forces, including the garrison soldiers and 350 new levies. He ranged the country in quest of the enemy; was at Piscataqua, at Wells, at Sheepscot, at Pemaquid, at Teconnet, and on the west side of the Saco, near the falls, he, with the aid of Major Hook and Capt. Hill, erected a very strong stone-fort.* The Indians were in distress and despair. They felt themselves hunted to the mountains by the terrifying Converse; they feared an attack from the Mohawks; the French had left them to feed on empty promises; several of their principal men were detained among the English, as prisoners, who were extremely impatient to be released; and on the 11th of August, thirteen Sagamores† representing all the tribes from Passamaquoddy to Saco, inclusive, came into the new garrison, at Pemaquid, and negotiated a treaty with the English commissioners John Wing, Nicholas Manning, and Benjamin Jackson.

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A treaty.

The terms of it. In this the Sagamores conceded more than in former treaties. They declared their hearty subjection and obedience to the crown of England; and said they had been instigated by the French to make war, whose interest they had determined to abandon forever. They agreed to release all captives without ransom; to resign unto the English inhabitants all their possessions and improvements, and leave them unmolested and free of all Indian claims; to traffic with the English at the trading houses, which

* The remains are still visible. It was a fortress of great strength; in which several soldiers were stationed, under Capt. George Turfrey and Lieut. P. Fletcher.

† Among those who signed the treaty were Egeremet of Machias; Madockawando and Abenquid of Penobscot; Wassambomet and Ketterramogis of Norridgewock; Bomaseen, Wenobson "of Teconnet, in behalf of Moxus;" Nitamemet or Nitombomet, and Robin Doney of Saco; and others.

should be established by government and regulated by law ; and A. D. 1693. have every controversy between the English and Indians decided in due course of justice. It was a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship, sanctioned by the most solemn asseverations of the parties, in faith of which the Sagamores delivered to the English five hostages,* who were to be exchanged at any time, on request, for others of equal rank.†

A respite from war and returns from captivity without ransom must be themes and causes of uncommon joy, to a people war-worn, bleeding, scattered and sinking in ruins. This peace, had the Indians been left to themselves, might have been permanent and lasting. For constant as they were in nothing but change, they were soon tired with uniformity and perseverance, especially, if attended with anxious toils or dangers. Prisoners had not been taken by them of late without great difficulty, and plunder could not be easily obtained.

Count Frontenac, now engaged in a most bloody, though unsuccessful war with the Mohawks, or ‘ Five Nations,’ was under the necessity of calling home to his assistance every Frenchman able to bear arms. He was troubled on every side, and must even have stood the siege of Quebec, this season, had not the mortal sickness on board the royal English fleet, under Sir Francis Wheeler, prevented an attack. To suffer the Abenagues and Tarratine tribes to be at peace with their neighbors, would in effect, as the Count perceived, greatly serve to embolden the English in their projects against Quebec ; and therefore he employed his emissaries to dissuade the Indians from restoring their prisoners or fulfilling the treaty. Hostages, he told them, were no great security or pledge, so long as the Indians had in their custody a greater number of captives.

Fit instruments to effect his purpose were the French missionaries. The four or five who were preeminent in his service, were *M. Thury*, *Vincent* and *Jaques Bigot* and *Sebastian Ralle* ;‡—all of whom were ardent and bold enthusiasts, always ready, with tearful eye, to preach from a text in their creed,—that “ it is no sin to break faith with heretics.” Thury and Vincent

The French disturb the peace.

Jesuit missionaries among the Indians.

* One was Sheepscot John ; another was the cousin of Madockawando ; and a third the brother of Egeremet.

† See this treaty entire.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 542-3.

‡ There was one at Androskoggin.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 557.

A. D. 1693. Bigot had been a long time among the Tarratines, and were well acquainted with their dispositions, language and habits. Ralle,* sent from France into the French colonies by the society of Jesuits, passed about four years among the tribes in the vicinity of Canada ; and in 1693 chose Norridgewock for his abode, where he dwelt 26 years. His entire devotion to the religious interests of the Indians, gave him an unlimited ascendancy over them.

Villieu at
Penobscot.

Another select agent of Frontenac, was *Sieur de Villieu*, who was now appointed resident commander at Penobscot. He was an officer who had acquired some merit at Quebec, when it was attacked by Phips ; and, what was an additional qualification for his post, he cherished an inveterate hatred of the puritans.

Indians de-
stroy Dover.

Determined to open anew the sluices of war, he collected a body of 250 Indians, under Madockawando, Bomaseen, and Toxus, who, on the 18th of July, again destroyed Dover, in New-Hampshire ; and, after plundering places further westward,

August 20.
Other at-
tacks.

returned to Piscataqua, August 20th, when a large party of them crossed over into Kittery, with intent, manifestly, to complete the ruin of Maine. At Spruce-creek they killed three, and at

August 24.

York one, where they also took a lad prisoner. On the fifth day of their visit, they made a bold attack upon Kittery, slew eight persons, and scalped in a barbarous manner a little girl ; who, though left bleeding and apparently dying, was found alive the next morning, and ultimately recovered, notwithstanding her skull was badly fractured.

Seven In-
dians seiz-
ed.

This sudden outrageous violation of the treaty and every principle of plighted faith, rendered any retaliatory act warrantable, in the opinion of an abused people, however severe such act might be. When, therefore, Robin Doney and three of his companions sauntered into the new fort at Saco, pretending great regret for the late rupture, they being known criminals, were detained in custody. In the same manner, Bomaseen and two other Indians, November 19th, visited the garrison at Pemaquid, then under the command of Capt. March, feigning themselves to be travellers immediately from Canada, and strangers to the recent massacre. But they, being known, were seized, and Bomaseen was soon sent to Boston. These acts were not censured by government, though serious minds have animadverted upon them with some severity.

Nov. 19.

To show what arts and deceptions were practised by the A. D. 1694. French fanatics, upon the ignorance and superstition of the natives; a few facts may be allowed here to be stated. In conversing with a clergyman of Boston, Bomaseen said, *the Indians understand the Virgin Mary was a French lady, and her son, Jesus Christ, the blessed, was murdered by the English; but has since risen and gone to heaven, and all who would gain his favor must avenge his blood.*—The divine, taking a tankard, said to him, *Jesus Christ gives us good religion, like the good wine in this cup; God's book is the Bible, which holds this good drink; the French put poison in it, and then give it to the Indians;—Englishmen give it to them pure;—that is, we present the holy Book to you, in your own language. French priests hear you confess sins, and take beaver for it. Englishmen never sell pardons; they are free and come from God only.*—Then, said Bomaseen, *Indians will spit up all French poison;—Englishmen's God the best God.*

Bomaseen and his accomplices were continued in confinement, A. D. 1695. and the hostages remained with the English, through the winter. ^{Miseries of the Indians.} Being persons of distinction, their liberation would have commanded almost any ransom, had the Indians any thing to pay. But such were their uncommon miseries, that humanity weeps over them. Besides famine, in which their English prisoners were the most wretched sharers,—a mortal sickness was raging among them. Pushed forward by hunger and revenge, some of them were able occasionally to take life, or a little plunder. In March, one of the soldiers was killed and another taken near Saco fort;—other acts of mischief were also committed,—acts which were the height of folly: For, if they would turn a deaf ear to the deceptive French, and consult their own interest, it must be the wisest measure practicable, for them to cease depredations and to restore their captives according to the treaty, as the return of them was filling relations and even the community itself with extreme anxiety;—and then they might hope for relief.

To mediate an exchange, Sheepscot John, one of the host- ^{A truce.} ages, was sent to the eastern tribes; through whose influence a body of Indians in a flotilla of fifty canoes, May 20, met some ^{May 20.} of our men, belonging to Fort William Henry, at Rutherford's Island, situated a league from the garrison. Here the Saga-

A. D. 1695. mores confessed their wrongs, released eight captives, and entered into a truce for thirty days; promising to meet commissioners in the garrison at the end of a month, and ratify the treaty.

June 19.
A parley.

A conference was subsequently had according to appointment; but the Commissioners, Col. Phillips, Lieut. Col. Hawthorn and Major Converse, refused to treat, till the English prisoners were produced. This pre-requisite was thought by the Sagamores unfair; for, said they, *you have not brought Bomaseen, Robin Doney, and our friends:—We'll talk no more*; and rising abruptly, departed. The parley was thus fraught with danger; for after this, the forts and frontiers were infested by prowling savages through the summer. Major Hammond, who belonged to Kittery was seized, July 6, near Saco-fort, and carried to Canada; and within three months, about 40 were killed or taken captive, in the northern parts of New-England. Among them, a soldier was shot at Saco, and four were killed and six wounded, at Pemaquid, Sept. 9, as they were rowing a gondola around a high rocky point, above the barbican opposite to the garrison.

Sept. 9.
Soldiers
killed at
Pemaquid.

A. D. 1696.
Feb. 16.
Chubb kills
and seizes
Indians at
Pemaquid
under a flag.

Five months after this, Egeremet, Toxus, Abenquid, and a party of their associates, came into the same garrison, Feb. 16, [1696], for the purpose, as they said, of effecting an exchange of prisoners. The commander at this time was Capt. Chubb, whose men were not yet fully healed of the wounds, they had lately received. Their resentments were also inflamed by the recollection of those, who were actually slain at the same time; and in the midst of the parley, they suddenly fell upon the Indians, killed Egeremet, Abenquid, and two others, and took some of them prisoners;* Toxus and a few of his more athletic comrades effecting their escape, to tell the awful story, and add new fuel to the flames of war. It was a shameful breach of good faith—nowise justifiable by the perfidy of the Indians, though they had previously violated the treaty they had signed. To kill emissaries in the midst of negotiations, for their fellows' crimes, is an act unknown even to the worst of savages; for they never murder during a parley. If the conduct of Captain March, 15 months before, was blameworthy; Chubb richly deserved all the

* *Charlevoix* [3 vol. *N. F.* p. 233.] says, three were sent to Boston.—He complains of this act.

censure, a sensitive public was disposed so liberally to reflect A. D. 1696. upon him.

There was nothing to cheer this spring, except the late return of Major Hammond and about thirty captives from Canada. In June, upwards of twenty people were slain or taken about Portsmouth—several houses were burned—also three men and their wives who were sisters, in passing from York to Wells were assailed;—Thomas Cole and his wife, two of the six, being shot down, the others barely escaping a second discharge.

June.
Captives
returned—
people slain.

Fort William Henry had now become a noted public garrison. The French conceived it controlled all the western parts of Acadia, and resolved to reduce it. For this purpose, Iberville was despatched from Quebec, with two men of war and two companies of soldiers,—directed to form a junction with Villebon and a company of 50 Mickmaks, at St. John or Port Royal, also with Castine and his Indians at Penobscot, and drive the English from the garrison. It was as unfortunate as it was accidental, that about the same time, two British ships, the Sorlings, Captain Eames, and the Newport, Captain Paxen, also the Province tender, sailed from Boston for the bay of Fundy, to intercept the stores supposed to be on their passage from Quebec to Villebon. For, as the two squadrons met and encountered each other in the bay, the Newport, in the engagement, lost her topmast and surrendered and the other two were, under the cover of a fog, only able to effect their escape.

The French
design upon
Fort Wil-
liam Henry.

Reenforced by this prize, which Iberville repaired at St. John, he and Villebon, with his Mickmaks, proceeded to Pemaquid; taking on board at Penobscot, Baron de Castine, who was followed by 200 Indians* in canoes. The whole force invested the garrison, July 14th, when Iberville sent Capt. Chubb a summons to surrender. But as he had 15 guns well mounted, 95 men double armed, and abundance of ammunition and provisions, and was able to stand a long siege against treble his number of soldiers;—he promptly replied, *I shall not give up the fort, though the sea be covered with French vessels, and the land with*

* Charlevoix, (3 vol. N. F. p. 260-2,) says Castine was with 200 savages; and Iberville distributed presents to them. In the assault the French lost two men, killed by pistols; and two others, whose lives cost the English "tens of two."

A. D. 1696. *wild Indians*. Hence a few discharges of musquetry and cannon closed the first day.

July 15.
Chubb sur-
renders the
garrison.

Before the next morning, the French landed their cannon and mortars ; and by three in the afternoon, had so far raised their batteries, as to be able to throw five or six bombs into the fort. Amidst the consternation these occasioned, Castine found means to convey a letter to Capt. Chubb, telling him ‘ if he delayed a surrender till an assault was made, he would have to deal with *Savages*, and must expect no quarter, for Iberville, according to the king’s order, was to give none.’ This menacing address effected all that was desired ; the chamade was beat, and the terms of capitulation stipulated, by which all within the garrison were to be conveyed to Boston, and as many French and Indians returned ; and till their removal, they were to be protected from all injury and insult. The gates were then opened, when the Indians, finding one of their people in irons, were so exasperated by the story of his sufferings and of Chubb’s baseness to the others of his companions, that they actually massacred at once, several of the English soldiery. To preserve the rest of the prisoners from falling victims to wild, ungovernable resentments, Iberville removed them to an Island and placed around them a strong guard.

Chubb
Cashiered.

The French supposed that the garrison, through cowardice, compelled Chubb to capitulate against his will. But he was himself censured with great severity,—and afterwards put under arrest, tried and cashiered.* The French thought this a great achievement.—The fortification, which had cost Massachusetts an immense sum of money, in the estimation of that day—to build it and garrison it 4 years, was now plundered by the captors, and then for the most part demolished. They set sail on the 18th, for Penobscot, where they continued till September 3d ; inciting the Indians to a renewal of hostilities.

July 18.

Major
Church with
500 men
proceeds
eastward.

When the news of this disaster arrived at Boston, it was apprehended, the French and Indians might proceed as far westward as Piscataqua, and take or destroy all that might fall in their way. To resist or encounter them, therefore, Massachusetts immediately raised 500 men ; and Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, Com-

* The revenge of the Indians was satiated upon Chubb, in Feb. 1698, by killing him at his residence in Andover.

mander-in-Chief, since the recal and subsequent death of Gov. A. D. 1696. Phips, gave Benjamin Church, August 3d, a commission by August 3. which he was appointed Major-commandant of the expedition.* At Piscataqua, his place of rendezvous, he concentrated his forces; assigning to his Captains, Graham, Brackett, Hunnewell, and Larkin, their rank and duty, and despatched to Col. Gedney, at York, a reenforcement of his Indian soldiers, for the defence of that town and the vicinity. Several days elapsed ere Major Church heard a lisp of the enemy; and consequently concluded he had gone eastward.†

A squadron of three British men of war, the Arundel, the Orford, and the Sorlings, furnished with militia men to serve as marines, and attended by a merchant ship of 20 guns, and a fire-ship, proceeding to sea, was only able to reach Penobscot in time to see the enemy set sail. The pursuit was pressed till dark; and the next morning the squadron in a thick fog, lost sight of the Frenchmen, and returned, bringing to Boston a shallop taken, which had on board Villeau and 23 French soldiers. The French ships visited St. John and the southerly ports of the great peninsula, also Cape Breton, and finally reduced Newfoundland to the dominion of the crown.‡

Major Church, the last week in August, embarked at Piscataqua; and after ranging the eastern coast, came to anchor at the Island Monhegan. From this place he proceeded into Penobscot bay, and when abreast "Mathebestuck Hills" [or Camden heights], he took in John York, to pilot him through these waters and up the river. York informed him, that when he was a prisoner with the Indians, four years before, they had a fort built upon a little Island 50 or 60 miles up the river at the falls, which was a place of general resort, [probably the Island Lett,§ or Old Town];|| and in the vicinity they "planted a great quantity of corn." Church and his men ascended the river to the "Bend,"¶ then leaving their boats travelled on the western side two or three miles, passing places where the Indians had dwelt.

A squadron
pursues the
enemy.

Church as-
cends the
Penobscot.

* Church's 4th Eastern Expedition, p. 138-157.

† Church's 4th Eastern Expedition, p. 141-2.

‡ 2 Hutch. Hist. p. 86-90.

§ Penhallow's Indian Wars.

|| For the pilot told Church "there was no getting to it, but in canoes, "or on ice in the winter time;" and "there was no getting further with "large boats."

¶ At Eddington.

A. D. 1696. In this excursion, they killed and wounded four or five Indians, and took another, who told Major Church, the men of the tribe had gone to Canada, and the French were about fortifying themselves, at the mouth of the river St. John. On his return, he found, in different places, abandoned habitations, fields of corn, and patches of turnips and pumpkins, particularly on the Isle of Penobscot [now Orphan Island]; below which he reembarked and sailed for the bay of Fundy.

Church visits bay of Fundy, and is superseded.

Sept. 28

Among the settlements on the north shore of that bay, he made great destruction and took considerable plunder; yet, while under sail homeward, he was met in the waters of the Passamaquoddy, Sept. 28, by a squadron from Boston, the Arundel, Capt. Higgins, the Province galley, Capt. Southwick, and a transport; the command of the whole expedition, including the forces under Major Church, being given to Col. Hawthorn, one of the Council. Church, though superseded, was submissive to orders, and joined the squadron, which proceeded with intent to drive Villebon from the garrison at St. John. But the enterprize was attended with no success, and the fleet returned.

October 13,
5 killed at Saco.

A. D. 1697.
A suffering winter.

Wherever there were any remaining people in Maine, they were constantly liable to lose their lives, or be made captives by the hands of lurking savages. At Saco, five of the soldiers, October 13th, were killed;* and the winter of 1696-7 was a most trying one, as well to savages as to their unransomed prisoners;† it never having been more intensely cold in New-England, nor the scarcity and price of provisions greater, since the arrival of the first colonists.

July 4.
Major Frost and wife killed.

The Indians having entertained a great antipathy towards Maj. Frost of Kittery, ever since the 400 were arrested at Cochecho; and determined to imbrue their hands in his blood; a party secreted themselves on the way side, five miles from his house, by hiding under a large log, in which they had stuck a row of green boughs. It was the Lord's day, July 4, 1697. They permitted his two sons, returning from meeting, to pass unhurt; and aiming their guns at him, his wife and an attending footman, they

* 2 Mather's Magnalia, p. 550.—2 Hutchinson's History, p. 95.

† In the winter of 1697-8, likewise, "many, both Indians and English prisoners were starved to death."—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 556.—"Nine Indians," hunting, 'ate their dogs and cats, and then' "died horribly famished."

killed all three at the first shot. He was a man of piety and public spirit. Several years, he had represented his town in the legislature, and been Major-commandant of the Yorkshire regiment. He was one of the Provincial Council under Danforth's administration; and at the election preceding his death, he was, for the fourth time, chosen into the Council of Massachusetts and Maine, united under the late charter.

Two young men, going with the tidings to Wells garrison, were waylaid and killed on their return; also a man was taken captive in York. Four men, who were mowing in Newichawannock meadows, were next attacked with the tomahawk, three were cut down, and the fourth, in a personal encounter with a savage, slew him. A man standing sentry, while his neighbors were getting hay in the marshes of Wells, was shot down, and another, carried away half a league, was roasted to death. Saco-fort, so much the object of savage vengeance, seemed to lie almost perpetually under the eye of lurking spies. Lieut. Fletcher and a small party went upon Cow Island to procure fuel, where three of his men, while cutting wood, were killed, and he and his two sons, acting as sentinels, were seized and carried down the river in one of the Indians' canoes. Discovered by Lieut. Larrabee and a few soldiers, on a scout, three of the Indians in the foremost canoe, were shot and fell into the water, others being killed or wounded, and one prisoner rescued.*

It was now rumored, that the French were determined to improve their good fortune of the last year, which gave them Pem- aquid, the Island of Newfoundland, and the repossession of Nova Scotia; and therefore, were about to send a large fleet to America, with orders to make a general sweep upon the waters and coasts as far as Boston; and to employ 1500 French and Indians in the work of universal destruction upon the New-England frontiers. These were prodigious enterprizes, and excited fearful apprehensions. Massachusetts adopted the earliest and best possible measures for defence. All fortifications were strengthened and supplied; the militia were put upon the rolls of minute men; and a force of 500 soldiers was placed under the command of Major March, a popular and prudent officer, who was

Mischief at Wells, York, Berwick, and Saco.

Projects of the French fruitless.

* Humphrey Scammon, his wife and two sons were carried away captive from Saco into Canada, where they were detained till the next year.

A. D. 1697. directed to protect the eastern forts and frontiers, by ranging parties, and by every other possible expedient. It is true, a French fleet did arrive at Newfoundland, July 24th, but it proceeded no further, and every part of the enterprize failed.

Sept. 9.
March at-
tacked at
Damaris-
cotta.

March ranged the eastern coast, and, September 9th, landed his men at Damariscotta. But ere they were fully ashore, a body of Indians, rising unawares, from their covert, with the usual war-whoop, poured in a full volley upon the troops;—instantly receiving a repulsive charge, as well aimed, which drove them either to the woods or to their canoes, leaving their dead behind them. Our loss was about 12 or 13 killed and as many wounded;*—a bloody skirmish, which closed this year's predatory war in Maine.

Peace of
Ryswick,
Sept. 11.

The glad news of a peace, concluded at *Ryswick*, September 11th, between England, France, and the nations engaged with them in war, was proclaimed in Boston, on the 10th of December. It was an event much more joyful, because of the devout belief entertained, that it would close the avenues of blood in America. The Canadian French could no longer take any open part in hostilities, though they might take some malignant satisfaction, in seeing the 'heretic puritans' worried or destroyed by the savages. Several acts of their barbarity and homicide,

A. D. 1698.
Close of the
2d Indian
war.

were in fact, committed in the succeeding spring at different places;† but the last and only instances of Indian ferocity in Maine, during the year, 1698, occurred at Spruce-creek (Kittery). Here an old man was literally murdered, May 9; for his life was taken by a gigantic savage, after he had surrendered: His two sons, also, were hurried away into captivity. But the giant, who is reputed to have been seven feet in height, was, in a few hours, shot dead by his own gun, as he grasped the barrel reversed, and was endeavoring to pull his canoe towards him at the shore.

May 9.

October 14.
A confer-
ence at Pe-
nobscot.

The Indians gave intimations, at our outposts, in the summer months, of their desire for peace. A conference was holden at Penobscot, Oct. 14, between Commissioners from Massachusetts, viz. Major Converse and Capt. Alden, and six Sagamores, at-

* 2 Mather's Magnalia, p. 553.

† See the story of Hannah Dustan.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 550—2. —2 *Hutch. Hist.* p. 101.

tended by a great number of their Indians. These sang the A. D. 1693. songs of peace; though then in mourning for Madockawando and "several other Sachems of the east"—who had lately fallen victims to "the grievous unknown disease, which," according to Doct. Mather, "consumed them wonderfully." They said, Frontenac told them, there was to be war no longer, and all prisoners must be released; and they had resolved to fight no more. In the parley, the Commissioners insisted upon a return of *all* the prisoners, and a removal of the resident missionaries at Penobscot, Norridgewock, and Androscoggin; lest a treaty, if made, would be violated as heretofore through their instigation. They replied, the white prisoners will be free to go home, or stay with their Indian friends; but the good Missionaries must not be driven away.

The Commissioners from Massachusetts, Col. Phillips and Major Converse, taking passage from Boston in the Province galley, met the Sagamores of Penobscot,* Kennebeck, Androscoggin and Saco, at Mare-point [now in Brunswick]; and on the 7th of January, 1699, signed and ratified the treaty of August 11, 1693, with additional articles. They cast many reflections upon the French, and confessed their own follies and offences to be great; saying, 'we do most humbly throw ourselves upon the king's Majesty and mercy, and ask his pardon and protection. We renew our allegiance to him, and promise to fulfil every article in the recited treaty.'—All the prisoners present were then exchanged; among whom was Bomaseen, and the rest were to be restored in the spring.† Great numbers of scalps had been, from time to time, carried to Canada, for which the French government gave considerable premiums.

In this long and bloody war, which lasted ten years, all the tribes eastward of the river Merrimack, inclusive, without excepting even the Mickmaks, were partakers, either of self-will or through the influence of the French. The Sokokis and Anasagunticooks were the most forward to commence hostilities, and the Canibas, the most reluctant, to make peace. War is always a

* Those of Penobscot not expressed but included.—2 *Neal's N. E.* p. 559—561.—2 *Math. Mag.* p. 556-7.

† Bomaseen and two others were on board the galley, who were not to be restored till the English captives were delivered.—5 *Mass. Rec.* p. 582.

A. D. 1699. heavy tax upon the population of the Indians. Fights, fatigue, famine and sickness, occasion wastes which the natural increase among them in seasons of tranquillity never repair. For scalps and plunder they chiefly received arms and ammunition from the French—not unfrequently provisions and wages, and always encouragement. Yet the Indians, on the whole, gain nothing by war, and the English lose everything but their character.

Losses. If the people in Maine had some public garrisons, several stockaded forts, and a great number of fortified houses constructed of timber, shot proof to musquetry, with flankers at opposite angles, and also exterior entrenchments;—these could not withstand a long siege, a few of them only remaining undemolished. They afforded tolerable asylums for the inhabitants; but were uncomfortable dwelling-places for families; so much were the people crowded when within the walls. Many resigned their possessions to the destroyers, and departing, returned no more. All the towns and settlements, except Wells, York, Kittery and the Isles of Shoals, ‘were overrun;* and an untold number of domestic animals, was destroyed by a rapacious enemy. More dwellinghouses, in proportion to other losses, were, however, left unconsumed and standing, than in the former war—though now tottering in ruins. About 450 people were either murdered, killed in battle or died of their wounds;† and as many as 250, were, during the war, carried into captivity; some of whom perished of famine, hardships or disease. A few however, who were captured in their childhood, becoming attached to the society of the savages, chose to remain with them, and never would leave the tribes.‡

* Assacombuit, himself a bloody warrior, it is said, had “killed and taken in this war 150 men, women and children.”

† 2 *Mather's Magnalia*, 558.—But he and *Nval*, [2 vol. *N. E.* 544–562] are too low. By enumeration our loss was more than 700.

‡ *An Anecdote*.—Several Indian women, suffering with hunger in the late war, and seeing horses upon the peninsula of Casco, requested their husbands, to shoot a few of them, ‘for we, said they, want some roast meat.’ One, driven into a corner, was caught, which a young Indian wished to have the pleasure of riding. The mane and tail were clipt and twisted into a halter, and the savage mounted. Fearful of being thrown, he had his feet tied fast together under the body of the horse; when the unbroken animal being let go, galloped off with such furious speed, that both were presently out of sight, and nothing was ever found of either, except one of the rider's limbs, which the Indians buried in Capt. Brackett's cellar.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

LETTERS PATENT TO SIEUR DE MONTS,

LIEUTENANT GENERAL OF ACADIA AND THE CIRCUMJACENT COUNTRY, NOVEMBER 8, 1603.

[*Translated from L'Esкарbot's History of New-France.*]

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre :—
To our dear and well beloved the Sieur de Monts, Gentleman in ordinary of our Bed-Chamber, Greeting.—As our greatest care and labor, since our accession to this Crown is, and always has been, to maintain and preserve it in its ancient dignity, greatness and splendor ; to extend and enlarge, as far as lawfully may be done, the boundaries and limits thereof ; We, being long informed of the situation and condition of the country and territory of Acadia ;—moved hereunto above all things by a peculiar zeal, and a devout and firm resolution, which we have taken with the aid and assistance of God, the Author, Distributor and Protector of all Kingdoms and States ; to cause to be converted, brought over and instructed in Christianity, and in the belief and profession of our Faith and Religion,—the people who inhabit that country, at present a barbarous race, atheists, without Faith or Religion ; and to draw them from the ignorance and infidelity wherein they now are. Having also from the reports of Captains of vessels, pilots, merchants and others, who a long time ago have visited, frequented and trafficked with the people who are found there, long understood how profitable, convenient and useful may be to us, to our States and subjects, the possession, residence and occupancy of those places, for the great and apparent benefit which will accrue from the great frequentation and connection with the people there, and the traffick and commerce which may by this means be safely carried on and negotiated.—We, for these causes, fully confiding in your great prudence, and in the knowledge you possess of the quality, condition, and situation of the said country of Acadia ; from the divers voyages, travels and visits you have made into those parts, and others, neighboring and circumjacent,—assuring ourself that this our resolution and intention being made known unto you, you will be able attentively, diligently, and not less courageously and valorously to execute, and bring to the perfection we desire ; we have expressly appointed and established,—and by these presents

signed with our own hand, we do appoint, ordain, make, constitute and establish you, our Lieutenant General, to represent our person in the country, territory, coasts and confines of Acadia, from the 40th, to the 46th degree,—and within this extent, or any part thereof, as far inland as may be practicable, to establish, extend and make known our name, power and authority,—and thereunto subject, cause to submit and obey, all the people of the said land, and circumjacent country; and by virtue hereof, and by all other lawful ways, to call, instruct, move and stir them up to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the christian faith and religion; to establish it there, and in the exercise and possession of it, to maintain, keep and preserve the said people, and all others inhabiting said places; and in peace, quiet and tranquillity to command there, as well by sea as by land; to order, determine and cause to be executed every thing which you shall judge can and ought to be done to maintain, keep and preserve the said places under our power and authority, by the forms, ways and means prescribed by our ordinances. And for your assistance in the premises, to appoint, establish and constitute all necessary officers, as well in affairs of war, as in justice and policy, in the first instance, and from thence in future to nominate and present them to us for our approbation; and to give such commissions, titles and grants as shall be necessary.

And as circumstances shall require, yourself, with the advice of prudent and capable persons, to prescribe under our good pleasure, laws, statutes and ordinances, (conformable to ours as far as may be) especially in such matters and things as are not provided for by these presents; to treat, and effectually contract peace, alliance and confederation, good friendship, correspondence and communication with the said people, and their princes, or others having power and command over them; to maintain, keep and carefully observe the treaties and alliances you shall stipulate with them, provided they on their part faithfully observe them; and in default thereof to make open war against them, to compel and bring them back to such reason as you shall judge fit for the honor, obedience and service of God, and the establishing, upholding and preserving our said authority among them; at least to visit and frequent them by yourself and all our subjects, in all security, liberty, frequentation and communication; to negotiate, and traffick there, amicably and peaceably; to grant them favors and privileges, and bestow on them employments and honors. Which entire power above-said, we also will, and ordain, that you have over all our said subjects, and others

who shall remove and inhabit there, to traffick, and trade, and reside in the said places ; to hold, take, reserve and appropriate to yourself what you shall wish, and shall see to be most convenient and fit for your rank, condition and use. To parcel out such parts and portions of said lands,—to give and attribute to them such titles, honors, rights, powers and faculties as you shall see fit, according to the rank, condition and merits of the people of the country or others ; especially to people, cultivate, and cause the said lands to be settled the most speedily, carefully and skilfully that time, places and conveniences will permit ; to this end, to make, or cause to be made the discovery and examination, of them, along the extent of the seacoasts, and other countries of the main land, that you shall order and prescribe, within the said limit of the 40th degree to the 46th or otherwise, as far as may be done along the said seacoasts, and into the main land ; carefully to search after and to distinguish all sorts of mines of gold and silver, copper and other metals and minerals ; to dig for and collect them, and purify and refine them for use ; to dispose of, as we have directed in the edicts and regulations that we have made in this kingdom, the profit and emolument thereof, by yourself, or by those you may appoint for that purpose,—reserving unto us only the tenth part of the produce of the gold, silver and copper,—appropriating to yourself our portion of the other metals and minerals, to aid and relieve you in the great expenses, which the said charge may bring upon you. Meantime, for your safety and comfort, and for that of all our subjects, who shall go to those parts, and shall dwell and traffick in the said lands, as generally all others, who shall place themselves under our power and protection,—we authorize you to build and construct one or more forts, places, towns, and all other houses, dwellings and habitations, ports, havens, retreats and lodgements that you may consider proper, useful and necessary to the execution of the said enterprize ; to establish garrisons, and soldiers to protect them ; and to employ, for aid in the aforesaid purposes, vagabonds, idle and dissolute persons, as well from the towns as from the country,—and also those condemned to perpetual banishment or for three years at least, beyond our realms—provided this be done by the advice and consent, and by the authority of our officers.

Besides the preceding (and that which is elsewhere appointed, directed and ordained to you by the commissioners and authorities given you by our very dear cousin the Sieur de Danville,* Admiral

* *Anville* is an error in Hazard's copy—for it appears from history, that Charles Montmorenci, Duc de Danville, was at that time Admiral of France.

of France for that which expressly concerns the admiralty in the achievement, expedition and execution of the said things)—to do generally for the conquest, peopling, settlement and preservation of the said land of Acadia, and of the coasts, circumjacent territories, and of their appurtenances and dependences, under our name and authority, all we ourselves could do, or cause to be done, if we were there present in person, even in cases requiring more special direction, than we have provided for by these presents; to the contents of which we direct, ordain, and expressly enjoin all our justices, officers and subjects to conform themselves, and obey you, and give attention to you in all the said things, their circumstances and dependencies.

To give you also in the execution of them all aid and comfort, main strength and assistance of which you shall have need, and shall be by you required,—all under the pains of rebellion and disobedience. And in order that no one may pretend cause of ignorance of this our intention, and be disposed to intermeddle in whole or in part, with the charge, dignity and authority, that we give you by these presents; we have, of our certain knowledge, full power and royal authority, revoked, suppressed, and declared null and of no effect, henceforth and from the present time, all other powers and commissions, letters and despatches given and delivered to any person whomsoever, to discover, people and inhabit said lands, in the said extent contained within the said 40th degree, to the 46th degree, whatsoever they may be.

And furthermore, we direct and command all our said officers, of whatever rank or condition they may be, that these presents, or a certification thereof duly compared herewith, by some one of our beloved and faithful counsellors, notaries and secretaries, or other royal notary, they the said officers cause, at your request, application and suit, or at the suit of our attornies, to be read, published and registered in the registers of their several jurisdictions, authorities and districts, preventing as much as shall belong to them, all troubles and hindrances contrary hereunto. For such is our pleasure. Given at Fontainebleau the eighth day of November, in the year of Grace, one thousand six hundred and three, and of our reign the fifteenth.

Signed,

HENRY.

[And lower down—by the king, POTIER.—And sealed upon a simple label, with yellow Wax.]

No. 2.

SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER'S PATENT OF NOVA SCOTIA, SEPT. 10, 1621.

[From *John Palairer's Description of the English and French possessions in North America.*]

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.—To all the Clergy and Laity of his Dominions—Greeting.

Be it known, that we have ever been careful to embrace every opportunity, that offered, for the honor and advantage of our kingdom of Scotland, and that we think there is no acquisition more easy and more innocent, than those which may be made by carrying new colonies into foreign and uncultivated countries, where are the necessaries of life; especially if such lands are either uninhabited or occupied by unbelievers, whom to convert to the Christian faith, is a duty of great importance to the glory of God, &c.

For these causes, as well as in consideration of the good, faithful, and acceptable favors, which have been already and hereafter to be performed to us by our trusty and well beloved Councillor, SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER, KT. who is the first of our subjects of Scotland, that undertook to carry over this foreign colony at his own expense, and has desired leave to cultivate lands and countries included within the limits undermentioned:—We therefore, from our royal intention to extend the Christian religion, and to promote the wealth, prosperity and peace of the natural subjects of our said kingdom of Scotland, have, by the advice and consent of our cousin and councillor, John, Earl of Mar, &c. and of the other Lords-Commissioners of the said kingdom of Scotland, given, granted and transferred, and by virtue of this present, issuing from us,—We do give, grant and transfer to the said William Alexander, his heirs, or all claimants by right of inheritance from him, all and singular the lands of the Continent and Islands situate and lying in America, reckoning from the cape or promontory called *Cape Sable*, at 43° or thereabouts, from the equator towards the north, that is to say, from the said promontory along the seashore that runs from the west, as far as St. Mary's bay, and stretching from thence to the north, in a straight line, to the entrance or mouth of that great bay which washes the eastern coast, between the countries of the Souriquois and of the Etechemins, as far as to the river of *St. Croix*, and to the farthest source or spring, which first comes from the west to mingle its waters with those of that river; from thence by a straight imaginary line, crossing the lands or running towards the

north, as far as the first bay, river or spring which runs into the great river of Canada; and from thence continuing eastward to the sea along the shores of the river of Canada, to the river, bay, port or latitude, commonly known by the name of *Gachepe* or *Gaspie*; and afterwards, from the south-east side as far as the Isles called *Bacalaos* or Cape Breton, leaving the said Isles on the right, and the gulf of the said great river of Canada or the great bay and the lands of Newfoundland or Terra Nova, with the Isles thereto appertaining, on the left; and thence passing to the said cape or promontory of Cape Breton, turning to the south and west as far as the above mentioned Cape Sable, where begins the tract that is to be included and comprehended, between the said seacoasts and their circumferences from the sea, to all the lands of the continent, with the rivers, bays, torrents, roads, isles or lakes situate about six leagues from any of the parts both of the said coasts and their circumferences either to the west, north or south, and from the south-east (in which situation is Cape Breton,) and from the southern part, where lies Cape Sable, all the seas and Islands to 40 leagues of said coasts, therein including the great Island commonly called the Island of Sable or Sablons, situate towards Carban, or south south-east, to about thirty leagues from the said Cape Breton in the ocean and at the 44th degree of latitude, or thereabouts.—All which said lands shall for the future bear the name of NEW SCOTLAND, [*Nova Scotia*,] and be also divided into such parts and portions, and be called by such names as Sir William Alexander shall think fit; together with all the mines, as well the royal ones of gold and silver, as the other mines of iron, lead, copper, pewter, brass, &c. And if any doubts or questions shall hereafter arise upon the interpretation or construction of any clause, in the present letters patent contained, they shall all be taken and interpreted in the most extensive sense, and in favor of the said William Alexander, his heirs and assigns aforesaid. Furthermore, we of our certain knowledge, our own mere notion, regal authority and royal power, have made, united, annexed, erected, created and incorporated, and we do, by these our letters patent, make, unite, annex, erect, create and incorporate, the whole and entire Province and lands of Nova Scotia, [*New Scotland*] aforesaid, with all the limits thereof, seas, &c. officers and jurisdictions, and all other things generally and specially above mentioned, into one entire and free dominion and barony, to be called at all times hereafter, by the aforesaid name of Nova Scotia.

In witness whereof, we have to these our patents affixed our great seal, in the presence of our said cousins and councillors, Sir James,

Marquis of Hamilton, George, Earl of Keith, Alexander, Earl of Dumfroling, our Councillor, Thomas, Earl of Melros, &c. Secretary, our beloved and privy councillors, Mr. Richard Cockburn the keeper of the privy seal, &c.

Given at our castle at Windsor, the tenth day of September in the year of our Lord, 1621, and of our reign the 55th and 19th.

No. 3.

NARRATIVE OF MRS. HANNAH SWARTON'S CAPTIVITY,

MAY 1690—Nov. 1695.

[Compiled from 2d vol. *Doct. Mather's Magnalia*.]

A NARRATIVE of *Mrs. Hannah Swarton's** captivity, will give some idea of savage life and the sufferings of captives. In May, 1690, when the enemy beset Falmouth, her husband, herself and their family, consisting of four children, were dwelling at a short distance northerly of the fort. The Indians, on entering the house, killed her husband before her eyes; and carried her, and her daughter and three sons into captivity.—My master (says she) was a Canada Indian, whose wife was an eastern native, partly bred up among the English at Black-point, but now turned papist. We presently moved off eastward. The provisions taken from our own and our neighbors' houses were soon consumed; and even while they lasted, our direful afflictions deprived me of all appetite. My children were soon separated from me, and distributed among the captors; and though we were sometimes permitted to see each other, we were not allowed to converse much together or mingle our tears; for the sympathies of natural affection unrepressed, are always so affronting to Indians, that they would threaten us with instant death, if we wept. Though sunk with fatigue, we were, after a week or ten days, long destitute of any food, except ground-nuts, acorns, roots, wild weeds, and a little dogs' flesh;—a sustenance which, though miserable indeed, was yet quite insufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger. At one time they killed a bear—afterwards they took a turtle and some fish—of which I was allowed to be in part a partaker. Once, a piece of moose's liver was given me—a refreshing morsel truly, to my hungry appetite. In our travels about the shores of Casco-bay, and through the country to Kennebeck, I was compelled to carry heavy burdens, and to go at their pace or be killed at once.

* Though Dr. Mather, [2 *Magnalia*, p. 306—12] calls her by that name; yet query, if it were not *Swarnton*?

After my shoes and clothes became worn and tattered, my feet and limbs were often wounded and bleeding; and by reason of toil and faintness, my pace was so checked, that I was often threatened with an uplifted tomahawk over my head. One John York, a fellow-sufferer, being entirely exhausted, was taken aside and despatched outright.

Once, my mistress and myself were left six days without food, except the tainted bladder of a moose. This being too tough and loathsome to eat, we boiled it and drank the broth. At length she directed me, to go and make a fire on a remote point of the shore, in hopes by the smoke to invite, fortuitously, a visit of the Indians. Espying a canoe, I beckoned it ashore, when the squaws in it came, and gave me a roasted eel;—and never had I tasted meat more palatable. Through the whole summer and autumn, I was hurried up and down the wilderness; for wherever an Indian happens to be, he is on the point of going somewhere else, never contented, nor at rest. They are no economists; they eat excessively, whenever possessed of enough, and then have nothing. In the season of fruit, I lived on wurtleberries, and a kind of wild cherries, which grew on bushes; being obliged also, to gather them for my mistress, so long as any remained. When winter commenced, they put upon me an Indian dress; giving me a slight blanket, a pair of leathern stockings, and moccasins:—Yet many times, my limbs were nearly frozen. Even in their huts, the smoke and stench, cold and famine, made suffering more extreme, and slavery more dreadful. A rush of recollections often filled my soul with anguish, which no tongue nor pen can describe. Woman-like, I reflected upon myself with tears, that I ever left the privileges of my birth-place, and the smiles of kindreds,—public worship and the divine ordinances. But my native Beverly, was only sweet in name and in memory; and as it was, through over-emulous desires, of adding to worldly substance that we had exchanged it, for a new settlement destitute of church privileges and the gospel ministry, I thought I had directly brought upon myself the judgments of a frowning God. Now bereaved of husband, children, home, and every thing but a miserable life; I was half-distracted. Languor, melancholy, famine and suffering, preyed upon my spirits and my life. *Yet in my distress I cried often unto the Lord, (in the language of another,) how long wilt thou hide thy face from me! how long shall mine enemy be exalted over me!*

To aggravate, if possible, my grief and distress, when we arrived at Norridgewock, every English prisoner was removed from our company; and I was told my oldest son was killed—a fate, I

feared, destined to all my children, while I had only Rachel's consolation, to weep for them.

From that place, I was obliged to take up a long and wretched journey, in the heart of winter, through the wilderness to Canada. I travelled in deep snow, over steep hideous mountains, through swamps and thickets, and among windfalls; stepping from log to log, near a thousand in a day,—at the same time, carrying on my shoulders a heavy burden. So frequently did my feet and limbs bleed, that my tracks in the snow might be readily traced by the blood. Without tasting of domestic meat or bread, or having a comfortable night on the way, I arrived at last, about the middle of February, 1691, in the vicinity of Quebec; where my master pitched his wigwam, in sight of a few French habitations. Sent thither to beg food for him and his squaw, I found the inhabitants kind and generous. They fed me with refreshing food; and in the second visit, I tarried, by my master's consent, over night. The next morning I was called upon by an Englishman, who though a prisoner to the French, ventured to attend me about four miles to Quebec, and generously introduced me into the family of the Chief Justiciary of the Province. The Lady Intendant, paid my late Indian master a satisfactory ransom; and I became her waiting servant.

Kind and attached to me, she soon joined with the priests and nuns, and strongly urged me to become a disciple of the catholic religion. This, to me, was a new species of trial; and I presently found myself transferred from one furnace of afflictions to another. I was heartily disposed to please my worthy mistress; while I was in conscience and in duty bound not to betray my Lord, but *contend earnestly for the faith, once delivered to the saints*. I sometimes attended the papal worship; but at last withdrawing, I was treated with harder usage. More than once, the priests threatened to send me to France, where heretics, they said, have to take the flames.

At length, being able to procure an English bible, I searched and read the scriptures daily, which yielded me the refreshing *waters of life*:—A religion pure and simple—at an infinite remove from human merit and catholic rites. Col. Tyng of Falmouth, and Mr. Alden, fellow captives, were permitted to converse with me, and appeared to be firm in the protestant doctrines; strengthening me in the faith of them. Still, during this long period of more than four years, my religious belief was assailed again and again, and severely tried, by the superstitious friars. But an acquaintance, formed about that time with Margaret Stilson, a pious captive, prov-

ed a balm to my afflicted soul. Oh the seasons, never to be forgotten, when we together perused the sacred volume, and in social prayer reciprocated the devout sentiments of the holy Psalmist ;—*I shall not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord : Truly he has chastened us sore, but he has not given us over to death.*

To my inexpressible joy, when Capt. Cary arrived in a vessel to carry the English captives home from Quebec, I, with my youngest son, was admitted to a passage, leaving, however, three children—my only daughter, now about 20, supposed to be at Montreal, and my other two sons, if living, whom I had never seen since the morning after we were taken captive. We arrived at Boston in November, 1695, after an absence of five years and a half, from my beloved country—and the rapturous joys of friends, meeting on a return from Indian captivity, can be more easily imagined than told.



